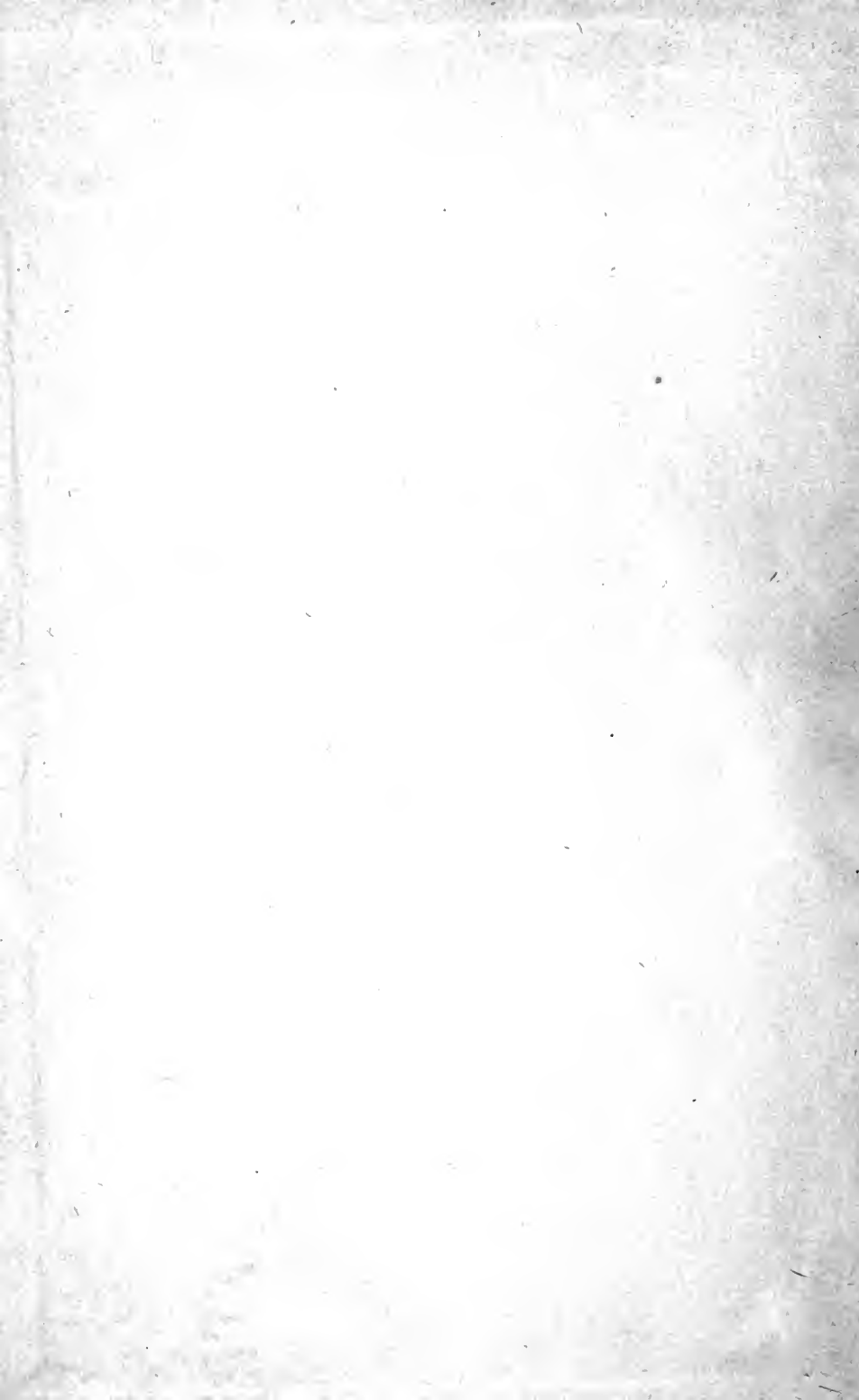


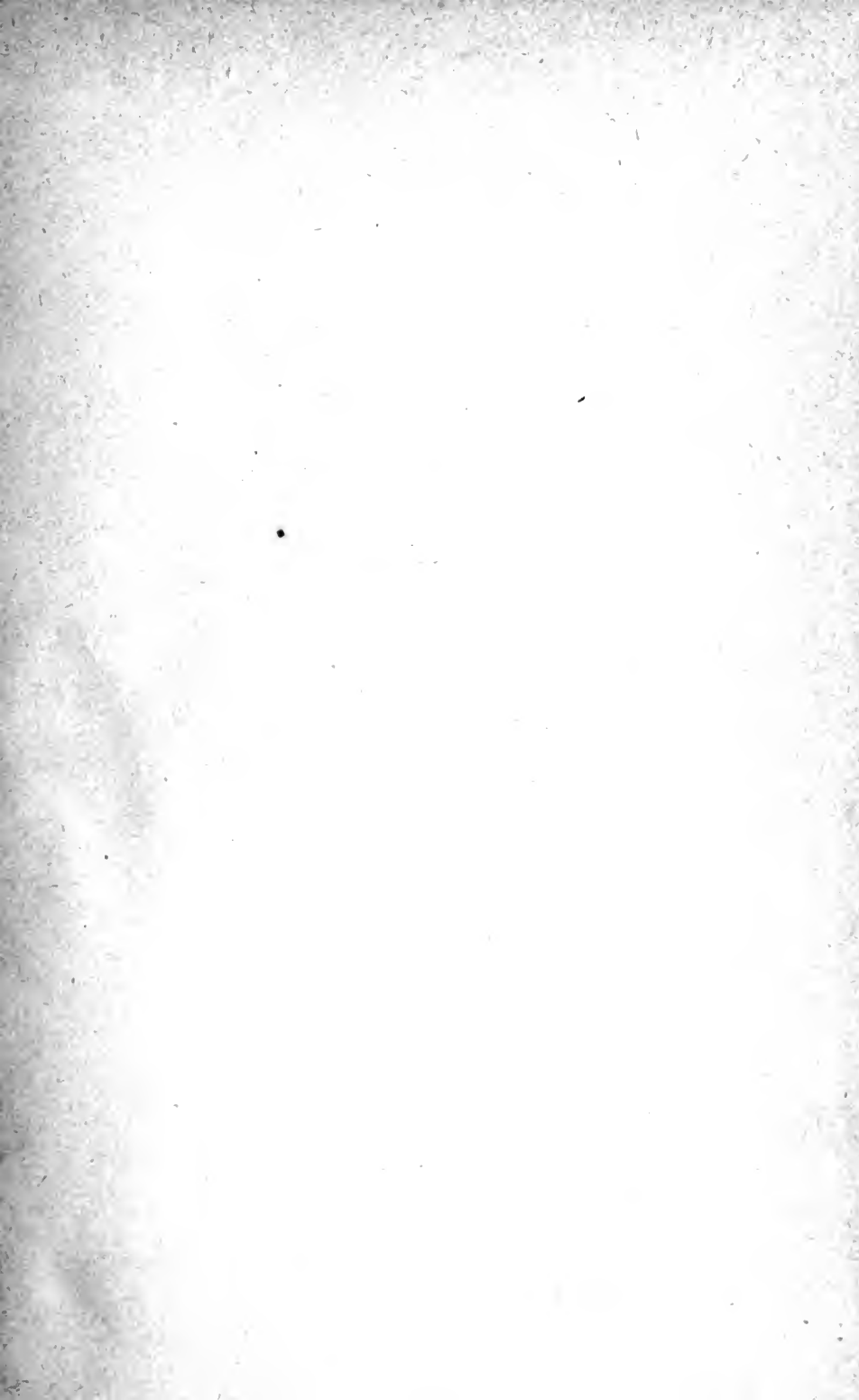
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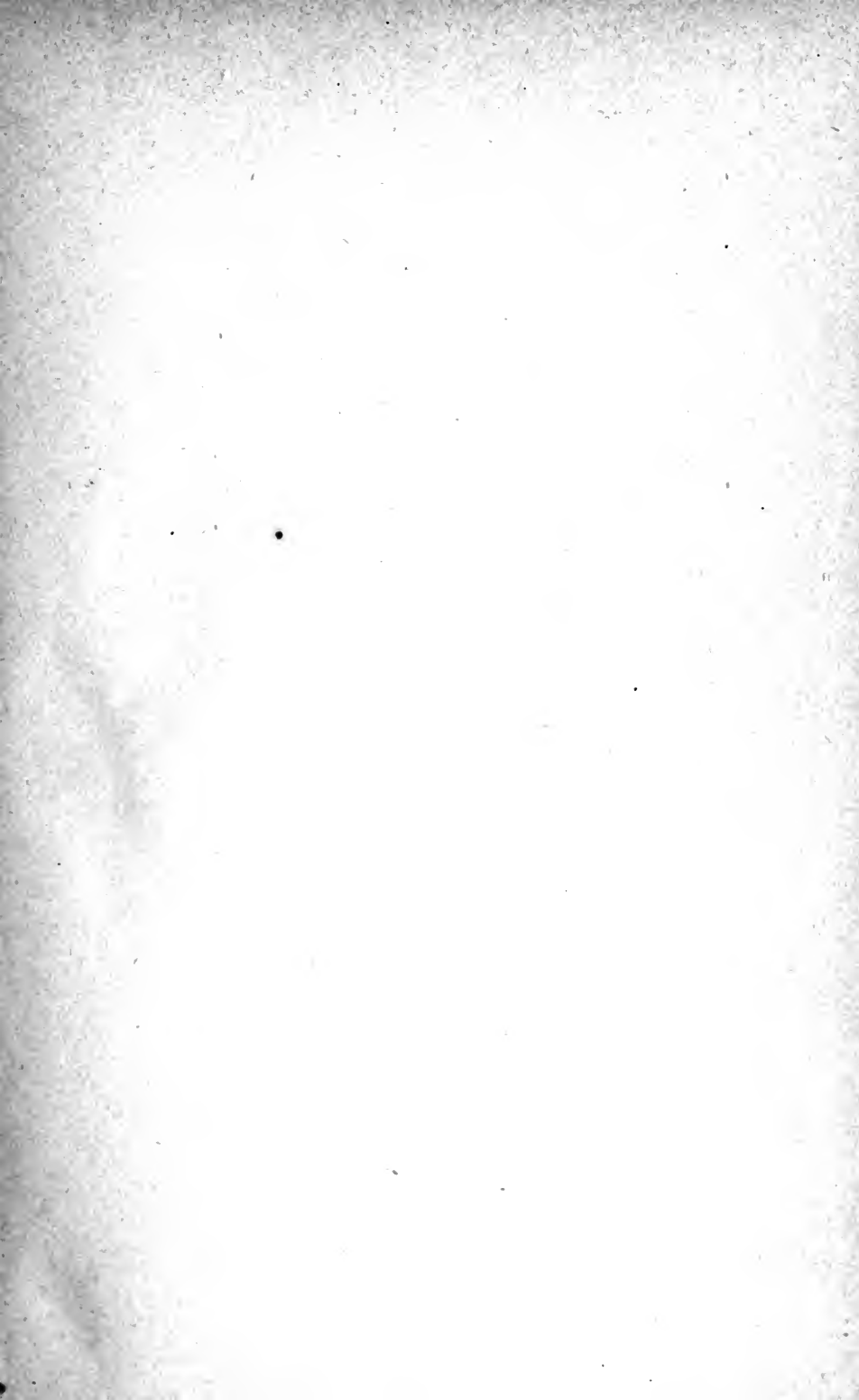
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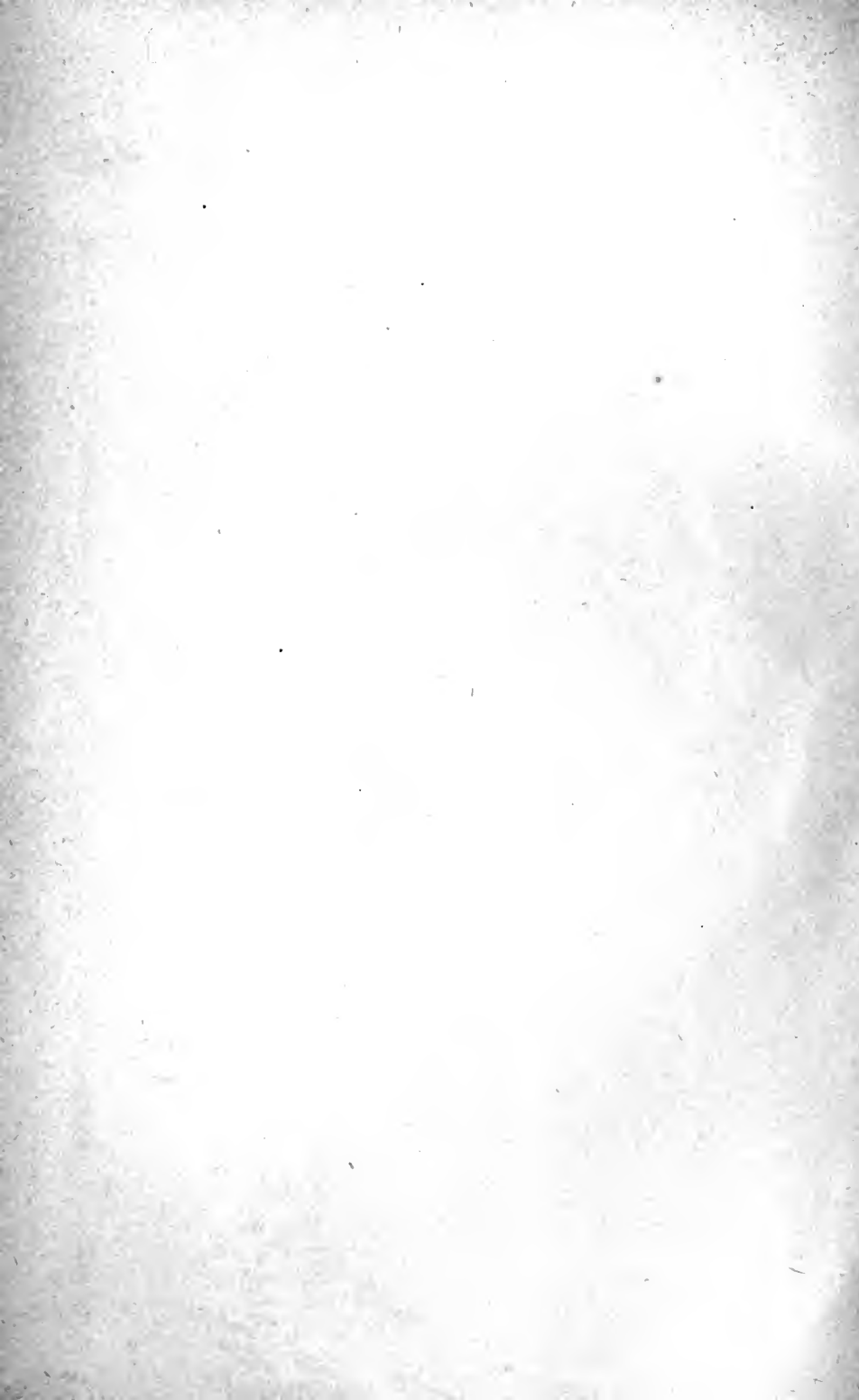
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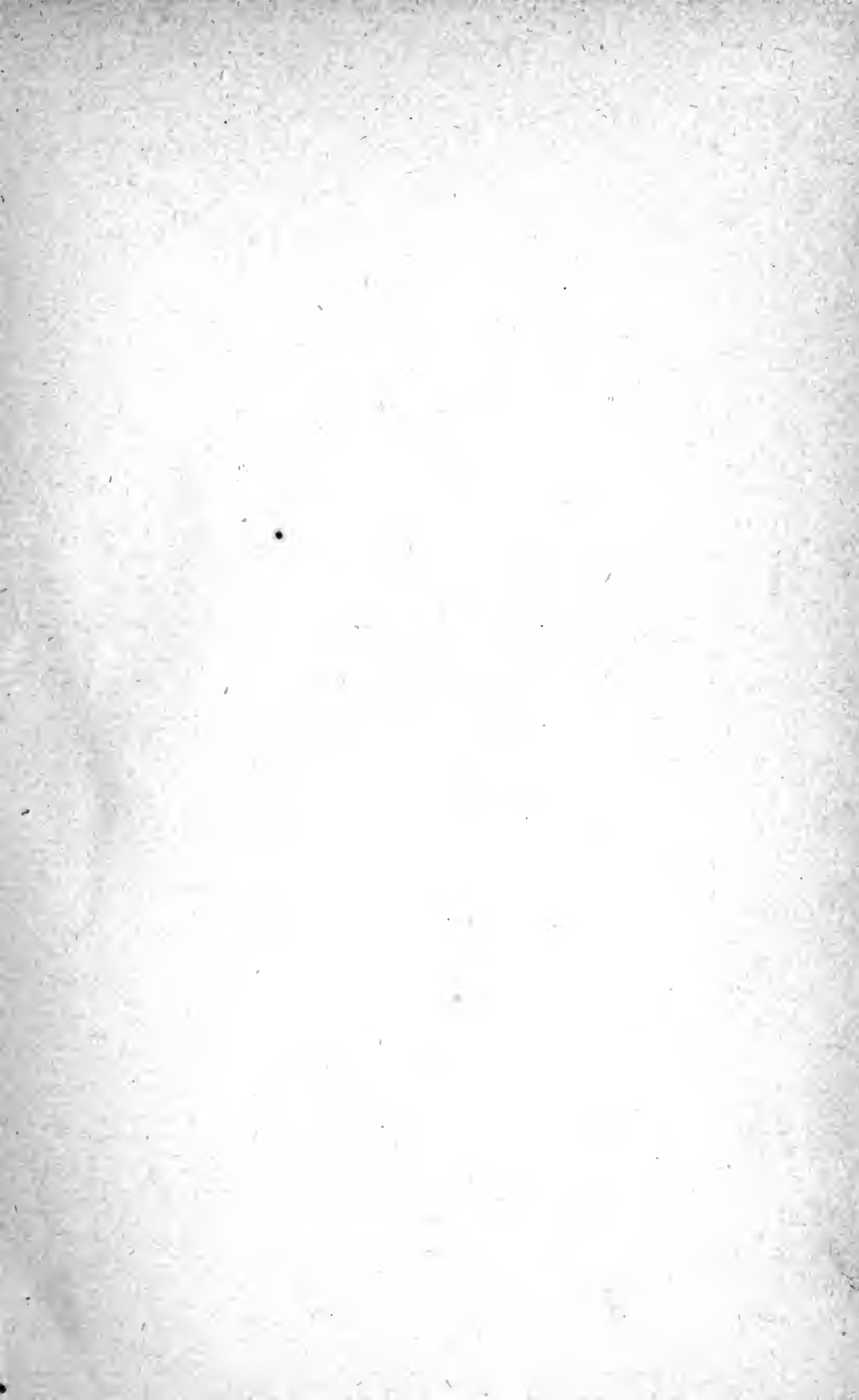




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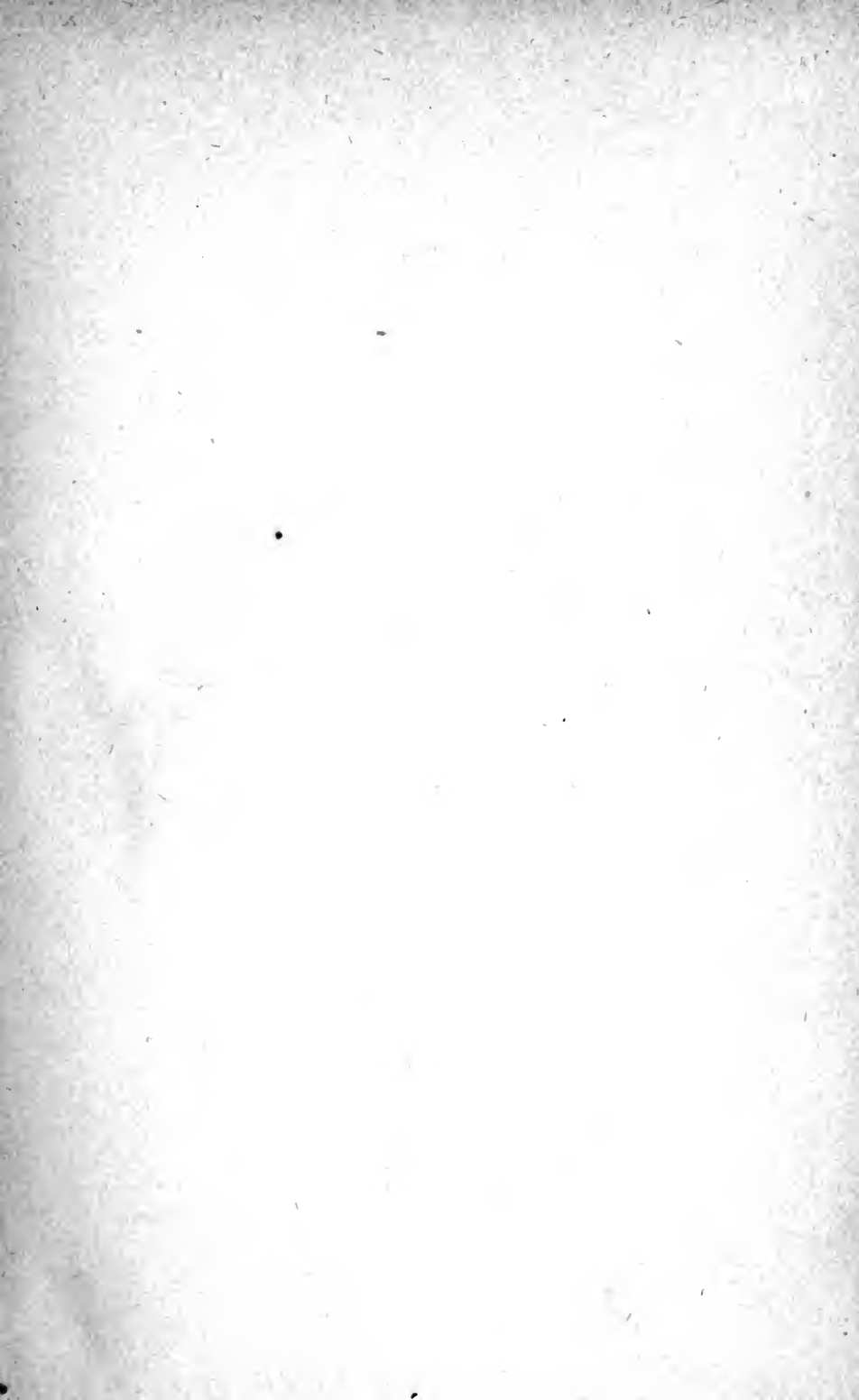


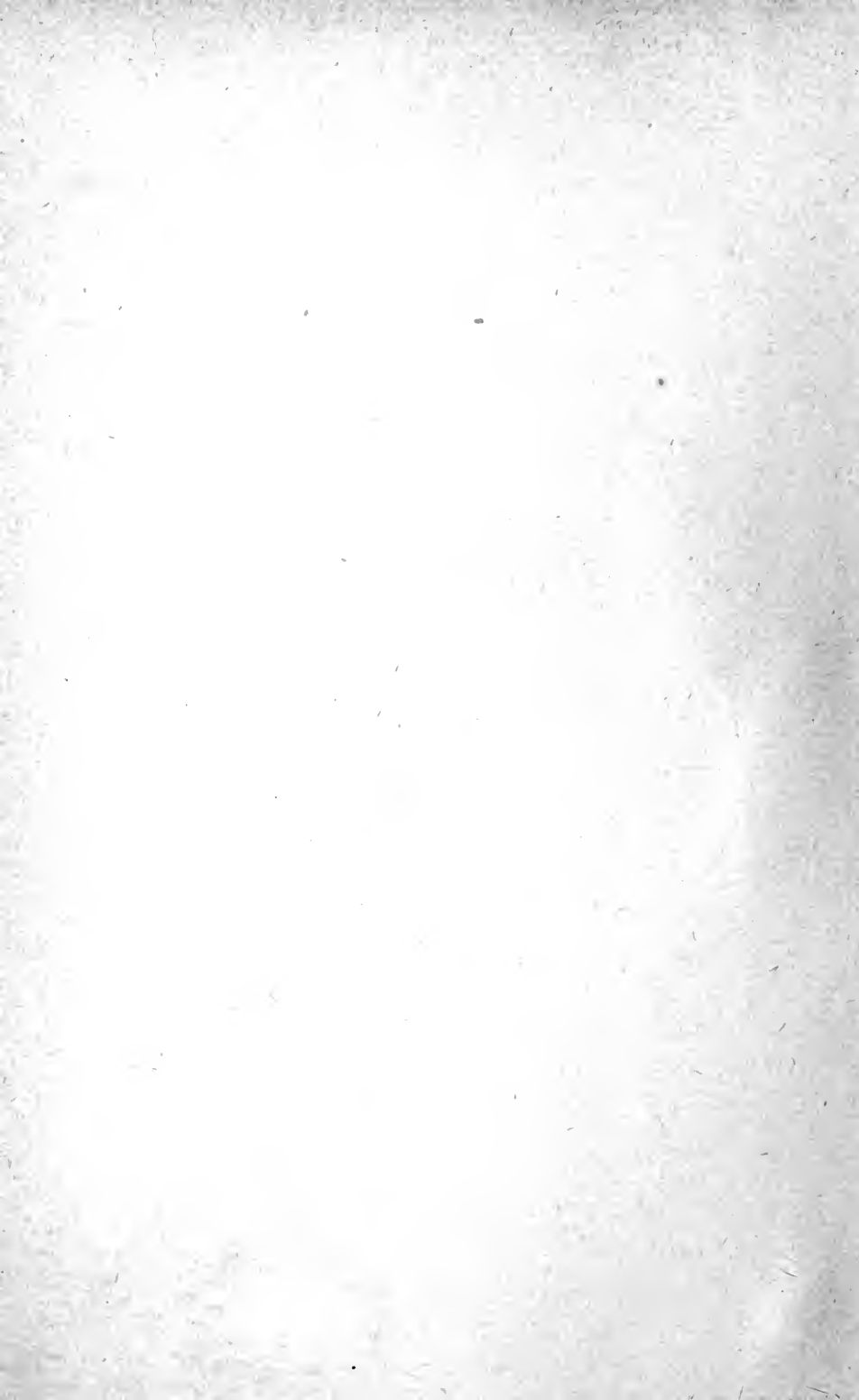












COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF WISCONSIN

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Corresponding Secretary of the Society

VOL. XIII

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Published by Authority of Law

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MADISON

DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER

1895

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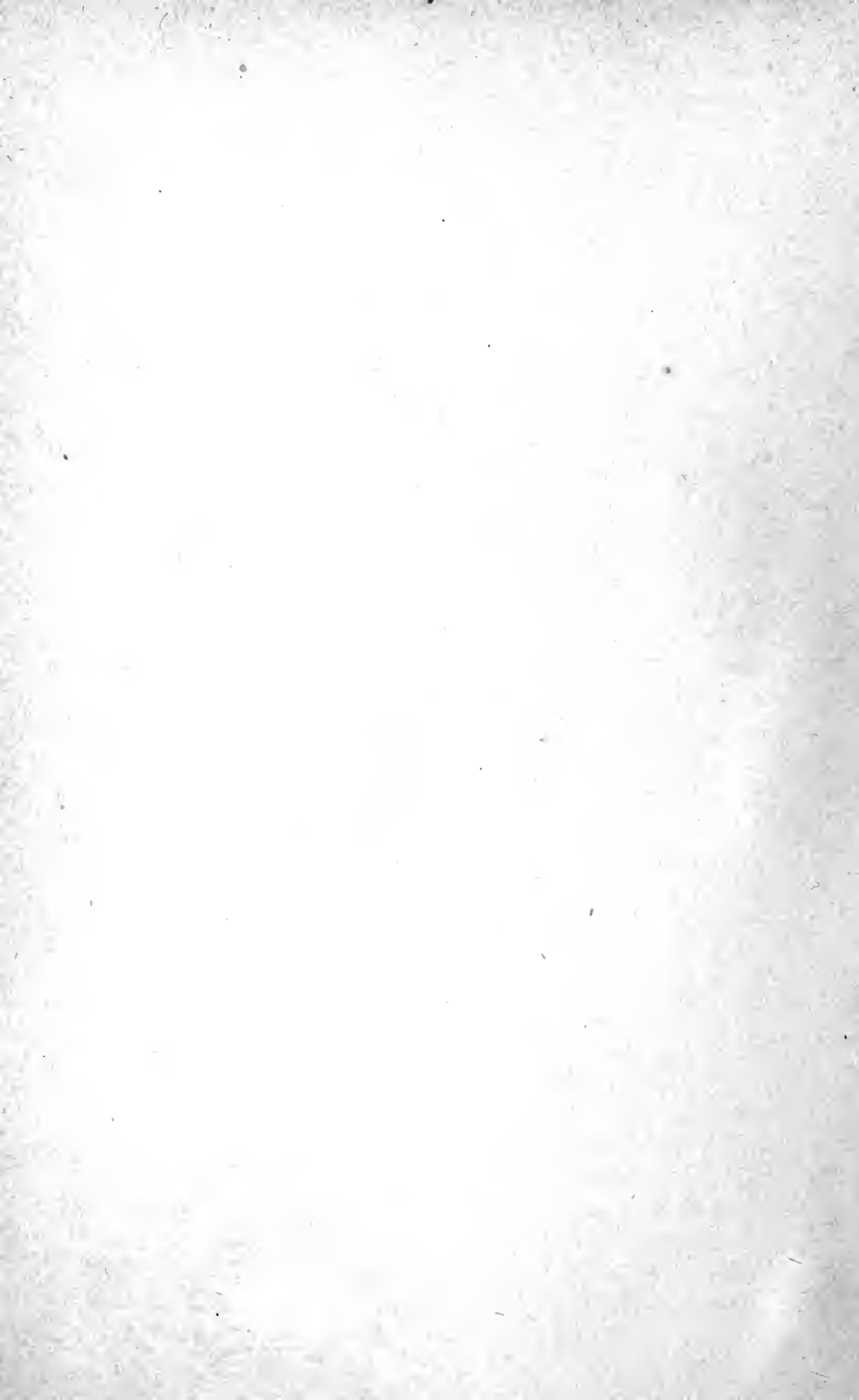
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## PREFACE.

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The occupation of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway by the British, in 1814-15, while an interesting event, was not of great historical importance. No other incident in the pre-Territorial history of Wisconsin, however, save the Black Hawk War, has been so fertile in documentary materials. In Volume III. of these *Collections*, Augustin Grignon's "Recollections" first brought out the story of this invasion of our soil; in Volume IX., Thomas G. Anderson, a captain in the English garrison at Prairie du Chien (Fort McKay), gave us a narrative of the occupation,—written in his dotage,—which, while in many particulars correct, and containing some contemporary documents, is often marred by a wilful perversion of facts, for purposes of self-glorification and consequent depreciation of his superiors; in Volume XI., Douglas Brymner, the eminent Canadian archivist, kindly presented to us the first reliable military account of the affair, based on official documents in his charge; in Volumes X., XI., and XII., the "Dickson and Grignon Papers," all of them contemporary documents, threw further light on the matter; and in the present volume, the story is probably completed by the presentation of the papers of Capt. A. H. Bulger, who was in command of Fort McKay during the greater part of the period of occupation,—to these being added two brief explanatory articles by his son, Alfred E. Bulger, of Montreal. Were the object merely to give the military history of this brief episode, it might be doubted whether so much space should be devoted to the matter, after Mr. Brymner's satisfactory statement of the case; but the "Dickson and Grignon Papers" and the "Bulger Papers" incidentally illustrate other features of our early history, being valuable con-

tributions to the study of the habits and characteristics of Wisconsin Indians, life among the French Creoles of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, methods of the fur trade, and the frontier policy of the English. They are replete with pathetic interest for the student of civilization.

The "Papers of James Duane Doty" are also a leading feature of this volume. The exploring expedition to Lake Superior and the sources of the Mississippi River, undertaken in 1820 by Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan Territory, was reported at length in the *Narrative* of Henry R. Schoolcraft, the geologist and ethnologist of the party. Doty, then a young man in his twenty-first year, was secretary to the expedition, and kept a detailed journal of the tour. This is now for the first time published; it admirably supplements Schoolcraft's more popular account. As was pointed out in Volume XI. of the *Collections* (article, "The Boundaries of Wisconsin"), Doty began in 1824 an agitation for the erection of a new Territory west of Lake Michigan; and brief citations were therein made from his original manuscript bill, letters, petitions, and arguments, in the possession of the Society. These are now published in full, and form an interesting and suggestive chapter in the political history of Wisconsin.

In close connection with Governor Doty's efforts to organize Wisconsin Territory, is the first Territorial census, taken by Governor Dodge in July, 1836. The naked result of the count—the total number of inhabitants in each of the four counties of Brown, Crawford, Iowa, and Milwaukee—has frequently been published; but the details of this first Territorial enumeration, with a full list of heads of families, are now for the first time presented. This is Wisconsin's bead-roll of pioneers, to be carefully told by the genealogists of the future. We have in this volume, also, a still earlier enumeration,—but partial, embracing only a list of the inhabitants of the original Brown County (now the greater part of Eastern Wisconsin), taken in June, 1830, in connection with the national census of Michigan Territory.

Lead-mining has played a conspicuous part in the history of Wisconsin. It early attracted a sturdy population to the southwest, and the shipment of lead and shot hastened the development of wagon-roads and steamboat navigation, materially assisted in the growth of the lake ports, Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and knit together the widely divergent centers of population in Southwestern and Eastern Wisconsin. The Editor has presented "Notes on Early Lead-Mining in the Fever (or Galena) River Region," sketching the long and rather romantic history of the district previous to the inrush of American miners and speculators,—covering the operations of the Indians, the French, the Spanish, and the English. Here, Mr. Libby has picked up the thread, with his valuable paper on the "Significance of the Lead and Shot Trade in Early Wisconsin History." He dwells upon the economic aspects of the case, as affecting the channels of trade, aspirations for internal improvements, the movement of population, and the relations between East and West. His "Chronicle of the Helena Shot-Tower" is a detailed study, from the antiquarian point of view, of the rise and decline of the shot-making industry on the Wisconsin River, and incidentally is a social and economic study of the neighborhood.

In continuance of the Society's policy of presenting, as opportunities occur, careful studies of the several foreign groups in our midst, we take pleasure in publishing Xavier Martin's paper on the "Belgians of Northeast Wisconsin." Mr. Martin, himself one of the Belgian pioneers of 1853, has given us an interesting and authoritative account of their migration hither, their many sore trials, and their final development into prosperous Americanized communities; the story of Aux Premier Belges and its neighboring hamlets has many points in common with that of the Swiss settlement at New Glarus, about which Mr. Luchsinger so admirably told us in Volume XI.

"The Story of Chequamegon Bay" has not heretofore been fully set forth in these *Collections*. This far-away

corner of Lake Superior has had a checkered and romantic career, which it has seemed to the Editor was worth the telling; particularly, as some curious myths about La Pointe have come of late years to be so widely accepted that they stand in some danger of being crystallized into sober history. Father Verwyst, an acknowledged authority on this region, has supplemented the Editor's study with an important paper, "Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay," wherein he gives us the etymology of the local Chipewa geographical names, locates ancient and modern Indian villages, and advances theories concerning the locations of Radisson's two forts and Allouez's Jesuit mission, which are worthy of our consideration.

It was an event of great significance to Wisconsin, when, soon after the close of the War of 1812-15, American troops arrived at the mouth of the Fox, and erected Fort Howard as an earnest of the intent of the United States to hold fast to this region. It is not generally understood how near we were to losing the Old Northwest, during the peace negotiations at the close of the Revolutionary War; indeed, Wisconsin was never well in hand until after the second war with England. The coming of the Third Regiment of Infantry, in 1816, was the first evidence to our Indians and French Creoles that the Americans were here to stay. Naturally enough, the latter were not at first welcomed by the French and the aborigines, who saw in these new-comers a race desirous of converting the wilderness into farms and cities, and thereby destroying the fur trade, and perhaps entirely dispossessing the old inhabitants who had prospered undisturbed under British domination. The article on the "Arrival of American Troops at Green Bay, in 1816," has peculiar value, as a contemporaneous account, by an army officer, of this transition from the old to the new order of things; and in the welcoming speech of the Winnebago chief, we have an excellent example of aboriginal oratory.

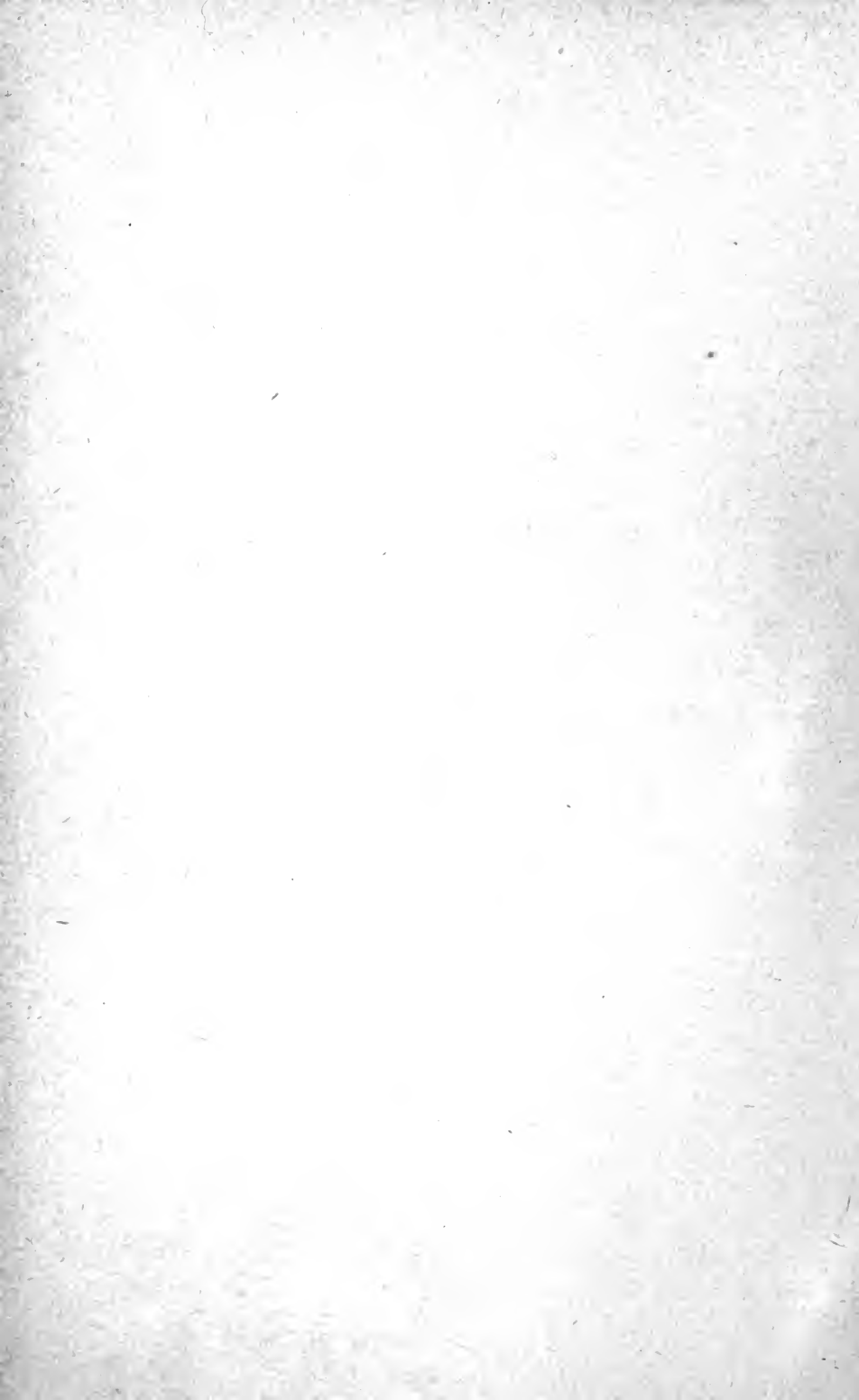
Two editorial interviews with aged Winnebago Indians, Spoon Decorah and Walking Cloud, are chiefly valuable as

contributions to aboriginal folk-lore; they give us also the point of view of the Indian himself, upon several interesting historical events. Such revelations enable us the better to understand the workings of the savage mind, without which knowledge we can never properly read Western history.

The volumes of these *Collections* have hitherto been published triennially; but in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 264, Laws of Wisconsin for 1895, they will hereafter be issued biennially.

NOVEMBER 5, 1895.

R. G. T.



## EVENTS AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN PREVIOUS TO AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1814.

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BY ALFRED EDWARD BULGER.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until some time after war had been declared by the United States against Great Britain, that Prairie du Chien attracted the attention of the contending Powers. Situated near the confluence of the Wisconsin (or Ouisconsin, as it was then written) and the Mississippi rivers, in the heart of the Indian territory, a distance of more than five hundred miles from Michilimackinac, and about six hundred miles above St. Louis,<sup>2</sup> it was, at the period of which we write, the principal trading post on the Mississippi; the depot of the fur traders; the ancient meeting-place of the Indian tribes. The French were the first people who penetrated into this part of the Indian territory; and the spot upon which they built their post was at no great distance from the celebrated Fox village on Turkey river, which was formerly inhabited by the Reynards, or Fox Indians. The prairie on which the village was built is a beautiful elevation above the river, of several miles in length and a mile or so in width, with a picturesque range of grassy bluffs encompassing it in the rear, at the foot of which there formerly dwelt a band of Fox Indians, known as the Dogs, after whom the French named their village

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<sup>1</sup>This narrative of what took place at Prairie du Chien, just before that post was occupied by the Americans in June, 1814, is by the son of Capt. Andrew H. Bulger, British commandant on the Mississippi in 1814-15. The author is a resident of Montreal, and writes, of course, from the British point of view.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>The distance is 500.5 miles. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 248, note.—ED.

Prairie du Chien. At the time of the American war the only inhabitants who were settled there were principally Canadians and half-breeds, the descendants of the early French and English fur traders, about two hundred in number; nearly half of them were hunters and voyageurs, the remainder were settled on the land in the vicinity of the old trading post. Situated as they were—in the interior of that vast country which, before the war, belonged exclusively to the Indian tribes—unknown almost to the outer world, and having lived for years uncontrolled, there being neither magistrate nor minister of religion in the country, these people had become almost as intractable as the Indians themselves. Still, before the war destroyed the tranquillity of the little settlement, they apparently lived happy and contented in pursuit of their various occupations.

The peculiar position which Prairie du Chien occupied in the Indian country at once pointed it out as a most important place—of the value of which both the hostile Powers were fully cognizant—from the fact that whichever army took possession of it could command that immense territory inhabited by the warlike tribes of the West (known at the time of the war as the Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana countries) which lay along the west frontier of the United States from Sandusky, on Lake Erie, to the Mississippi. Although both the contending Powers were most anxious to establish a military post at Prairie du Chien, it was not until 1813 that any definite move was made to do so. Then the Americans showed a determination to take possession of it,—their object being to obtain control of the warlike tribes of the West, with a view of attaching them to their side, and thereby open a way to advance into the interior and attack Michilimackinac in the rear. Some time, however, elapsed before the people at Prairie du Chien became acquainted with the intentions of the Americans. The first intimation they received of that fact was by some letters which reached them from Nicholas Boilvin, Indian Agent for the United States



at St. Louis,<sup>1</sup> which were sent to Prairie du Chien to ascertain the feelings of the people, and to invite them to join the Americans in their cause against Great Britain. The arrival of these letters caused considerable alarm and much excitement among the people, and at a meeting of the principal traders it was decided to forward the letters to Michilimackinac and place themselves under the protection of the British government, and at the same time to request that assistance and ammunition be sent to them to enable the inhabitants to defend the place until it could be occupied by a British garrison.

In the meantime, while the Americans were making preparations to ascend the Mississippi, the British were not idle. The taking of Michilimackinac in the beginning of the war had given them the control of a great part of the Indian territory, throughout which they lost no time in extending their influence. And it was more effectually to carry out their plan of operations in what was then termed the "conquered countries" that the British organized the Western Indian Department, on whose officers in a great measure devolved the arduous and trying duty of visiting the various tribes to organize war parties, and lead them into action. On finding it impossible to send immediate assistance to the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, that place, as well as the whole of the Indian territory, was temporarily placed under the control of the Western Indian Department, and the entire charge of Indian affairs was intrusted by Sir George Prevost, the governor and commander-in-chief, to Robert Dickson, who was appointed "Agent and Superintendent of the Western Nations," to whom it seems most extraordinary discretionary powers were granted.<sup>2</sup> On the 17th of April, Mr.

<sup>1</sup>See sketch of Boilvin, and his description of Prairie du Chien in 1811, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., pp. 247-253. Dickson writes to Lawe, Feb. 4, 1814: "Boilvin and Jacrot have addressed two flaming Epistles to the people of the prairie — exhorting them to claim the protection of the great republic before it is too late," etc.— *Ibid.*, p. 290.— ED.

<sup>2</sup>See Cruikshank's sketch of Dickson, in *Id.*, xii., pp. 133 *et seq.*; also letters by that partisan, in *Id.*, x., xi., xii., and in *Bulger Papers*, *post.*— ED.

Dickson arrived at Prairie du Chien from Quebec, accompanied by Captain Hamilton, of the Upper Canada Militia, where he was received by the principal inhabitants and a number of Indian chiefs. This gentleman lost no time in carrying out the instructions which he had received from the governor-in-chief in regard to the Indian tribes, and at different councils held with the Indians he exhorted them to take up the hatchet in the cause of England; distributing presents to those in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, counseling them to be firm and aid the people to defend the place by protecting the rapids at the Rock river, and prevent the Americans — or Big Knives, as they were called by the Indians — from coming up until their Great Father at Quebec could send some of his soldiers to help them. From this point, as well as from Michilimackinac, small parties, consisting of an officer of the Indian Department, with an interpreter, accompanied by a few friendly Indians, were dispatched to the various tribes favourable to the British cause to organize war parties to take part in the coming campaign. Many of these officers commenced their journeys in the depth of winter, traveling hundreds of miles throughout the Indian territory. The privations and hardships which they endured in carrying out the instructions of the government were very trying, and were often attended with loss of life.

Thus it was that the British extended their influence among the Western Indians, until tribe after tribe joined them, each nation sending in a return of the number of warriors they could send when required, until the number reached over ten thousand men. But to return to Prairie du Chien. Shortly after Dickson's arrival he was waited upon by some of the chief men of the settlement, who pointed out to him the defenseless state the old post was in, and requested him to take immediate steps to place it in proper repair, and also demanded that a strong party of Indians be sent down to the rapids at the Rock river to prevent the enemy from ascending. What Dickson's plans were he did not think it necessary to inform them. He had his own opinion on the matter, viz., that the Americans

would not venture up at all when they were informed that the place had been taken possession of by the British. He, however, assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon him to do all that was in his power to protect the settlement from being attacked by the enemy. It was his intention to form the settlers into a military corps, which he hoped, with the help of the Indians, would be sufficiently strong for that purpose. But he had not sufficient arms or a supply of ammunition to give them. He, however, hoped in a short time to be able to give them a supply of all they wanted, for he had already written to the government for arms and ammunition. Before any reply was received to this request, Dickson was ordered off with a large body of Indians to take part in the operations on the western frontier of the United States. Shortly after his departure, roving bands of disaffected and hostile Indians hovered around Prairie du Chien, plundering and slaughtering the cattle belonging to the settlers, and keeping the poor people in constant fear and alarm of an attack on the settlement. Capt. Dease,<sup>1</sup> who had been appointed by Mr. Dickson to the command of Prairie du Chien militia, collected a body of the settlers, principally hunters, and with these men prepared to defend the place if attacked. But these roving bands were not inclined to come into open conflict with the settlers. They contented themselves with plundering and harassing the poor people, cutting off stragglers, and driving away any cattle which had been left unprotected, and keeping the settlement in a constant state of alarm all summer.

Dickson's long absence was also a cause of much anxiety. He had now been away several months, and no tidings of his movements had reached them. During the winter reports from time to time were circulated throughout the settlement that the Americans would certainly take possession of the place in the spring. Those who circulated these rumors were known to be in open correspondence with the Americans. The people, however, had now be-

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Michael Dease, a Prairie du Chien trader.— Ed.

come indifferent about the matter, and, indeed, most of them had made up their minds quietly to submit, for they saw no other way of saving their lives, and the little property which had been left to them. The depredations of the Indians had almost ruined them, and any change would be better than to be left unprotected, and at the mercy of the savages who hovered round the settlement, pilfering everything they could lay their hands upon. On the opening of the spring of 1814, the arrival of a large quantity of Indian presents, and a supply of arms and ammunition for themselves, followed by the welcome news that Dickson was expected to arrive in the course of a week or ten days, had the desired effect of arousing the people from the state of despondency into which they had fallen. The inhabitants now began to congratulate themselves that their troubles were over, and to rejoice that they had now arms and ammunition wherewith to defend their homes and their little ones from the savage attacks of the Indians.

In the course of time Dickson arrived at Prairie du Chien, much to the satisfaction of the people, some of whom at once waited upon him with a statement of their losses and sufferings during his absence, which he promised to forward to the governor and commander-in-chief. Many of the most influential inhabitants also called upon him, and in earnest and most respectful terms pointed out the necessity of taking immediate steps to put the place in a proper state of defense. In reply Dickson assured them that he would do all in his power, but he did not think there was any cause of alarm, for the Americans would not venture up until the summer; by that time everything would be placed in proper order to meet the enemy. It was his intention to place a large body of Indians down the river, who would attack and prevent any force the Americans might send from ascending the rapids at the Rock river, for it would be a piece of folly to permit the enemy to come up the river. As to the defense of the village, they must be prepared to defend their homes themselves. Arms and ammunition had been supplied to them for that special

purpose. They were to obey Captain Dease's orders, and place themselves under his command.

From that hour no more was heard of Dickson's plans; that gentleman was too much occupied in distributing the immense quantity of Indian presents, and dispatching them to the different tribes throughout the country, to trouble himself about the safety of the settlement. The fact was, he had no confidence in the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien. He relied entirely upon his Indian allies, on whom he lavished his good-will in the shape of presents from the government stores. Nothing, in Dickson's estimation, was too good for them. What pleased him still more was to sit in state at grand councils, and address the Indians in the name of their Great Father, the king, holding out to them promises in the name of the government, which he must have known could not be fulfilled. On the other hand, he seldom lost an opportunity of showing his contempt for the half-breed population in the settlement. As time passed on, and these people saw no visible preparations made towards protecting the post, beyond placing a small guard of Indians some miles down the river, they were far from being satisfied. Dickson's total indifference in regard to their fate only increased their discontent. There were those who shook their heads and said, "Some day, when he least expected it, he would suddenly awake to the fact that the country which had been intrusted to his care was in immediate danger of passing into the hands of the enemy." But all these warnings were lost upon Dickson. He treated their advice with contempt, and lulled himself into the fatal supposition that the country was safe as long as he had control of its affairs, depending entirely upon his Indian warriors to prevent the enemy from ascending the rapids.

The inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, being thus fully aware of the antipathy and inactivity of their would-be king, and alarmed by a rumour that a large force of the Americans had left St. Louis and were on their way up the river, collected their little valuables and prepared for in-

stant flight, while others waited quietly until the coming storm should burst upon them. But Dickson still assured them there was no danger. On the morning of June 4, the village was thrown into intense alarm by the arrival of an Indian runner from the rapids at the Rock river, who announced to the people, as he made his way through the settlement to the post, that the Americans had forced their way up the rapids and were now coming up the river. All was now confusion and dismay, and Dickson had the mortification of seeing, when too late to prevent it, the post and country which it was his special duty to look after taken possession of by the enemy.<sup>1</sup> Seeing that all was lost, Dickson set out immediately for Michilimackinac, giving instructions to the officers of the Indian Department to retire to a safe distance and keep him informed of the movements of the enemy. The villagers, on finding themselves deserted and obliged either to defend their homes by themselves or to follow Dickson's example and go to Michilimackinac, chose the former course, and on finding after a time that they were not molested, quietly returned to their various occupations.

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<sup>1</sup>Since writing this paper I have been informed that "Mr. Dickson in the spring of the year 1814, after having completed all the necessary arrangements for sending to Mackinac a strong body of Indians, left for that post some time before the Americans took possession of Prairie du Chien." Although this information does not agree with the notes which I have on this subject, still I consider it only just and right to mention the matter here. As far as I can ascertain there is no positive proof, either documental or otherwise, to prove that Mr. Dickson accompanied the war party which he dispatched to Mackinac. He had a habit of disappearing in a most mysterious way for days and weeks together, and then suddenly reappearing when he was thought to be in another part of the country. His actions in many ways are shrouded in mystery, and it is almost impossible to correctly follow his movements. One fact, which speaks for itself: he either remained at Prairie du Chien or in the neighborhood of that post after the war party had departed for Mackinac, or he returned again to the upper Mississippi in one of his wandering moods in time to hear or see the Americans take possession of Prairie du Chien; for it was Mr. Dickson who brought the news of the disaster to Mackinac, which he could not have done had he proceeded to that post with the war party.— A. E. B.

On finding the old trading post to be in an almost ruined condition, the Americans, on taking possession of Prairie du Chien, erected a new fort on a mound in the rear of the village, which they called Fort Shelby,<sup>1</sup> after the celebrated American general of that name.

The Indians living in the neighborhood were not accorded the same considerate treatment as the resident whites, for there is what appears to be an authentic account of an attack and deliberate murder of seven men of the Winnebagoes, a chosen body of whom had endeavored to prevent the Americans from ascending the rapids. On taking possession of Prairie du Chien the Americans are reported to have captured eight of these Indians. At first they were treated with affected kindness, and food given to them, and while in the act of eating they were most treacherously attacked and murdered in cold blood, one only effecting his escape.<sup>2</sup> This act of cruelty is said to have been followed by another against the same nation. Four of these Indians, who had not heard of the sad fate of their comrades, were enticed by acts of seeming friendship to visit the post. When they arrived they were shut up in a log hut, and were afterwards killed by firing at them through the openings between the logs.

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<sup>1</sup> Named after Isaac Shelby, the first governor of Kentucky, and one of the heroes of the battle of Point Pleasant, in Lord Dunmore's War, 1774. Governor Clark's brother, the celebrated George Rogers Clark, was a prominent Kentucky pioneer. Lieutenant Perkins, whom Clark left in charge of Fort Shelby, was from Mississippi Territory.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See McDouall's letters to Drummond, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 260, in which the same charge is made.—ED.

## THE BULGER PAPERS.

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BY THE EDITOR.

In Wisconsin, the principal event of the War of 1812-15 was the capture by the British, in July, 1814, of the American fort at Prairie du Chien. Mr. Bulger has given us, in the preceding paper, in connection with which should be read the Dickson and Grignon Papers in Volumes X., XI., and XII., a review of events which occurred at that point just previous to the appearance of the Americans, his authority being papers in the Canadian archives at Ottawa. Late in May, or early in June, a body of about 200 American troops under Gen. William Clark, governor of Missouri Territory, built a creditable stockade here, and called it Fort Shelby. Lieut. Joseph Perkins was left in charge, with 60 rank and file, two gun-boats (each with a six-pounder), and six howitzers. The news of this movement reached Mackinaw June 21st, and Col. Robert McDouall, British commandant at that post, at once prepared to retake the place. In Volume XI., Douglas Brymner, Canadian archivist, gave us the first authentic detailed account of this successful expedition, amplifying and correcting Augustin Grignon's reminiscences in Volume III., and disproving the greater part of Thomas G. Anderson's boastful narrative in Volume IX. It will be remembered that the company sent forth from Mackinaw, by McDouall, was composed of French-Canadian traders and *engagés*, Indians and half-breeds, and English soldiers. The Indians, chiefly Sioux and Winnebagoes, had been recruited from the forest depths of Wisconsin by Robert Dickson, the



English trader — a picturesque character, who for several years had headquarters at Prairie du Chien, and engaged in operations extending to the sources of the Mississippi and far up the Minnesota. The expedition itself was in charge of Maj. William McKay, of the Mackinaw garrison,— the French and half-breeds being under command of their *bourgeois*, Joseph Rolette and Thomas G. Anderson, who held military commissions in the British Indian Department. The invading party went up the Fox and down the Wisconsin, receiving many recruits *en route*, until on its arrival at Prairie du Chien, July 7th, the force amounted to 650,— but of these, 500 were Indians, whom McKay reports to have “proved perfectly useless.” Perhaps the only advantage of having them on the roll was the fact that had their nominal assistance not been engaged they might have sadly harassed the English while threading the Fox-Wisconsin waterways.

The story of the siege is not an exciting one, despite McKay's savage demand on Perkins to “surrender unconditionally, otherwise to defend yourself to the last man.” Perkins at first refused to surrender, and there was some firing on both sides — the English having a four-pounder which had been brought along chiefly to amuse the Indians, but did effective service in driving off an American gunboat in the river. Thus left to his fate, Perkins finally surrendered on the 20th, on the promise of McKay to keep the Indians quiet — no small task this, for the savages were a howling mob, and making sad havoc with the fields and cabins of the peaceful dwellers on the prairie. The British position was weak, in view of possible attacks from below. Had Perkins held out a few days longer, it is likely that the invaders would have retired, for a detachment of troops under Lieutenant Campbell were actually on their way from St. Louis to relieve him; but he was un-informed as to the precariousness of the English position and the succor approaching him. As it was, McKay gave his prisoners their arms, and sent them down the river to their friends; while a band of Sacs, under his encourage-

ment, attacked the American relieving party three miles above the mouth of Rock river, wounding Campbell and driving the party back to St. Louis. The captured post he called Fort McKay, after himself, and on August 10 departed for Mackinaw, leaving the trader Anderson in charge; soon Anderson was relieved by Captain A. H. Bulger, of the regular army, who spent a dreary winter in holding treaties with visiting bands of savages, who adopted this diplomatic method of preying on the British commissariat.

The official news of the treaty of peace between the United States and England, signed at Ghent the 24th of December, 1814, did not reach Prairie du Chien until the 20th of May following — a period of five months. Bulger promptly sent word to the American garrison at St. Louis that he accepted the situation; Governor William Clark had desired him to await the arrival of a detachment of troops to take possession of the fort, but Bulger was becoming afraid of his Indian allies encamped on the prairie, and on the 24th beat a hasty but dignified retreat to Mackinaw, whence he and his men speedily betook themselves to Canada. And so ended the last British occupation of Wisconsin.

The following documents, telling the story of Captain Bulger's winter at Prairie du Chien, supplement material previously given, and apparently close this interesting chapter of our State history, so far as these *Collections* are concerned, for it is not probable that many more papers covering the episode remain unpublished. Reference was made to this collection of Bulger Papers, in our Volume XI., p. 258. The originals are in the Canadian archives at Ottawa; we are indebted to Alfred E. Bulger for the careful copies here published, for several foot-notes thereto, and for the following introductory note:

“There are published in this volume a number of interesting and valuable letters referring to the period that Prairie du Chien was occupied by British troops during the latter part of the war of 1812-15. The original documents form part of what is now known as ‘The Bulger Col-

lection of Letters' in the Canadian archives. Captain Bulger, who commanded at Fort McKay (Prairie du Chien) and on the Mississippi, during the period these documents allude to, was the only king's officer stationed at that distant post. He was born at St. John's, Newfoundland, November 30, 1789, and received his commission as ensign October 26, 1804, in the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, being promoted to the rank of lieutenant July 30, 1806. Having served seven or eight years, on detachment duty, in Newfoundland and the Lower Provinces, he was ordered to Quebec to join the headquarters of the regiment, where he was stationed on the breaking out of the war. The men of the Royal Newfoundland regiment were a fine lot of fellows; most of them being fishermen, they were both sailors and soldiers, and were actively employed as marines on board of armed vessels on the great lakes, serving in almost every engagement on land and water in the upper province. With detachments of his regiment, Lieutenant Bulger served in sixteen engagements. The principal were: Fort Detroit; Fort George; Stony Creek; the attack on the Americans by division of gunboats, November 2, 1813, under Captain Mulcaster, R. N.; Chrystler's Farm; repulse of the Americans at Mackinac, August 4, 1814; the capture by boarding, of the armed schooners 'Tigress' and 'Scorpion' September 3 and 6, 1814. In after years he received two silver war medals and three clasps for these engagements.

"On the twenty-eighth of October, 1814, Lieutenant Bulger was appointed to command of all the operations on the Mississippi, with headquarters at Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien—the local rank of captain was conferred, which was confirmed by general orders on February 23, 1815. Although suffering from an unhealed breast-wound, he embarked immediately for his distant station in an open boat and in severe weather, and assumed command. The garrison at Fort McKay consisted of six officers and 50 men of the Michigan Fencibles, 130 Mississippi Volunteers, and upwards of 40 Canadian *voyageurs*, with a small party of

artillerymen and soldiers of the line (trained as gunners) in charge of two three-pounder brass guns for field and boat service. Captain Anderson commanded the Mississippi Volunteers, Lieut. James Pullman the Michigan Fencibles, and Lieut. James Keating the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery; while the Western Indian Department was under the control of Robert Dickson, agent and superintendent, six officers, and six interpreters. The documents published below give a very clear and interesting insight into what occurred at Prairie du Chien, until the close of the war, when the British garrison dismantled and destroyed the fort, embarked in their boats, and departed for Mackinac."

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APPOINTED LIEUTENANT.

MICHILIMACKINAC,

17th October, 1814.

*Garrison Orders.*

Lieutenant Bulger, Royal Newfoundland Regiment<sup>1</sup> is appointed to the Command of Fort McKay, at Prairie du Chien, with the Rank of Captain—This Command of course invests Captain Bulger with the exclusive direction of all operations on the Mississippi —

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<sup>1</sup> In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 500, it is editorially stated: "A. H. Bulger was captain and Pullman second in command. The company belonged to the Newfoundland regiment, and not regulars as Mr. Grignon supposes." The Royal Newfoundland regiment were regulars, as any Army List of 1812-15, or London Gazettes of the same period, will prove beyond a doubt. Although raised in Newfoundland, the regiment belonged to the army, and all the commissions of the officers were signed by the King. I have one now before me on my table signed by Geo. III. Another error is made in stating that the company at Prairie du Chien belonged to the Newfoundland regiment. There was not a soldier of that regiment stationed at that post. The garrison was composed of volunteers (except a few men of the artillery and 81st Regt.) as follows: Mississippi Volunteers, commanded by Capt. T. G. Anderson; a detachment of Michigan Fencibles (McKay's regiment) under Lieut. Pullman; and the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery, under the command of Lieut. Keating. Captain Bulger was the only officer of the regular army at Prairie du Chien.—A. E. B.

*Instructions for Captain Bulger.*

The first object that will require your attention will be the quickest & most expeditious mode of reaching the [Mississippi] the season being so far advanced; the expediting Mr Dickson to the Saulks with the Presents, & endeavoring as much as may be in your power to promote a fair, equal, & judicious distribution of them, it being perhaps necessary at present, particularly to notice the Saulks, & to support them as much as possible, in consequence of their bravery, and good conduct, & of their being your advance guard, and stationed nearest the enemy, &c.

On your arrival at Fort McKay, you will assemble the Garrison, read your commission, & assume the command thereof. You will then direct your atten-

<p>* 1. Captain. 1. Lieutenant. 1. Ensign.</p>	<p>tion to the formation of another company of Sixty Rank &amp; file* of which you will be appointed Captain. Mr Keating to be Lieutenant; &amp; twenty of the company, or such other men of the Garrison as you may think best to be under his command as a corps of volunteer artillery, attached to, &amp; forming part of the Company; the Ensign to be appointed from one of the former volunteer Company's, or from Captain Anderson's, should he have three Subalterns.</p>
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The Troops may be granted the indulgence of working at your discretion, but I would recommend a regular Parade of all your Forces, fully armed & accoutred every Sunday, & availing yourself of the opportunity to give them such lessons in drill as they may most require. Your Garrison being composed of such motley materials it will be prudent, not only to maintain good order and discipline, but to acquire their regard & esteem. Your attention to the Indians, & doing your utmost to gain their affections & cultivate a good understanding with them, will appear to you of the utmost importance, as the spirit they have lately displayed properly cherished, will prove a certain safe-guard

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<sup>1</sup> No date, but probably written by Col. McDouall on October 29, 1814, the day on which Capt. Bulger left Michilimackinac for the Upper Mississippi.—A. E. B.

to the country, & form a barrier to your post, which the enemy will not be able to penetrate. You will assure them of my continual exertions to afford them every support & assistance from this garrison, & that their Great Father the King will never abandon them, is incessantly occupied in promoting their welfare, & will never lay down the hatchet, or make peace with the enemy, till their independence is secured & their lands & rivers & children secured from all future molestating—these assurances together with dwelling upon the Great power of the British Empire & encouraging them with the accounts of all the successful operations of the war have a good effect.

You will remind Mr. Dickson to communicate to the Indians who have been engaged with the last campaign, particularly the Follesavoines, Winnebagoes, Saulks, Scioux, &c., the high satisfaction which their Great Father at Quebec has derived from the devotion & determined bravery which they have displayed upon the occasion alluded to & that His Excellency doubts not they will continue to distinguish themselves by the same zealous exertions against the common enemy. Speeches sent to the different Tribes, expressive of these sentiments, Mr. Dickson will dispatch—

Care must be taken, that the contract entered into by

Mr. Rolette got two large Barrels of Salt.	}	Mr. Rolette is strictly abided by: that great attention is paid to the mode prescribed by Mr. Monk, the number of rations required being always certified by you, as
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well as the charges for the same by Mr. Rolette; his bills must be most minutely examined & proved to be correct, before you authorize their being forwarded to this Garrison for payment.

As the regular & punctual payment of the Troops & also the Indian Department is much to be desired, you will take some pains to effect what materially tends to encourage all in zealously doing their duty. The musters to be regular—the Pay Lists exact & correct as well as the accounts for Lodging money & Fuel money made up at the usual periods & according to the proper forms.

It would be desirable if two months' provisions could be always retained in the Fort, in case of emergencies. The supply of the Garrison not to be interfered with, or any demand on it for the Indians. Great caution & prudent management will be required in not keeping more Indians at Fort McKay, than can be avoided, or circumstances render necessary. The subject will require prompt & immediate consideration: the stay of too many Indians long at your Post. will soon devour the supplies, which will be permanently required for the Garrison. The idea of driving the Bullocks from below the Rock river may be acted upon to advantage. In all supplies furnished from [for] Govern't, its interest must be studied, & the preference given to those who agree to furnish at the cheapest rate. When there is no danger apprehended from the Enemy, you will not be able to feed the *Indians*, without consuming your resources. It will be necessary to retain a supply\* sufficient of Tobacco & Gunpowder, with some other goods, which you & Mr. Dickson will arrange accordingly.

You will do your utmost to prevent the depredations of the Indians. With regard to the indemnification of those who have already suffered, on passing Green Bay, it will be desirable to devote some hours' to the investigation of the losses sustained there,\* but only if it can be done without delaying the boats. You will assemble a Court of Enquiry at Fort McKay, & minutely ascertain the real losses of individuals, cautioning them, that if the demands are moderate, & not exceeding the fair value, I shall do my utmost to obtain remuneration, but any attempt at fraud, or to extort, will prevent a penny being allowed.

As an agent either has been, or probably will be appointed for the Indians of this district, of course the peculiar station of Mr. Dickson as agent for the Western Indians is amongst them on the Mississippi. As the recent attempt of the enemy to ascend that river may be

renewed,<sup>1</sup> & as it is necessary to be constantly prepared to repel them, the Indians, more immediately on the bank of that river, & in its vicinity, must be looked to, & by every possible means encouraged boldly & promptly to assemble to protect their country, & repulse the invaders. Every means should be taken to get the earliest information of such intention of the Enemy, that the Sauks, Renards, & Scioux may be supported with your whole force; the former nation, numerous & warlike, it will be always good policy to join, & not suffer them to be overpowered or their villages destroyed.

In the event of being attacked, & countenanced by the Garrison of Fort McKay, with their Field pieces, the Indians will probably augment around you in such numbers, as may not unlikely present an opportunity of inflicting a signal blow upon the Enemy. It will be highly impolitic to suffer the storm to approach too near the Prairie des Chiens; on the contrary, a resolute determination to encounter it at the rapids of the Rock River, the scene of former success, will afford every prospect of similar, or even more splendid triumphs. As the Tribes alluded to are reserved for your assistance, so those in the vicinity of Green Bay must be peculiarly set apart for the defence of this Island. You will, if possible, on your route, see Thomas, Tête de Chien, & other chiefs, with Mr. Dickson, and let that (for us) important point be settled, & understood beyond the possibility of mistake, & also the officers of the Department who are to bring them in, which should be done, the instant that the season admits: any lukewarmness, or want of zeal in *insuring us*

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<sup>1</sup> With a desire to retaliate on the Rock River Sacs for their treatment of Campbell, earlier in August (*ante*, pp. 11-12), Maj. Zachary Taylor set out from St. Louis late in that month, with some gunboats and a small infantry force. On arrival at Rock Island rapids, early in September, he found the British on hand, with several Creoles and their Indian allies. The Americans were badly defeated in the sharp fire, and finally retreated down river with a loss of eleven killed and wounded. See references to this affair, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 198, 199, 219-233, 254 & 255, 272.—Ed.



this re-enforcement, on which *we depend*, may be productive of most serious consequences, & will occasion a heavy responsibility. I doubt not, however, that Mr. Dickson & yourself will be able to arrange it in such a manner that we shall be certain of their assistance.

Eighteen Blank commissions signed by His Excellency the Governor, & Military Secretary are sent with Dickson. You will forward me a list of the Chiefs to whom they are given, copying the way in which they are filled up.

Express to Lieut. Brisbois of the Indian Department the high idea I entertain of his services, & my thanks for his invariable good conduct.

You will communicate to me every occurrence of importance, & arrange with Mr. Grignon at Green Bay. the quickest mode of conveying intelligence. You will not omit noting the zeal & good conduct of such of your Garrison, as distinguish themselves by their exertions.

Rt. McDOUALL, Lt. Col.

Com'g Michilimackinac and  
Dependancies.

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GRAHAM AND KEATING PROMOTED.

HEAD QUARTERS,

KINGSTON, UPPER CANADA,

31st October, 1814.

*General Orders.*

His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, and Commander of the Forces, having received the report of Lt. Col. McDouall, Glengary Lt. Infantry, of the repulse and defeat of a strong body of the enemy in an attempt to recover Fort McKay on the Mississippi, is pleased as a mark of his approbation, of the intrepidity and good conduct displayed upon that occasion, to appoint Lieut. Graham<sup>1</sup> to be a Captain in the Indian Department, and Serjeant Keating of the Royal Artillery to be Lieu't. Commanding the Mississippi

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Graham. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., xi., *passim*.—Ed.

Volunteer Artillery, and to invest the officer Commanding at Michilimackinac with the Command and Superintendence of the Indian Department at that Post, and of all British possessions on the Mississippi.

EDWARD BAYNES, M. Genl.  
and Adjutant General—  
North America.

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TO M'DOUALL.<sup>1</sup>

GREEN BAY LAKE MICHIGAN,  
14th Novemr., 1814.

SIR,—I have the satisfaction to report to you, the safe arrival [*at this place of*] all the boats under my command, after a most boisterous [*voyage*] of fourteen days. On the 9th inst. I overtook Corporal Morans [*and his party*] at Isle au Racio, where he had been detained by strong head winds, and for several days actually subsisting on the bark of the *bois tort*, his provisions having been all consumed. I was much surprised to find his boats so badly manned; and can assure you, it has proved a most fortunate circumstance that a storm obliged me to take shelter at Isle au Racio, for had I passed it unobserved by Moran, he destitute of provisions, and most wretchedly manned, in all probability never would have reached Green Bay, and the loss of the goods at this season of the year would have been irreparable. I really know not where to get provisions to take him & his party back, as this place, so far from being able to furnish a supply of wheat for the Garrison of Mackinac, as you have been lead to expect is absolutely in a state of famine. The depredations, or rather devastations of the Indians are most serious. They have actually impoverished the settlement; and nothing will, in my opinion preserve it from total ruin, but the establishment of a *depôt* here, from which the Indians can be supplied with

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<sup>1</sup>This letter is unfortunately incomplete, and I have written in brackets the words which I think were written on the parts torn off, which are missing.—A. E. B.

[*ammunition*,] and their families furnished with a little provisions [*during the*] absence of the Indians from home upon service. Unless [*something*] of this sort be adopted, they will continue to kill [*the cattle as*] often as their necessities require, and in the end [*we will*] have to abandon the place altogether. I have devoted [*as much*] time as the lateness of the season would permit, to the investigation of such losses as have already been sustained, but I am unable to send you a statement of them by this conveyance. It shall, however, be forwarded by the first express from Fort McKay.

On the 9th inst. I met Captain Graham of the Ind. Dept. who had been detached with a party of men from Fort McKay to meet our Brigade, & assist it in ascending the rapids; he was accompanied by 3 of the principal Sauk Chiefs, deputed by their nation to represent their wants, and to demand the assistance which they had been taught to expect. I am sorry as well as much surprised, to find that the quantity of ammunition sent with Mr. Dickson, is by no means adequate to supply one-fourth part of those Tribes who have claims upon us.

I understand that there are at least 20,000 persons, whose existence during the approaching winter, will entirely depend upon hunting; formerly they had Traders to resort to for assistance, and they were also in the habit of planting and securing a supply of corn; but this year they are deprived of both resources, the latter chiefly from being so often called from home. The Sauks in particular, who have given such striking proof of their zeal in the cause, & who received scarcely anything last year, I wish it was in my power to furnish amply, but I am concerned to find that it will not. Indeed, the little that will remain for them after the Winnibagoes, Follisavoines & others on our route have been supplied (all of whom stand in equal need, and have strong claims upon us), will be so far beneath what they expect and deserve, that I assure you, I have my fears for the effect which it may produce in their conduct towards us. A vast concourse of Indians of differ-

ent tribes, were assembled at this place when I arrived, and it was really a most distressing sight; men, women & children, naked and in a state of starvation. Many of them had been from home all the summer fighting for us, and now, on the approach of winter, to see them suffering all the horrors of want, without the power to relieve them, was distressing in the extreme. Even those brave fellows the Follesavoines<sup>1</sup> who behaved so nobly on the 4th August, were starving before my eyes, and I had not the means of relieving them. I have not yet seen either Thomas, or Tête de Chien,<sup>2</sup> who I understand are hunting on the Fox river.

The Pottewattamies & from Milwackie & other parts of Lake Michigan, are likewise repairing in great numbers to this quarter in hopes of obtaining supplies, but there will be none for them, without robbing others who have much stronger claims. In stating to you the situation of the country as it appears to me, and from the reports of Captn. Graham and others of the distressed state of those parts of it which I have not as yet seen—I feel it to be my bounden duty, to represent to you the absolute necessity of a further supply of Gunpowder, this fall, or in the course of the winter: the expedient has been before resorted to, and surely, when the safety of the country, and the good will of the Indian Tribes so materially depend upon it, it can again be adopted. Baptiste La Borde,<sup>3</sup> the bearer of this dispatch, has offered to convey to this place ere the navigation of the Lake closes, any quantity of Gunpowder which you may resolve to send me.

It is with Lieut. Pullman's boats have safely ascended the rapids

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<sup>1</sup> Menomonees.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas (styled Tomah, or Carron, by the French) was a Menomonee chief. Tête de Chien, or Dog's Head, was a Winnebago chief having a village at what is now Muscoda.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Baptiste la Borde, a brother-in-law of John Dousman, and a resident of Green Bay. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 133, 137, 139.— Ed.

TO JOSEPH ROLETTE.

FORT MCKAY, 23d Dec., 1814.

SIR.— It is not improbable that had your sending ammunition to the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, not been attended with such lamentable consequences, it might have passed unnoticed, but still the impropriety of the measure would remain the same. It was the occurrence of the fatal accident that first brought the subject before my notice. Until then I knew nothing of your having sent supplies to the Gens de la Feuille Tiré in opposition to Capt. Anderson's orders, and the wishes of the Sioux chief, La Feuille and the Little Corbeau, and it was not till then that I was made acquainted with the circumstances which induced me to order the Court of Enquiry.

It matters not what your motives were in sending supplies to those Indians. If you did it with the consent of the commanding officer, no blame can be attach to you; but on the other hand, if you sent against his wish, or without his consent, most certainly you have been greatly to blame: for it is acting in opposition to, and setting the constituted authorities of the Government at defiance, which, let what will be the plea, or motive, never can be countenanced.

My motive in ordering the Court of Enquiry was to give you an opportunity of saying what you might think necessary in extenuation of your conduct. I might have sent the reports to Mackinac in the form I received them from Capt. Anderson and Deace: but a wish to do you every justice induced me to retain them till the affairs was thoroughly investigated.

Your letter of this date which I suppose I am to consider as your reply to what has been advanced against you shall be forwarded to Mackinac with the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry.

I am, Sir, etc., etc.,

A. BULGER, Capt.,  
Commanding Fort McKay.*To Mr. Rolette.*

FROM ROLETTE.

SIR.—In reply to your note I have to say that if my sending to the Gens de la feuille Tire, had been looked as a crime by the Commanding officer, it was not necessary I should think to have waited till the fatal accident took place to produce a Court of Enquiry.

The only, and just plea I have, is that I wanted meat to supply my contract with government, to support the garrison, or else I never would have sent assistance to that tribe of Indians.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH ROLETTE.

23rd Dec., 1814.

Capt. A. H. Bulger.

SIR,—In looking over the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, I have to remark that when I advertized Captain Anderson of my sending to the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, it appears to me, that had he not seen the necessity of sending at that place he would have ordered me the contrary, as it was in his power to do so. The reply he made I understood was not to let Wabasha the Scoux Chief have knowledge of it.

As to what Mr. Brisbois says about reminding me that no body was to assist *these Indians* is incorrect and false, for he never spoke to me on the subject in the manner he states. Be assured that had I not thought myself sufficiently authorized by Capt. Andersons answer, I would not have sent in disobedience of orders.

In the interim,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH ROLETTE.

Capt. A. H. Bulger,  
Commanding.

26 Dec., 1814.

SIR,—It being most impossible for me to get some of the meat, which the Indians bring to this place, I must beg leave to obtain the permission of giving rum to the Indians for that article. You will observe, Rum to be drank out of this place.

My particular reasons to urge such permission is that on the 28th Inst. a good deal of meat was brought to this place & it has been impossible for me to get a pound, not being able to contend with Mr. Dickson in paying [for] that article with goods, and as few days ago I have seen some Indians drunk, in this place. I hope it will be in your power to grant my request.

I remain, with true regard,

Your obedient Servant,

JOSEPH ROLETTE.

*Capt. A. H. Bulger,*  
*Commanding,*  
*Fort McKay.*

30 Dec., 1814.

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TO M'DOUALL.

FORT MCKAY, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN,

30th December, 1814.

SIR,—I reached this place on the 30th nov:—From the moment of my departure from Green Bay, until my arrival here I experienced every misery in the power of cold and want to inflict; 'ere I had attained one half of my voyage, my stock of provisions was exhausted. At Green Bay it had been considerably lessened by the demands unavoidably made on it to support Corp. Morins party, and at the time I crossed Lac des Puans,<sup>1</sup> I had not a mouthful left to eat. The little assistance which Mr. Dickson's slender stores enabled him to give, was freely given, but of a kind of food I was but little accustomed to, & which in my weak state of health I could not make use of. I suffered more Sir, during this voyage than you can at all imagine—much more than ever I suffered during the whole course

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<sup>1</sup> Lake Winnebago.—ED.

of my life before. You will be able to form some idea not only of my situation, but also that of the whole party, when I inform you that the morning on which we left the Portage to descend the Wisconsin, at that time full of floating ice, there was not a meal of victuals in any of the Boats. The Indians were unable to give us any assistance, they were themselves in a starving condition owing to the want of ammunition. For near six weeks they had been waiting anxiously along the Banks of the River, for Mr. Dickson, and altho' they hailed him as their preserver from death, reproaches would now and then escape them at his having left them so long to suffer. They appeared to be struck with consternation when they saw the small portion of supplies allotted to them. Many said they feared they would not be able to see the winter out, and that their families would starve. I endeavored thro' Mr. Dickson to encourage them with the hope of better times, telling them to be of good cheer, as this would be the last winter they would experience any misery. We explained to them the causes why a greater supply had not been sent, but they seem'd incredulous and said we had made them the same promises every year and they had never been fulfilled.

In obedience to your instructions I desired Mr. Dickson to communicate to the *Folles-Avoines* & *Winibagoes* at a council which I attended of those nations, the satisfaction which His Excellency derived from their good conduct throughout the last campaign, which appeared to be highly gratifying to them. I also caused it to be imparted to them that their service would again be required at Mackinac in the coming spring, they replied that they would be all ready to act any part their father directed. I think it proper to state to you the sentiments which seem'd universally to prevail amongst them. They expressed great dissatisfaction with their treatment at Mackinac last summer, on my desiring an explanation, they said they had been starved, whilst the stores are full of provisions for they saw them, they said, with their own eyes. I desired



Mr. Dickson to explain to them that they were mistaken, that there was a very small quantity of provisions in the stores, prior to the arrival of the schooners and that the uncertainty of receiving further supplies demanded the utmost frugality and economy. I shall take care that Mr. Dickson sends a message to those Indians in time to enable them to be at Mackinac as early as the ice will allow. Orders will be sent at the same time to L<sup>ts</sup>. Law & Grignon to accompany them. Neither Thomas or Tété de Chien were present at the council, but I saw them both afterwards. The latter is thought to be a worthless fellow & has very little influence over his nation, but Thomas who is here hunting I believe to be a staunch & faithful Indian. What Mr. Dickson intends doing in the spring? whether he will remain here, or go with the Folle-Avoines &c to Mackinac, I know not. I gave him a copy of that part of your instructions which relates to his remaining on the Mississippi. All he said was that His instructions from the commander in Chief left him at liberty to go to whatever place he thought proper. Indeed I every day see a stronger necessity for some fixed & positive instructions being sent respecting him and his department. Those you have already furnished me with leave me much in the dark on many points, and what he has shown me from Sir Geo. Provost seem so full & extensive I could not do otherwise than hesitate 'ere I order anything contrary thereto. Mr. Dickson submitted for my approval the appointment of 2 interpreters, one for the Saulks, the other for the Sioux, which I approved of as there was only one employed for the former nation & two for the latter, and the service requiring 3 for each. In the accounts for fuel and Lodging money I shall send in, you will perceive the names of Capt. Dease & Lt. La Puche, alias St. John.<sup>1</sup> I did not know that either of them belonged to the Indian Department until Mr. Dickson informed me of the circumstance & that you had approved of Capt. Dease receiving pay as a Captain, and of his being at the head of the In-

<sup>1</sup> Styled La Perche, in documents in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., xii., q. v. — ED.

dian Department here in Mr. Dickson's absence. In consequence of this information, and there being no militia embodied here at present, I thought it best to desire Capt. Dease might be returned for fuel and Lodging money amongst the officers of the Indian Department, until your pleasure was known thereon, and I should not do justice to that Gentleman, if I omitted stating to you my real opinion of his worth and service. I consider him as worth one half the Indian Department put together.

With respect to the other officer, Lieut. La Puche I have to remark that in answer to my enquiries on the subject, Mr. Dickson informed me that Mr. La Puche drew pay, etc. at Mackinac last summer as a Lieutenant in the Indian Department to which he acted as commissary. Another thing I consider as improper, which is Mr. La Puche's being a Trader in the Country, and at the same time an officer in the Indian Department. On this subject Mr. Dickson informed me that his Lieuts. and other officers should be allowed to carry on their customary traffic with the Indians.

I have the honor to enclose you the result of our enquiries into the depredations committed by the Indians in the settlement of Green Bay, amounting to the enormous sum of £2,981-2-6 curry. tho' I have reason to believe from all the information I could obtain, that it is not exaggerated.

On assuming the command of this Garrison I found everything in such a confused state, as to place it totally out of my power to put the accounts for the back period into any regular form. Capt. Anderson, I am well convinced did everything for the best & merits every praise, but totally unacquainted as he was with the rules and customs of the service, his having deviated therefrom can not excite much surprise. I am only astonished how he got on so well as he did, with such difficulties as he had to encounter. On my arrival the Barrack was a mere shell & in no state to put men into it. Not one room was finished. To render them habitable, I have been obliged to employ workmen from the town in addition to such as I could procure amongst the Troops. The Guard house was entirely

open. No sentry Boxes were built. The gate was out of order, the block-houses, and in short everything was unfinished and must remain so for sometime, for there is such difficulty in procuring not only workmen, but material that it will take at the rate we go on now at least 18 months to make the repairs & alterations which are indispensable. Besides the expense will be incalculable — material must be sent from Mackinac, the wood alone can be had here at a high price. The soldiers cannot be sent to provide it, as it would be highly imprudent to send them any distance from the Fort on account of the diff't. bands of Indians in the neighbourhood, some of whom being decidedly in favour of the Americans, might cut off any small party we sent. There is neither magazine or store in the Fort, & the well sunk by the Americans has never been found to answer — You will now see what a situation we should be in, should the Fort be invaded, in reality it never could hold out, and the best thing to be done, if we fail in keeping the Enemy down the rapids — would be to blow up the Fort & make our escape in the best manner we could, for to remain would be only sacrificing the Troops to no purpose. Besides it would give the Enemy the trouble of building another Fort, during which time the Indians, if so inclined, might harass them & perhaps force them to abandon the place altogether.

With respect to the probability of an attack on this place next summer, I am of opinion one will be attempted, and that the Enemy will bring up a large force. An Indian a Sioux who had been a prisoner in St. Louis returned to this place about 10 days ago, & informed us that the Enemy certainly intended another attack on this place & that they would come up by land & by water & would be accompanied by the Indians of the Missouri, who had all gone over to their interests. I shall endeavour to obtain timely notice of their design, so as to make up my mind upon what is best to be done, but whether I shall have it in my power to meet them at the Rock River is a question I cannot answer. You must not be surprised if you hear the want

of provisions prevented our doing anything. Another difficulty will occur for the want of ammunition for the Indians owing to the small supply sent here this season — it will scarcely enable the Indian to support his family the winter, & by the spring I expect neither the Sauks or any others will have a charge of powder left, of this circumstance the Enemy may receive information thro' some of the disaffected Indians, of which there are a good number, and avail himself thereof to attempt ascending the river. Should I take down the whole of my force (and it is so small I cannot think of dividing it) This Fort will remain without any but militia to defend it, and would should the Enemy force his way up the rapids, (which I find is not quite as difficult as has been stated) fall an easy conquest. For should they pass us there, it will be impossible for us to get to the Fort before him.

With respect to the regular payments of the troops. I thought I should have been able to effect it thro' Mr. Rollette, he agreed to issue his Bons<sup>1</sup> on condition that the men should lay them out at his store & not as they pleased. I thought this so very unjust, that I immediately decided upon having nothing to do with him or his. The only possible method I could devise to pay the men was by Govt Bons (a form of which is enclosed) & as the Pay Lists & vouchers will always be sent to Mackinac 'ere the Bons or Bills reach there, there cannot I think be any objection to continuing this mode of payment. Whatever purchases are made for Gov't here will in the first instance be paid for by Bons, the vouchers properly receipted & certified, will be forwarded to Mackinac, which will enable Mr. Monk<sup>2</sup> to answer the Bills that may be drawn.

I shall send by this express the Lodging money returns from 25 June to 24 Dec. also the Fuel Returns up to the same period, all signed & certified, with sundry vouchers, all of which will I hope meet with your approbation.

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<sup>1</sup> Notes of hand. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., pp. 274, 275, for fac-similes of paper money (familiarily styled *bons*, or "goods") issued by the British authorities in Canada, in 1812-15.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Monk, deputy assistant commissary-general at Mackinac.— Ed.

I have been obliged to make most of them out myself, which has been no easy task in my sickly state, for since my arrival here I have been at times exceedingly unwell. Mr. Pulman has not been able to give me much assistance as yet, being confined to his bed.

I found Lt. Brisbois of the Indian Department, doing the duty of overseer of works, with the pay of 5<sup>s</sup> per day granted him by Capt. Anderson, who was unable to attend to everything himself. But as Mr. Brisbois' services were wanted in his own Dept. I discontinued him from the works & appointed Bomr. Patterson to oversee the workmen with the pay of 1½ p' day. I also appointed Walsh 81 Regt. Garrison Serj. Major with the pay of 1½ P. day in consequence of his activity & attention during the voyage here, & there being a necessity for some person to drill the Troops.

If any part of the foregoing Letter should excite y.<sup>r</sup> surprise, how will that surprise be increased at what I am now going to report to you. You having mentioned to me prior to my departure from Mackinac that I was coming to a plentiful country, leads me to believe that you have been greatly misinformed respecting this place. I think it necessary to state to you in a few words the condition in which I have found it. This country, Sir, is without resources, it cannot support 20 men, much less than 60. The Inhabitants are miserably poor, ruined by the depredations of the rascally Puants & other Indians, they have now actually nothing left. Nor are there 10 head of cattle in the whole place, whereas it formerly could boast of near 400 head. The eager anxiety of Mr. Rolette to get a Garrison established here, that he might improve his fortune by it, hurried him into signing a contract which he now regrets, and is unable to fulfil. I am but too well convinced, not only from his general character, but also from his conduct here, that the motives which induced him to enter into the contract were these — he imagined if he once succeeded in getting a Garrison established here, that he would be able to dictate his own terms & price for whatever it might want & could not do without. With these views & the hope of

filling his pockets with Govt. money, he signed an agreement which he now finds himself unable to fulfil. Mr. Rolette has represented to me that, notwithstanding all his efforts he is hopeless from disappointments in every quarter of being able to fulfil the terms of his contract & that it will be as much as he can do to furnish the Garrison until the last of April or beginning of May. I believe however (much as I have cause to find fault with him for deceiving you on a subject of such importance) that he has done his best & spared no expence or trouble to complete his contract, indeed his anxiety on that head led him, contrary to orders, to send supplies to the disaffected Band of Sioux called the Gens de la Feuille Tiré.

Mr. Rolette asked me whether Govt. on being convinced he had done his utmost to fulfil the contract, would remit the penalty under which he was bound. And that if I thought so, he would still go on, and fulfil it as far as was in his power, but that if I thought the penalty would not be remitted, unless he abided by the strict terms of his agreement vez: to furnish a years Provisions, that it would be better for him to give it up at once and pay the penalty rather than go on increasing expences, & have to pay it in the end. I told him it was not in my power to give any decisive answer on the subject, but that I thought Govt. would act generously towards him, and that if it appeared that the failure in the terms of the contract was not owing to any want of expence or exertion on his part, but rather to the deficiency of resources in the Country, I was convinced Govt. would not deal hardly towards him, as it would have been ruination to us had he stopped furnishing the Garrison at this time of year. I desired him to persevere in his endeavors to fulfil his agreement & that I would represent his case to you.

I trust Sir, you will now be convinced of the impossibility of keeping a post here without assistance from Mackinac. This country cannot support a Garrison & those who told you otherwise are actuated by interested motives. We have not at this moment an ounce of flour or meat in the

store, nor have we the least prospect of getting any. Provisions are so very scarce here, that the officers of the Indian Department get no rations, and we are very often a fortnight without tasting meat of any kind. The only thing the Inhabitants have is a little flour, which they will not sell. They keep it to exchange for such other articles of food & clothing they may want. If I were to offer 20 Dols for a cwt. of flour, I do not think it could be got, for money is of no use to the inhabitants, as they can get nothing for it.

In justice to myself I must also inform you that the Michigans are not the soldiers we ought to have here if we mean to retain the post. I would rather have 40 Regular soldiers than 100 of such men as the Michigans. The Indians to see the difference between them and Regulars. They in fact look upon them with contempt, having known them as voyageurs, they never can look upon them in the light of British soldiers.

The Blank Parchment commissions which you sent out by Mr. Dickson have not yet been given out. From the manner in which they are worded, they do not appear to me to be intended for Indians. I have therefore desired Mr. D. to keep them by him until I hear from you on the subject.

In consequence of the uniform zeal & activity shown by Interpreter Jos. Renville of the Indian Department in the various services in which he has been employed, & especially since my arrival here, I have approved of his being appointed a Lieut. in that Dept. from the 25 Inst. until your pleasure be known thereon.

As there was no possibility of carrying on the service without a commiss'y, I have appointed Lt Pullman of the M. F. to act as commiss'y & Barrack-Master until your approbation be known, or a regular comm'y appointed, and promised that I would recommend his being allowed 5 s p. day during the period he performs those duties.

As it is my wish that you should be made acquainted with everything I do here in my public capacity, I shall have the honor to enclose you copies of all letters to and

from me on public business, as well as copies of all the Garrison orders &c. which I have from time to time issued. All of which will I hope be approved of by you, if not, I beg you will point out such parts wherein I have erred.

I have enclosed a copy of the contract entered into by Captain Anderson with Mr. Rolette for wood for the Garrison, which I find will not be sufficient for the winters consumption. But I have desired the officers to draw as little as they possibly can, & am in hopes by that means to make the quantity last out the Winter. On my arrival here we found about 200 Indians, waiting for their presents, to save the Fences from being burnt by them, there being no wood within many miles of this place, I ordered a few cords to be furnished for their use. It was also necessary to expend some in keeping constant fires in the Rooms where the masons were at work, which will be charged to the Eng Dep't. I find it impossible to carry into effect the plan for raising another Company of volunteers, altho' I explained to the people that they would only be required to turn out once a week, & on the 24th, and on particular occasions when it would be necessary for the defence of this place. In consequence I have directed Capt. Anderson to include Lt. Keating in his Pay Lists.

The clothing sent to this place by Mr. Monk has been delivered out to the Michigan F. and Volunteers, the latter were quite naked, & I suppose were entitled to some kind of clothing from Gov't, if so, they cannot be charged with what they have received. There are a few of the Michigan F. that never rec'd any trowsers from Gov't with their red coats, are they to be charged with the pair given to them here? A supply of necessaries will be required for the Troops here, as a Soldiers pay will not keep him in shoes at the rate that article is sold in this place, a pair of shoes cost 6 dollars here.

Your order of the 17th act respecting the payment of the Western Indian Dep't. has not been complied with, as Mr. Dickson says it will be impossible to do it, on account of the difficulty of getting the signatures of all his officers.



I will thank you to order the Comm'y & Barr'k-M'r to forward to this post, forms of such vouchers & Returns as may be necessary in their respective Departments, vez.:

From the Commissary.

- 1st. Form of vouchers for supplies.
- 2nd. Form of provisions Returns.
- 3rd. Form of vouchers for paying the officers, & for serving of candles.

With any others Mr. Monk may think necessary.

From the Barrack-Master.

1. Form of official Return, to be made out every 2 months, mentioning the period between which they are to be made up.
2. Winter allow'ce of fuel to officers &c &c what period does it commence & end.
3. Summer do, and when it commences & ends.
4. Form of Lodging money Returns.
5. Scale to calculate broken periods of Lodging money.
6. Will it be sufficient for Mr. Pulman to sign the lodging & fuel rations as acting Bk-Master.

Should you disapprove of the move I have adopted for paying the troops by Bons. Mr. Monk might furnish to me a certain form of Govt Bons, which would be much easier & safer mode of payment, & would be more acceptable to the men and Inhabitants. It will also be necessary for Mr. Monk to forward some stationary for the public service as none can be had here.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient, Humble servant

A. BULGER Capt.

Comm'g Fort McKay.

*Lt. Col. McDouall,*

*Commanding*

*Michilimackinac & Dependencies.*

FORT MCKAY, 31st Decem<sup>r</sup> 1814.

SIR:—I am sorry to have to report to you an unfortunate occurrence which has recently taken place here a short time ago. On the 8th inst, Two men, whom Mr. Rolette had sent to the camp of Les Gens de la Feuille Tiré,<sup>1</sup> for meat, were returning to this place, accompanied by an Indian of that band, who taking advantage when the two men had lain down to sleep, seized their arms fired at them and fled. One of the men lived about 3 hours; the other, who was Mr. Rolette's brother-in-law, contrived to reach this place after walking about 24 miles. He had been shot through the lower part of the body and died on the fourth day after enduring a great deal of pain.

As this was the first insult offered since a British Garrison had been here, and by a dastardly set who had been publicly declared Americans. I thought it necessary that some steps should be taken to convince them that we were determined to punish their infamous conduct, as well as to show the other nations that such an atrocious act would not remain unpunished. I accordingly on the 12th detached a party of about eighty men of the Michigans, Volunteers, & Militia, and about a dozen Fellesavoine Indians, with several officers of the Indian Department to the camp of Les Gens de la Feuille tiré in search of the murderer. They returned on the 15th inst. without him, he had fled almost immediately to another part of the country, fearing that death which he knew he deserved. According to his orders, Capt. Graham, who had charge of the party, brought in the chief of the Band, as a hostage for the delivery of the murderer. I have got the chief confined in the Fort, his friends & relations are now busy searching for the murderer, & according to their custom, will, in all probability, soon appear here with him or his head.

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<sup>1</sup>La Feuille Tiré (Fire-leaf) was the French designation of the Sioux chief, Wabasha, whose village was on the Mississippi, on the site of the modern city of Winona, Minn. This Wabasha was the son of the chief of the same name who assisted the British in the Revolutionary War, and probably father of the one who figured in the Black Hawk War.—ED.

After this unfortunate circumstance took place, I was informed by Capt<sup>ns</sup> Anderson & Deace that Mr. Rolette had sent powder and Ball to the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, contrary to the orders of the Commanding officer, and to the wishes of Wabasha (La Feuille) and the little Corbeau, who had desired at a public council, that those Indians should not be assisted, as they knew their intentions to be bad. In consequence of which information I directed a Court of Enquiry to assemble to investigate the affair, the proceedings of which I have the honor to enclose, with the letters which Mr. Rolette addressed to me on the subject, and my answers thereto; which will enable you to form your judgment.

There is no doubt but that La Feuille on hearing of this affair, which has been communicated to him by a message sent by one of the Interpreters, will immediately cut off the whole of the Gens de la Feuille Tiré. He has an old grudge against them they killed his brother, and one of the young men lately murdered was his nephew, whose father was also killed by the same band. La Feuille, as well as the Little Corbeau, had more than once requested leave to attack & distroy them, but had not obtained it. They will now I think, wait for no ones permission.

The Gens de la Feuille Tiré, are Scoux, who have withdrawn from La Feuille's Band, and are every where known as friends of the Americans.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

A. H. BULGER,

Capt Com'g Fort McKay.

To Lt. Col. McDouall,

Commanding

Michilimackinac, &c.

FROM DICKSON.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, 31<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1814.

SIR,—The troubled state of this country, induces me, to submit to you the immediate necessity of declaring Martial Law. I have to congratulate you on your spirited exertions in quelling the Mutiny of this day in Fort McKay, I cannot sufficiently express my satisfaction, for the able assistance that you have uniformly afforded me in the Department to which I belong.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be,

Sir:

Your obedient and humble servant,

R. DICKSON.

Agt. to the West<sup>rn</sup>. Indians and  
Supt. Conquered Countries.

*Captain Bulger, R. N. Rt.,  
Commanding Fort McKay  
and on the Mississippi.*

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MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED.

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas, it is necessary from the disturbed state of the Country that Martial Law should be declared. I do, by virtue of the Power and Authority vested in me, hereby proclaim Martial Law to be in force throughout the Country from the date hereof, of which all Officers, Civil and Military, and all persons whatsoever, are to take notice and Govern themselves accordingly —

Given under my hand in

Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien,

the 31<sup>st</sup>. December, 1814 —

A. BULGER, Captain,  
Commanding  
on the Mississippi.

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<sup>1</sup> See Dickson's letter to Lawe, of same date, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 122, 123. The mutineers were of the Michigan Fencibles; the ring-leaders received 150 lashes each, which "had a most surprising effect on them, and they begin to look like soldiers."—ED.

## TWO COURTS MARTIAL.

Proceedings of a Garrison Court Martial held by order of Capt. Bulger R<sup>l</sup> Newfoundland Reg<sup>t</sup> Commanding at Fort McKay and on the Mississippi.

FORT MCKAY 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1815

President

Captain Thos. G. Anderson, Mississippi Volunteers

Members

Lieut. James Pullman of the Michigan Fencibles

Lieut. James Keating of the Mississippi Volunteers

The court being duly sworn proceeded.

Charges to the trial of La Seur Dupuis, Private Soldier in the Michigan Fencibles, Confined by Order of the Commanding Officer of Fort McKay "For Conduct tending to excite Mutiny & disturbance among the Troops Comprising the Garrison of Fort McKay on the 31<sup>st</sup> day of December 1814."

1<sup>st</sup> Evidence. Serjeant Amable Dusang of the Mississippi Volunteers, having been duly sworn gave evidence that, on the 31<sup>st</sup> Decr 1814 he being then Serjt. of the Guards, the Garrison Serjt. Major Ordered him to take a file of men and Confine Private Bonnai of the Michigan Fencibles for having struck the Serjt. Major he Serjt. Dusang ordered the Prisnor, then one of the Guard, who refused in saying he would not go.

2<sup>nd</sup> Evidence. Serjt. Major Walsh being duly sworn corroborates the evidence of Serjt. Dusang.

3<sup>rd</sup> Evidence. Captain Bulger being duly sworn says that on Saturday the 31<sup>st</sup> Decr. on the Parade he ordered Dubruille Private in the Michigan Fencibles, out of the ranks to be confined, Dubruille was standing next the prisnor, the prisnor Said he had not refused to take Bonnai when the prisnor pushed Dubruille and said to him

"What are you affraid," in an insolent & hauty manner as if he had gloried in what he had done.

Defence. The Prisiner being put on his Defence says he acknowledges having refused to take Bonnai to the Guard House, as he had been informed that the men in the Barracks were determined not to let him be taken.

Opinion and Sentence. The Court having maturely weighed and considered the Evidence against the Prisiner La Seur Dupuis, private in the Michigan Fencibles, with what he had said in his defence, is of opinion that the said La Seur Dupuis is guilty of the charge exhibited against him,—viz— for conduct tending to Excite Mutiny and disturbance amongst the Troops composing the Garrison of Fort McKay, on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1814 being in breach of the articles of war and by virtue of the Authority therein given, doth therefore adjudge him the said La Seur Dupuis to receive a corporal punishment of three hundred Lashes in the usual manner at such time and place as the Commanding Officer shall direct.

The court finding from circumstances that the bad conduct of the prisiner proceeds more thro' ignorance than anything else begs leave to recommend him to the clemency of the Commanding Officer

THOS. G. ANDERSON,  
Capt. M. Volunteers  
& President.

Confirmed  
A. BULGER Capt  
Commanding.

Proceedings of a Garrison Court Martial held by Order of Captain Bulger R<sup>l</sup> Newfoundland Regt. Commanding Fort McKay and on the Mississippi.

FORT MCKAY, 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan. 1815.

President

Captain Thos. G. Anderson Mississippi Volunteers.

Members

Lieut. James Pullman of the Michigan Fencibles

Lieut. James Keating of the Mississippi Volunteers

Charge. The Court being duly sworn proceeded to the trial of Hypolite Senecal Private Soldier in the Michigan Fencibles confined by order of the Commanding officer of Fort McKay for conduct tending to excite Mutiny and Disturbance amongst the Troops comprising the Garrison of Fort McKay on the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1814

1<sup>st</sup> Evidence. Louis Dubruille private in the Michigan Fencibles being duly sworn says that on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> Decr: 1814, he was on Guard, & Seeing Hypolite Senecal the prisinor Standing in one of the Barrack room Doors with a knife in his Belt asked him what that was for, the prisinor turned about and said no man should take Bonnai, private in the Michigan Fencibles prisinor.

2<sup>nd</sup> Evidence. Olivia Degardin private in the Michigan Fencibles being duly Sworn gave Evidence Corroborating the first evidence with this difference that the prisinor he saw Standing in the Barrack Room Door had a Bayonet under his Cloak and Said "this will serve some one let anyone come now to take Bonnai."

3<sup>rd</sup> Evidence. William Dickson Volunteer, Ind. Department being duly Sworn Says that on Saturday the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1814, Standing near the Barrack Room Door [he] heard the prisinor Say, that the Serjt. Major, who was then on Parade, had a womans face a Ball would be well n his Belly.

4th Evidence. Colin Campbell Interpreter in the Ind. Dpt. being duly Sworn his evidence Corroborates that of William Dickson.

Defence. The Prisinor being put on his defence says he has nothing to do in the business, and brought Serjt. Dusang as a Witness. But Serjt. Dusang Says he has no knowledge of what he did or said on the subject.

Opinion & Sentence. The [Court] having maturely weighed and considered the Evidence against the prisinor Hypolite Senecal private in the Michigan Fencibles, with what he has Said in his defence is of Opinion that the Said Hypolite Senecal is guilty of the charge exhibited against him, viz—for conduct tending to excite mutiny and Disturbance amongst the Troops Comprising the Garrison of Fort McKay on the 31st Decr. 1814—being in breach of the Articles of War and by virtue of the Authority therein given, Doth therefore adjudge him the said Hypolite Senecal to receive a corporal punishment of three hundred Lashes in the usual manner at Such time and place as the Commanding Officer shall direct.

The Court finding from Circumstances that the bad Conduct of the prisoner proceeds more thro' ignorance than anything else, beg leave to recommend him to the Clemency of the Commanding Officer.

THOS G. ANDERSON,  
—Capt M. Volunteers  
& President

Confirmed  
A. BULGER Captn  
Commanding

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TO THE TROOPS.

FORT MCKAY, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1815.

*Garrison Orders.*

The commandant has assembled the militia this day, to witness the punishment of two men, who, forgetting their first and primary duty as soldiers have dared to violate the Law of their Country, in an attempt to excite a mutiny



amongst the Troops & thereby endanger the peace & security of His Majesty's possessions in this part. Such a flagrant crime on the part of men sent here for the defence of the post,—& which in any other place would have been punished with death — cannot fail to strike you all with astonishment & indignation, & must force you to acknowledge that the punishment you have seen inflicted was both just & necessary.

It was with extreme regret that the Commandant found himself obliged to have recourse to those measures of severity for the preservation of this important post, and flatters himself that the example which has this day been made will have the desired effect on the future conduct of the Garrison.

A. H. BULGER, Capt.  
Commanding.

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FROM ROLETTE.

PRAIRIE DES CHIENS, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1815.

SIR,—From the abominable charge against me this morning publicly made by Robert Dickson, I cannot but feel hurt when I consider where I sprung from, the conduct of my brothers and mine since the beginning of the war when employed.

I now address you to beg you should, (if possible) pre-  
side at the Court of Enquiry, to see me justice done, as in my conscience I dread nothing of the charge; and to beg of you to enquire into the character of the witnesses of Robert Dickson, and the terms they have been on with me since few years past.

From the moment I came to this Country. this Robert Dickson has always tried to injure me and family, he has been the ruin of some others. who as well as me would not allow him to assume an authority unbecoming.

I beg you will assemble every respectable inhabitant of this place and ask them before I have an opportunity of

seeing them, if I have ever advised them anything prejudicial to the government under which I am born.

My writing to you before the investigation takes place, may perhaps lead you to think that I am uneasy. On the contrary. I now perceive that this Robert Dickson must have prejudiced you against me, from your leaving my house without cause, which in this moment hurts me more than anything else.

In the hope that you will comply with my request.

I remain Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

*Captain Bulger.*  
*Commanding*  
*Fort McKay.*

JOSEPH ROLETTE

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TO ROLETTE.

FORT MCKAY, 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1815.

SIR,—In a matter of such serious moment as to involve the character or life of any individual I never shall be found wanting in the sincere and ardent wish to render every justice, most certainly not in your case from former acquaintance, and the regard I have for your brother.

I do not mean to commit the decision of such an important affair to anyone. I intend presiding at the investigation myself, and you may rely on it that strict justice shall be done you.

When the charge was first made known to me this morning, prior to the parade, I certainly felt astonished. But the duty I owe my Sovereign, acting here as his Representative, rendered it totally impossible for me to avoid noticing it, had the person accused even been my own Brother.

No person has power to prejudice me against any one—that is a thing I never would allow—you are wrong therefore in attributing my not going to your house to any man's instigation, clear yourself of the charge made against you

& you will find that no one has power to sway me contrary to my own judgment.

I am,  
Sir,  
Your obedient Servant.

A. BULGER. Capt.  
Commanding.

*Mr. Joseph Rolette.*  
*Prairie des Chiens*

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DICKSON ARRAIGNS ROLETTE.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 1815.

SIR,— On the 2<sup>nd</sup> Instant on parade in Fort McKay, I publicly charged Joseph Rolette, native of Quebec, with treasonable practices against Our Sovereign Lord the King, and I pledged myself to prove the same by evidence.

These charges are seditious words & discourses tending to excite insurrection against his Majesty's Government— also illicit illegal and dangerous conduct towards the Indians his Majesty's allies. I request you Sir, Commanding Fort McKay, and on the Mississippi, to order a Court of that nature you may deem expedient, to investigate these charges.<sup>1</sup>

I trust that I will prove to the satisfaction of the Court why some of the charges have been delayed until this time I have the honor to be.

Sir.

Your most obedient Servant.

R. DICKSON.

Agt to the West<sup>n</sup> Indians,  
& Supnt Conquer'd Countries.

*To Capt<sup>n</sup> Bulger R. N. R.*  
*Commanding Fort McKay,*  
*& on the Mississippi.*

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<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of the court of inquiry, held January 5, are given in full in *Mich. Pion. Colls.*, xvi., pp. 2 *et seq.* The court, consisting of Bulger, Anderson, Pullman, and Keating, acquitted Rolette.— Ed.

## ROLETTE'S ANSWER.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, 3<sup>d</sup> Jan., 1815.

SIR,—I have received the charge against me by Robert Dickson which I hope will prove false on examination. This is to request of having the liberty of bringing forward on my behalf the most respectable inhabitants of this place to distroy the infamous charge by having advised them to the contrary of what I am accused of.

As I have at all times of the day business at the Farm to draw flour or other articles, I have to request the permission to go at leasure when called by business. Be assured that I look upon myself too innocent of the charge to stay away or wish to avoid examination. The only regret I have is that the period appointed is rather distant.

I am Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JOSEPH ROLETTE.

P. S.—Is it contrary to law to ask for the names of the Evidence that are to appear against me, as I might be able to distroy their testimony.

Your &amp;c

J. ROLETTE.

*Capt. A. H. Bulger,*  
*Commanding,*  
*Fort McKay.*

## A COURT-MARTIAL CALLED.

*A Proclamation.*

Whereas an accusation has been exhibited by Robert Dickson, Esq., Agent and Superintendent of the Western Nations, on the part of our Sovereign Lord The King, against Joseph Rolette, native of Quebec, in the words and manner following:

"I charge Joseph Rolette, native of Quebec and now residing at the Prairie des Chien, with seditious words and discourse tending to excite insurrection against His

Majesty's Government; also illicit, illegal and dangerous conduct towards the Indians, His Majesty's allies, and I pledge myself to prove the same by evidence."

And whereas it is necessary as well for the future sake of the accused, as for the security of His Majesty's Possessions in this part, that the said accusation should be forthwith examined and enquired into. I have thought fit to direct prior to any other steps being taken, that the said charge be made the subject of investigation before a Military Court of Enquiry, to be assembled for that purpose on Thursday next the 5th instant at 9 o'clock in the morning at Fort McKay. And for the more effectual ascertaining the truth of the said charges. The Court is hereby empowered to examine into the same upon oath. Of which all persons bound to give Evidence thereon or in any manner concerned are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand in Fort McKay,  
Prairie des Chiens the 3d January, 1815.

A. BULGER, Captain,  
Commanding Fort McKay and  
British Possessions on the  
Mississippi.

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FORT MCKAY, 6th January, 1815.

SIR,—Antoine Dubois and Louis Champagney, two of His Majesty's late subjects of the Prairie des Chiens, having on or about the 8th ultimo been most cowardly and treacherously murdered by Chunksah, an Indian of the band of Sioux, known by the name of the "Gens de la Feuille Tiré:"<sup>1</sup> and the Chiefs and others of that band, having this day brought the murderer and delivered him up to justice.

And it being not only proper, but absolutely necessary for the future security of His Majesty's subjects in this quarter, and as an awful warning to the surrounding

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<sup>1</sup> See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 122, for Dickson's report of this affair.—ED.

nations, that such an atrocious and deliberate murder should not pass unpunished: I do, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me as Commanding Officer of Fort McKay and the British Possessions on the Mississippi, hereby authorize you to convene a General Court Martial, of which you will be President, to be composed of officers of the Indian Department and of the Garrison, and to consist of seven members, to try and determine upon the guilt and punishment of the offender, according to the Military Laws.

I have, etc., etc.,

A. BULGER, Captain,  
Commanding Fort McKay, and on  
The Mississippi.

*Robert Dickson, Esqr.,  
Agent and Superintendent  
of the Western Nations.*

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held on the 7th January, 1815, at Fort McKay, in the conquered countries, pursuant to an order from Captain A. Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, Commanding on the Mississippi.

President.

Robert Dickson Esqr: agent & Superintendent of the Western Indians.

Members.

Captain Thos. G. Anderson. Mississippi Volunteers.

Captain Duncan Graham of the Western Indian Department

Captain Francis Dease of do.

Lieutenant James Pulman of the Michigan Fencibles.

Lieutenant Mich<sup>l</sup> Brisbois of the Western Indian Department.

Lieutenant Jos Jacque Porlier of Mississippi Volunteers.

Lieutenant James Keating of do do

Artillery.

The Court having assembled and sworn in.

*Charge.*—Chunksah, an Indian of the band of Sioux, known by the name of Gens de la Feuille Tiré, was arraigned for wilful murder of Antoine Dubois and Louis Champagney, two of His Majesty's late subjects of the Prairie du Chien, on or about the 8th December last.

*First Evidence.*—Joseph Renville, Interpreter in the Indian Department, being duly sworn.

*Question from the Court.*—Do you know that man, the Prisoner?

*Answer.*—I do, his name is Chunksah.

*Question.*—Antoine Dubois, lately deceased, did he before his death, tell you whom Champagney was killed, and he Dubois, wounded?

*Answer.*—Yes.

*Question.*—Who did he say it was?

*Answer.*—Chunksah, the prisoner now present.

*Question.*—Have you knowledge that the Chief of the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, delivered up the prisoner to Robert Dickson Esq to be put to death?

*Answer.*—Yes, I have knowledge thereof.

*Question.*—As Interpreter, the Court asks you, if you are perfectly assured of what the Chief and his band said and wished?

*Answer.*—Yes, perfectly.

*Question.*—Was it the wish of the Chief and his band that the prisoner should be punished with death?

*Answer.*—It was.

*Second Evidence.*—Captain Duncan Graham of the Western Indian Department, a member of the Court being sworn.

*Question from the Court.*—Do you know the prisoner?

*Answer.*—Yes.

*Question.*—What is his name?

*Answer.*—His name is Chunksah.

*Question.*—Did you see Antoine Dubois, lately deceased, before his death?

*Answer.*—Yes.

*Question.*—Who did he say killed the deceased Champagnay and wounded him — Antoine Dubois?

*Answer.*—He said it was the prisoner Chunksah.

*Question.*—Were you present when the Corbeau François, Chief of the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, delivered up the prisoner to Robert Dickson, Esqr?

*Answer.*—Yes.

*Third Evidence.*—The Corbeau François Chief of the Gens de la Feuille Tiré being called on, was asked by the court through the Interpreter Renville.

*Question.*—Is the prisoner Chunksah the man that killed the two Frenchmen?

*Answer.*—Yes it is.

*Defence.*—The court then addressed the prisoner Chunksah.

*Question.*—Are you the man that killed Louis Champagnay and Antoine Dubois?

*Answer.*—It was not me, it was my brother.

*Question.*—Why did you—if not guilty—run away?

*Answer.*—I did not run away.

*Question.*—Did you not kill your uncle last year?

*Answer.*—My father is living; it was not me.

*Opinion and Sentence.*

The Court, having satisfied themselves that the prisoner Chunksah is the man who murdered Dubois and Champagnay, on or about the 8th December last, are of opinion that he ought immediately to suffer death by being shot.

(Signed)

R. Dickson, Agt. & Superintend't West<sup>n</sup> Nations,

President.

Thos. G. Anderson Capt<sup>n</sup>. M. Volunteers,

Duncan Graham, Capt. Indian Dept.

François Dease, Capt. Indian Dept.

James Pulman, Lieut. Mich<sup>n</sup>. Fencibles

Mich<sup>l</sup>. Brisbois Lieut. Indian Dept.

Jos. Jaques Porlier Lieut. Missi Volunteers

James Keating, Lieut. Missi Volunteers Arty.

} Members.



Confirmed, and ordered to be carried in execution immediately in presence of the Garrison and Militia under arms.

A. BULGER,  
Captain, Commanding Fort McKay,  
and on the Mississippi.

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TO M' DOUALL.

FORT MCKAY, 7<sup>th</sup> January 1815.

SIR, — In my letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>. I had the honor to report to you the murder that had been committed by an Indian of the Gens de la Feuille tiré Band, with the measures I thought proper to adopt on that occasion. I have now the honor to report that the murderer was yesterday brought to this place by the Chiefs & others of the Gens de la Feuille tiré, and delivered up, with the request that he might suffer death for his crimes, and as an atonement for all the offences committed by their band.

It being the unanimous opinion of all the officers of the Garrison, and the wish of the Indians & the Inhabitants of this Country that the murderer should suffer death, I directed a General Court Martial to assemble to decide upon his fate (notwithstanding the articles of war direct that no person under the degree of a Field Officer is to have power to assemble a General Court Martial, yet, I hope the necessity of the case will be my justification) a copy of my order for assembling the Court, with its proceedings, Opinion, & sentence I have the honor to enclose.

In pursuance of the Sentence of the Court Martial, the murderer this morning suffered death in the presence of the whole country under arms, & of the Indians present in this place. After the execution I attended a Council of the Gens de la Feuille tiré, & heard the discourse of the two Chiefs The Corbeau François<sup>1</sup> & Le Bœuf qui Jeue, a copy

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<sup>1</sup> Little Crow (or Corbeau), a Sioux chief, frequently mentioned in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii. — ix. See his speech on this occasion, ix., pp. 274, 275. — ED.

of which is enclosed. They brought and laid at my feet the American flags & medals they were possessed of, and in the most solemn & public manner, entered into a treaty with us. In the name of their whole Band, they renounced all intercourse with the Americans & promised fidelity to the English. Thus has this affair, which, at one time, threatened to involve us in war with the Gens de la Feuille Tiré, terminated with advantage on our side, and I have hopes that it will be the means of insuring tranquility to this place for the future. Nothing but a strong conviction of the necessity of making an immediate example, could have induced me to order the Sentence of the Court to be carried into effect without first communicating it to you & receiving your sanction.

I must however, beg leave to remark that the officer in command of a distant post as this is, and so near the Enemy, ought to be invested with powers to assemble a General Court Martial for the trial of such persons as may be accused of murder, treason, & Desertion, or other capital crimes, and which, if not immediately noticed and punished, might occasion the loss of the Country.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

A. H. BULGER,

Capt. Com'g.

*Lt. Col. McDouall,  
Commanding,  
Michilimackinac & Dependancies.*

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FROM THE VILLAGERS.<sup>1</sup>

FORT MCKAY, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1815.

SIR,— We the inhabitants of Prairie du Chien not knowing how to express the sentiments with which we are im-

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<sup>1</sup> This was previously published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 276, but is repeated here because of the signatures, not there given.— ED.

bued, humbly request you will accept our acknowledgments and thanks for the protection afforded by you to His Britannic Majesty's subjects. Your conduct, and activity in rendering justice in a savage territory, heretofore exposed to so many misfortunes, leads us to hope that we shall in future live peaceably under your Government: and permit us at the same time to express our zeal, courage and loyalty toward our Sovereign.

We beg of you to believe us to be, with profound respect,

Sir,

Your very humble Servants,

FRANCOIS BOUTHILLIER.	PAUL DUCHARME.
JOSEPH ROLETTE.	DENIS COURTOIS.
S. BRISBOIS.	YOU QUERI,
ANTOINE BRISBOIS.	FRANCOIS LACHAPELLE.
J. Bts. FARIBAULT.	JOSEPH MERCIER.
JOSEPH JOURDAIN.	ANTOINE LACHAPELLE.

AND 32 OTHERS.

*To Captain A. Bulger,  
Commanding  
Fort McKay.*

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TO THE VILLAGERS.

FORT MCKAY, 15th January, 1815.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the address you have this day presented to me. It gives me great pleasure to find that the measures which I have thought proper to adopt for the preservation of good order and tranquility in this remote part of His Majesty's Dominions have met with the approbation of the Inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, whose personal security and welfare were the immediate objects of those measures.

I cannot but feel highly flattered at what you say respecting myself. But the sentiments of Loyalty and attachment towards our beloved Sovereign are particularly

gratifying to me, and I will not fail to transmit them to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall.

I am Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. BULGER, Captain

Commanding.

*To Francois Bouthillier, Esqr.,  
and the Inhabitants  
of Prairie des Chiens.*

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TO M'DOUALL.

FORT MCKAY, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1815.

SIR,—It was my intention to have sent the express off for Mickinac on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, deeming it of great importance that you should be immediately apprized of the critical situation in which this garrison will be placed in the Spring for want of provisions; but an unexpected & unpleasant occurrence prevented my intentions taken place.

A serious & alarming mutiny broke out amongst the Michigan Fencibles on the 31<sup>st</sup> Decr. the particulars of which are as follows. For some time past, the Serjeant Major had made frequent reports to me, of the disorderly conduct of that Detachment, when in the ranks at Drill, and that when he spoke to them, they only laughed at him, & cursed him in French, as he had been informed. My ill state of health put it out of my power to be on parade myself. I therefore told the Serjeant Major, to confine the next man who should be guilty of talking or laughing under arms. This was about four days previous to the disturbance. On the 31<sup>st</sup> Decr. they were at Drill in the Barrack Square: one of them Antoine Bonnain being very unsteady & inattentive in the ranks, was repeatedly spoken to on the subject, but appeared to take no notice of what was said to him. On which the Serjeant Major ordered him to fall out, & and go to the Guard house; and on his not moving, approached him for the

purpose of taking his arms. Bonnain immediately came to the charge, when a loud shout and laugh from the others showed their exultation at the resistance he made. The Serjeant Major then closed with Bonnain and strove to disarm him when he struck the Serjeant Major across the head with his firelock. On which the Serjeant of the Guard was called and desired to take two men and confine Bonnain. The two men whom the Serjt. of the guard ordered for that purpose positively refused to go—in the meantime, all was confusion on the Parade, and the Michigans quited their ranks. They took Bonnain into the Barrack room, crying out "who will dare come and take him." They then placed sentries at the door of the barrack room, who with drawn bayonets and knives swore that the first person who attempted to take Bonnain should be killed. They seemed to have all acted as if measures had been per-concerted. The Serjeant Major, finding things in such a state, repaired to my Quarters & made a report to me of what had passed. I immediately enquired into the affair, and found it had been much worse on the part of the men, than the Serjeant Major had reported. I saw at once the state in which the whole Detachment was in, as also the necessity of taking strong measures to subdue them. I went to the parade without loss of time, and ordered the long role to beat for the Garrison to fall in, having previously sent word to Mr. Dickson to repair to the Fort with his people armed. I then declared Martial Law, and summon'd a Drum-head court martial for the trial of Bonnain. Pursuant to the sentence of the Court, he was immediately tied to a gun and flogg'd. After the punishment I ordered the Serjeant of the Michigans to go down the ranks with me & to pick out those men who had been most violent in the mutiny; there were a good many, but I selected such as were reported to have been the foremost, and disarmed them & ordered that they should be confined in the cell on bread and water. Some of them had the audacity to say to my face that they had prevented Bonnain's being taken, and that they were not afraid. I ad-

dressed the Michigans, through their officer, and expostulated with them on the heinousness of their crime, & told them that they were now serving in the conquer'd countries, where they were subject to the articles of war, the same as Regular Soldiers, & that I was fully determined to punish them severely if they misbehaved or disobeyed orders in future. I said a good deal to them, as you will perceive by my orders on the occasion (which I herewith enclose).<sup>1</sup>

On Monday 2<sup>d</sup> Jan'y. I assembled the Troops & the Militia, with the Indian Department in Fort McKay. A Garrison Court Martial was assembled to try the two men of the guard who had refused to go for Bonnain when ordered. They were sentenced to receive each 300 lashes, but they received only 150 each, when I ordered them to be taken down. This was done in presence of the whole Country under arms. After it was over, I addressed the other Prisoners, & after telling them that I hoped the example just made would have a good effect on their future behaviour, I restored them their arms, and directed them to join their company. Since which time they have behaved tolerably well, but I am on my guard, & now make it a point to sleep in the Fort every night in a small Room appropriated as an orderly Room. I know that most of them, being half Indians, possess the treacherous disposition of an Indian, who only waits for a good opportunity of taking revenge. I have taken every precaution against treachery or Desertion: indeed I have very little to fear from the latter, as the Indians have been directed to bring in the head of any man who may attempt it.

It was contrary to my inclination that I came from Mackinac with those men, and you may probably recollect my telling you that I did not like to go with men, in whom I could not place confidence. If this place is to be kept, other men than the Michigan Fencibles must be sent here, for with them, I confess I have no hopes of either gaining

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<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, pp. 42-43.—ED.

credit for myself or of rendering a service to my country. You cannot therefore be surprised, and I hope you will not be displeased at my requesting leave to resign this command, and return to Mackinac, if it is not in your power to send me other men, with supplies requested to enable me to make a defence.

I have had nothing but trouble & vexation since I came to this distracted country, and I apprehend I shall tire your patience with the numerous Letters, Trials & other papers which I think necessary to submit for your perusal, and approbation. Enclosed you will receive the Proceedings of a Court of Enquiry assembled on the 5th Instant to investigate charges preferred by Mr. Dickson against Mr. Rolette. When first presented to me, I told Mr. Dickson that they were very serious accusations, and if not proved, it would look very bad on his part; but he seemed confident of being able to substantiate them. Consequently it became my duty to notice them. It is not perhaps necessary for me to say anything more than what is remarked by the Court, tho' as Commanding Officer I will take the liberty of giving my opinion. *I think the charges would not have been brought forward at all, if Mr. Dickson & Mr. Rolette had not quarreled, and the unwillingness of Mr. Dicksons witnesses, who are all his own people, & depend upon him for their subsistence, to say what they knew in favor of the accused, until it was extorted from them by Questions from the Court, justify me in believing that the object in view was, to ruin the man, and not the good of the Country.* Altho' the accused has, at times, given himself a latitude in speaking, far from being allowable, yet he has by his actions shown that he is not that bad subject which they have endeavored to make him appear. I shall say no more, as the Proceedings of the Court of Enquiry will enable you to form a correct judgment of the Prosecutors motives, and the criminality of the accused.

There being no Ensign nominated to the Michigan Fencibles, I beg leave to recommend to you for that ap-

pointment, Lieut. Joseph Jacques Porlier<sup>1</sup> of the Mississippi Volunteers, who is an uncommon fine young man, and very active and attentive to his duty. I wish, if there is no prospect of Lt. Armstrong being appointed Captain of that Company, that you would take into consideration Capt. Andersons valuable and important services, which are deserving of some permanent reward, and nominate him to the command thereof. I would not have mentioned this on any account, if I did not think that there was very little probability of Mr. Armstrong getting that appointment, whilst there are Senior Subalterns in the same garrison. I have the highest reason to be satisfied with the conduct of every officer here, but particularly Capt. Andersons.

A Court of Enquiry is now sitting to examine the loses sustained by the people of this place from the depredations of the Indians, & which I should have been enabled to send by this Express had it not been for the length of time which the investigation of Mr. Dickson's charges took up. The people of this Settlement have indeed suffered a great deal from the Indians, during the last two summers, and merit some compensation. I understand from good authority that there are several who 2 years ago had upwards of 30 head of Cattle, & have not now one left. I shall report more particularly on this subject as soon as the actual loss is ascertained.

An address was yesterday presented to me by the Traders & Inhabitants of Prairie des Chiens, which I declined receiving, in consequence of its being also addressed to Mr. Dickson, (my answer to it is enclosed). The persons who framed the address afterwards waited on me, to make an apology for their error. from them I learnt that it was originally made out in my name, but was altered, in consequence of some officers of the Indian Dep't, threatening the people with Mr. Dickson's ill will if they did not enclude him in it. Capt. Graham has been mentioned as having

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<sup>1</sup> See McKay's estimate of Porlier, in *Wis Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 118.—Ed.



been particularly busy in the business. I cannot say whether it was with M D—'s knowledge, or whether it originated with that crowd of parasites & flaterers he has round him; but as for myself, I should be ashamed to allow any one under me to try to extort a thing of the kind. I am informed Mr. D—'s foolish vanity will not allow him to acknowledge that he is under my command, or indeed any military officer—and that he wishes to make the people believe that he has the Supreme command here, & that I am under him, it was this that induced me to reject the address. But another has been this day presented to me alone, a copy of which I enclose, with my answer thereto. I hope my conduct in this trifling affair will meet with your approbation. Were I personally concerned, I would not envy Mr. Dickson all the addresses he could *extort* between this & the Rocky Mountains. But it is an affront to the Com'g Officer, and not to myself, that I have resented.

Since my letter of 30th Dec. the Contractor has delivered into store, flour sufficient for the Garrison to April—the meat is what we shall fail in, being almost convinced that it will not be got. The contractor has tired me with complaints & representations respecting Mr. Dickson, who, he says, prevents his getting meat, by giving the Indians goods for all they have. I know to my certain knowledge that meat has been brought in here by the Indians but twice, & Mr. Dickson has positively declared to me that he never gave an article of goods for meat. I therefore think the Contractor complaints are groundless, and merely advanced to give him some sort of an excuse for the non-fulfilment of his contract.

I should feel much obliged if you could procure me a map of this country, if one can be had in Mackinac.

The information given in my Letter of the 30th Decr. respecting the Americans coming up here in the spring, has been this day confirmed by a Sock<sup>1</sup> who made his escape from the Missouri—he also reports that the Pottawat-

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<sup>1</sup>Sac.—Ed.

tamies have struck on the Socks. On our arrival here the Mississippi was full of ice, no boats could go down, in consequence the Socks have not recd. their presents. Capt. Graham is now on his way to them with 25 sleighs loaded with presents. The delay was unavoidable, as the ice in the Mississippi was not sufficiently strong, until Capt. Graham started. Previous to closing my letter, I will take the liberty of again stating the absolute necessity of our being supplied this winter with Powder for the Indians, otherwise we shall not experience much assistance from them. The quantity sent out this fall was not sufficient for the purpose intended, & near 400 lbs of that has been condemned as uns'ble.

The Mississippi rises every spring at least 8 feet, & Boats can at that time sail up the rapids of the Rock River, & as Mr. Keating informs me, neither of our Field Guns, can hurt them. Last fall when the Enemy attempted to come up, the waters were very low, & there was but a very narrow channel in the center of the River for them to sail in—On every side nothing but difficulties present themselves to my view.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

A. BULGER,

Capt. Com'g. Fort McKay.

*Lieut. Col. McDouall,*

*&c. &c. &c.*

*Mackinac.*

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INTERVIEW BETWEEN BULGER AND DICKSON.

26th January, 1815.

Substance of a conversation between Captain Bulger and Mr. Dickson in presence of the officers of the Garrison and of the Indian Department.

Captain Bulger addressed Mr. Dickson as follows—

“Has the conduct of Lieutenant Brisbois towards me

yesterday reached your knowledge?" On Mr. Dickson replying that it had,

Captain Bulger continued. "It is for the purpose of delivering my sentiments on the conduct of some of the officers of the Indian Department that I have assembled them here this day. Indeed I find it absolutely necessary to do so, for I confess it appears to me not only from the occurrence of yesterday, but also from the conduct of Interpreter Honore last fall towards Captain Anderson,<sup>1</sup> that your officers either do not know the respect due to commanding officer, or else they do not wish to pay it. If they do not know it, they must be taught it, and if they do not wish to pay it, they must be made to do it."

"I have therefore to desire that you will give such directions to the officers of the Indian Department that they may never again be guilty of similar misconduct, and that they may clearly understand that in all situations they are never to forget the deference of respect they owe to the Commanding officer.

"As this is the first public opportunity I have had, so I shall avail myself of it, to deliver my sentiments on your letter to Captain Dease dated 23rd of September, directing him to allow no one to interfere with your Department.

"It is in my opinion expressly calculated to lessen the Authority of the Commanding officer, and consequently the respect due to him and I doubt not it will be considered in that light by Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall."

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Honore's name is in the list (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 262) of those who volunteered at Mackinaw, June 21, 1814, to go on the Prairie du Chien expedition. In the muster roll of Ft. McKay, Aug. 24, he is listed as interpreter and acting commissary in the Indian Department. Col. McDouall, writing to Capt. Anderson, Aug. 21, says: "Col. McKay mentions his finding Mr. Honore, of the Indian Department, a very useful Commissary, and you had better still employ him in that capacity." Anderson, writing to McDouall, Oct. '18, speaks highly of Honore (*Ibid.*, p. 269); but Nov. 3 (p. 248) he orders him discharged for drunkenness and impudence, and hands over his office to Lieut. Michel Brisbois, Jr. It is this incident to which Bulger refers.—Ed.

Mr. Dickson spoke not in justification of the conduct of Lieutenant Brisbois, and Interpreter Honore which he reprobated, and considered highly improper: but merely in palliation of that of Lieutenant Brisbois which he thought was unintentional. Mr. Dickson avowed having sent orders to Captain Dease not to suffer any one to interfere with him as agent for the Indians, and again declared "that no one had a right to interfere with him or his Department." In allusion to my orders of yesterday which directed that no expenses should be incurred on the part of Government, but by the acting commissary. Mr. Dickson remarked that by his orders from the Commander in Chief *he* had authority to purchase what he thought necessary for the use of the Indian's and that it was not necessary to have either Colonel McDouall's signature or mine to his accounts, to which Captain Bulger answered as follows.

"You know Mr. Dickson that I did not come to this country with a nominal command. I expected to have the entire control of the resources of the country, otherwise I would not be answerable for its safety. I know I am invested with [it], and will exercise [it] as long as I am left in command of Fort McKay. It is my firm and fixed intention never to put my name to accounts, upon which I was not consulted, and which I could not but disprove."

A. BULGER, Captain  
Commanding.

The above conversation took place in the presence of—

Capt<sup>n</sup> Anderson — —

Lieut. Pulman — —

Lieut. Porlier — —

Lieut. Keating — —

and the officers of the Indian Department.

FROM DICKSON.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, Jan. 31<sup>st</sup>, 1815.

SIR,—I have just been informed by one of the Interpreters that the Renards' are much displeased with the restrictions on the Inhabitants of this place not being allowed, as has been customary, to exchange grease, meat &c for flour. The Renards say that the rum being stoped is right, but they think it hard to be deprived of a mouthful of bread, and that if this continues,—although they wish to fight the Americans, they will allow them to come up the river in the Spring.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

*Captain Bulger,**Commanding**Fort McKay, &c.*

R. DICKSON,

Agt. &amp; Supt.

TO DICKSON.

FORT MCKAY,

January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1815.

SIR,—In answer to your note I have merely to say that nothing but a strong conviction of the necessity of the measure could have enduced me to lay any restriction upon selling or bartering bread to the Indians.

I am convinced it is the only way to preserve any Provisions for the Troops and Indians when they will be called upon to fight in defence of the Country.

The Indians have received the supplies you had for them. Consequently they must support themselves, and it ought to be clearly explained to them that the resources of the country will not admit of their being supplied.

I am

Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servant

A. BULGER, Captain

Commanding Fort McKay.

*Robert Dickson Esqr.**Agent and Superintendent**Of the Western Indians.*


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<sup>1</sup> Fox Indians.—Ed.

FORT MCKAY, 31<sup>st</sup> January 1815.

SIR,—I know not how many rations you are entitled to, but I know that a Field Officer in the army draws no more than two, and I do not conceive that you can be entitled to more. If you can show me an order from the Commander in Chief, or from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, on the subject I will be satisfied.

With respect to Mr. St. John.<sup>1</sup> I have made up my mind not to allow him rations, for I do not conceive that he has the least claim upon Government. Mr. Brisbois,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rollette or any other Trader in the Country might with equal justice make a demand for provisions.

I am

Sir,

Your Obedient Humble Servant,

A. BULGER, Captain  
Commanding.

*Robert Dickson Esqr.*  
*Agent & Superintendent,*  
*Western Indians.*

Indorsed — “*Memo.*— Captain Bulger having on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January sent a message to Mr. Dickson by the acting Commissary to the following effect, ‘That he (Captain Bulger) could allow Mr. Dickson but 2 Rations, and that Mr. St. John could receive none. As he, (Captain Bulger) considered it an imposition upon Government that that person should receive either pay or rations.’ Mr. Dickson told the acting Commissary in answer that he (Mr. Dickson) was entitled to four Rations, and would expect to receive that number, and that Mr. St. John must receive his rations.”

FROM DICKSON.

Febry. 1<sup>st</sup> 1815.

SIR,—I have been busy with the Indians since this morning else I should not have delayed answering your note to me yesterday on the subject of rations. I am, as Superin-

<sup>1</sup> This is the La Puche or La Perche, mentioned in Bulger's letter to McDouall, of Dec. 30. *ante*, pp. 27, 28. For this trader's relations with Anderson, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 148, 149.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Brisbois, Sr.—ED.

tendant of Indians, entitled to four Rations. The returns at Mackinac will shew that I always received that number, if from a scarcity of provisions, it is necessary to accept half a ration I am satisfied: Mr. St. John will only receive Rations when he is sent on service.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

R. DICKSON,

Agt & Supt.

*Captain Bulger,  
Commanding  
Fort McKay.\**

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ROSTER OF THE GARRISON.

Names of Officers stationed at Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien and on the Mississippi, during the Month of January 1815.

*Commanding Officer.*

*Captain A. Bulger, Royal Newfoundland Regt.*

*The Agent and Superintendent of the Western Nations*

*Robert Dickson Esqr.*

Officers of the Garrison at Fort McKay  
Prairie du Chien.

Captain T. G. Anderson.. Mississippi Volunteers.

Lieut. James Pulman.... Michigan Fencibles.

Lieut. James Keating.... Mississippi Volunteer  
Artillery.

Lieut. J. Jacque Porlier.. Michigan Fencibles.

Lieut. Amable Dusang.... Mississippi Volunteers.

<i>Officers of the Western Indian Department stationed at Prairie du Chien and on The Mississippi.</i>	Captain Francois Dease....	West Indian Department.		
	Captain Duncan Graham.....	"	"	"
	Lieut. Brisbois .....	"	"	"
	Lieut. Grignon .....	"	"	"
	Lieut. Renville .....	"	"	"
	Lieut. La Rose .....	"	"	"
	Interpreter Desonier <sup>1</sup> .....	"	"	"
	Interpreter Campbell .....	"	"	"
	Interpreter Rock .....	"	"	"
	Interpreter Guillory.....	"	"	"
	Interpreter Fernnier.....	"	"	"
Interpreter St John.....	"	"	"	
<i>Officers of Militia and Western Indian Department at Green Bay Lake Michigan.</i>	Captain Jacque Porlier.....	"	"	"
	Captain Pierre Grignon....	"	"	"
	Lieut. Lawe .....	"	"	"

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FROM DICKSON.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, Feb. 6th, 1815.

SIR, — As you had the politeness to inform me that an express would leave this for Mackinac on the 7th inst. I will thank you, if in your power to let me know, what quantity of Indian corn & wheat may be collected at this place on the 20th March next; for the subsistence of Indians who may be called together for the defence of the country.

I enclose you a statement of Provisions due by the Department since you assumed command here, which if you

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<sup>1</sup> Spelled elsewhere Desormier.—ED.



find proper, I request you to approve, as I believe that Lt. Col. McDouall's instructions to you were to that effect. The accounts of the Department previous to your arrival here, I will settle in the usual manner.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant—

R. DICKSON.

Agt. & Supt.

*Captain Bulger*

*Command'g. Fort McKay.*

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TO DICKSON.

FORT MCKAY, 6th Feb. 1815.

SIR, — In reply to your letter which I would have answered immediately had I not been engaged. I have to inform you that it is not in my power to tell if we shall have any quantity of wheat in store for the subsistence of the Indians during the period they will be on service here, and as to corn, I know not whether we can procure even one bushel.

I cannot comply with your request to approve of the accounts of Provisions expended in the Indian Department since my arrival here, because I never could have sanctioned such a quantity being expended in so short a period and in times of such scarcity as the present when the safety of this Country depends on the frugal management of our resources.

If the Indian Department was allowed to go on as it has for the last 2 months, we should not have an ounce of Provisions left by Spring.

I am highly astonished Sir, at your want of consideration. You must have been well aware that the only possible chance we have of preserving the Country is by husbanding the small quantity of Provisions in it for the approaching critical period, when the Indians will be called out to our assistance, and must be fed. Their present

distress I allow to be great, and it excites my commiseration as much as it can possibly do yours: but we must not forget that there is another and more imperious call to attend to, the duty we owe our Sovereign, and the preservation of the Country from the grasp of our Enemies.

You have Sir, consumed in your Department since your and my arrival here, upwards of 4654. Rations of corn and flour, whilst to provision the Officers & Interpreters of the Indian Department, would only require 900. Rations.

Disapproving of your mode of management with regard to provisions, I must desire that you will not in future make any purchases for the Indian Department without my knowledge. The Indians are to be supplied only when on Service.

I am

Sir,

Your obedient Humble Servant,

A. BULGER, Captain,

Commanding Fort McKay

& on the Mississippi.

*Robert Dickson Esq.*

*Agent & Superintendent,  
Western Indians.*

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TO BULGER.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN 8<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1815.

SIR—In answer to your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> inst: I have to say that I am sorry that you cannot approve of my accounts, for the Provisions furnished the In' D't. only so far as it may injure the service. Having authority from the commander of the Forces, as agent to the Western Nations & Superintendent of the conquered Countries, to purchase provisions, I have hitherto done so, and have had my accounts paid to the amount of many thousand pounds. As you command at this place, I ask'd your approval for the purchase of the corn from Mr. Brisbois, which you granted, and as the officers, Interpreters, and men attached to the department drew no rations, I thought myself authorized to get four for their support.

I cannot allow you, to put the construction you wish, on my management of provisions. Please to reflect coolly on

what I advance. You say that the officers and Interpreters of the Indian Department would require 900 Rations: but you have forgot the twenty engages attached to the Department. You may probably recollect that many Indians were waiting my arrival, and that from their having no provisions themselves, I was not only obliged to feed them during their stay, but I was necessitated to give them provisions to preserve them from starving, on their way home, at least three hundred miles. Since my arrival here, there has been fifteen hundred Indians to visit me. The severity of the season has obliged several of these parties to stay two or three days. Could I allow them to die of hunger? If you will have the goodness to examine the enclosed account of the distribution of the corn, you will find that more than a fourth part of it was given out for distant expeditions, showing the necessity of the most frugal management of Provisions. I have in no ways been profuse. I am mortified beyond measure to think that I should incur the reproach of want of consideration from you, it is unmerited. Under God my exertions have brought this country under the Dominion of Great Britain. Would I by my folly cause the loss of it? I have received the warm thanks from Four General Officers for my services. These are honors that the voice of calumny cannot pluck from me. They will descend with me to the grave.

You tell me in future to make no purchases for the Indian Department, without your knowledge. Please inform me if this prohibition extends to the whole line of country over which I am Superintendent. I shall give no provisions to Indians according to your orders, except when on service, and that I can spare from my own rations.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most h'ble Servt,

R. DICKSON,

Agt. & Supt.

*Captain Bulger,*

*Commanding*

*Fort McKay, &c.*

P. S.—Had I not furnished the Indians with provisions,

we could not depend on a single man to assist us in the spring, and you are well aware that the safty of the country hangs on their fadility and attachment. The unusal concourse of Indians here were owing to the late arrival of their presents. Not to have fed them, sparing as I did, would have involved us all in ruin. I have had recourse to every measure in my power, to procure a supply of provisions, and I trust that I will be successful when the river is open. The Indians will be then much more able to provide for themselves.

Y<sup>r</sup> Ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

R. D.

*Capt<sup>n</sup> Bulger,*  
*Commanding Fort McKay,*  
*& on the Mississippi.*

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TO DICKSON.

FORT MCKAY, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1815

SIR.—I do not wish to enter into a long correspondence being afflicted with a disease of the eyes which renders writing extremely painful and distressing to me.

I have read your letter with all the attention due to it. You say that you asked my approval for the purchase of the corn from Mr. Brisbois, and that I granted it. Can you sir, say that I gave permission for eighty-four Bushels of corn being purchased from him, or was it only twice, or thrice, that you mentioned to me your intention of getting some from him.

Would it not be nearer the fact if you said that immediately on your arrival here without mentioning the circumstance to me you engaged 80 bushels of corn from Mr. Brisbois which would have been more properly deposited in the store for the emergencies of Spring, and would undoubtedly have been so, if you had not bespoken it before hand.

This was an authority you had no right to assume, where a military officer commanded. I, as commanding officer here, have the sole control and direction not only of the

public expenditures, but also of the resources of the Country. I would, it is true, have avoided even the least shadow of interference as long as you kept within the bounds of moderation, as I supposed you were equally aware with myself of the present scarcity, as well as of the necessity for studying the strictest economy. I had not the most distant idea of what you had expended until the 26th ultimo when you presented me with a statement thereof. At that time I made up my mind not to approve of the accounts should you present them to me for that purpose, which I never expected you would have done from you having averred on frequent occasions that my approval was not necessary to ensure there [being] allowed. Allow me to ask you if in addition to the quantity of flour mentioned in your last statement, Say 1550 lbs. you did not also expend about 1,400 which was in Capt. Dease's possession when you arrived, and whether Mr. St. John did not furnish you with more than 1000 lbs. I am led to ask these questions from having been told that you in one day received 40 bread buns. Will Mr. St. John and Mr. Brisbois swear that since your arrival they only furnished you with the quantities specified in your statement.

You say, I have forgotten the 20 engages attached to your Department. Pray Sir, were all these men here during the period in question, and did not some of them catch fish enough to supply nearly the whole. I know not if the nets belonged to Government, but if not a charge might have been made for the use of them. Respecting the Officers and Interpreters, I know not if they all received regular rations. I am told that some of them did not, this of course you know best, but at all events some account ought to have been kept of the appropriations of such a vast quantity of flour as has been used.

Which is it better that the Indians — many of whom loiter about here for the purpose — should be fed, or that the Provisions should be reserved for the grand object, the defence of the Country. One or the other must be neglected. The one is only a temporary evil and can be repaired by hunt-

ing, the other is of vital importance and does not admit of a remedy. I know very little of the nature of Indians, but it is consonant to reason to suppose that if they were told that the fate of their country hung by a shred, they would suffer every hardship and privation rather than endanger its being severed.

I requested in my last letter that no purchase might be made for the Indian Department without my knowledge, and you wished to be informed if this prohibition extends to the whole line of country over which you are superintendent. Really Sir, I know not that you are Superintendent of this Country. I only know you as agent and Superintendent of the Western Indians; but I shall be glad to be better informed on this subject. You certainly assume as much as if you were Sovereign over it. My prohibition Sir, extends only to the command with which I am invested, and which comprehends Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and all the settlements on the Mississippi.

It is not possible that you Sir can feel more mortified in being reproached with want of consideration, than I have felt grieved in being obliged to advance such a charge. I was proud of your friendship, and expected it would prove a source of pleasure, and satisfaction to me, but much as I may value it, and regret its loss, it has not power to sway me from the path of duty.

In putting a stop to measures which I thought pregnant with danger to the Country, I have only fulfilled the confidence reposed in me. I have merely done my duty, and if unfortunately my exertions should ultimately prove unavailing it will at least be a satisfaction to me to be able to say that I have done my best, as far as my weak abilities would allow to advance the interest of my King and Country.

What is past cannot be recalled, but the future may be attended with more advantage to the service and satisfaction to ourselves by an immediate explanation taking place. One question is *all* I shall ask, first. Do you, or do you not, recognize my authority as Commanding officer of Fort

McKay, and on the Mississippi, to control the resources of the Country, and direct the expenditure of every department? If you do, well and good. If you do not, then either you or I must be removed from this country, for I will never serve here upon such terms.

I have many other things to state which require explanation from you, particularly your having given Indians goods in payment for a canoe, but indisposition prevents my writing more at present.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. BULGER, Captain,

Commanding on the Mississippi.

*Robert Dickson Esqr.*

*Agent & Superintendent*

*Western Indians.*

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FROM DICKSON.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN,  
February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1815.

SIR—On receipt of your letter I do not hesitate one moment in giving you the satisfaction that you so justly require, that of fully recognizing your right of controlling the resources of the Country and of directing the expenditures of every department.

I most ardently desire an explanation and I have the strongest hopes of being able to convince you of the rectitude of my intentions, whatever misunderstanding may have arisen. It has been painful to me that the least shadow of a difference should have ever happened between us. I am convinced that on all occasions you have done your duty, both here and elsewhere. Allow me to show you the copies of my letters. I sent by Larose.<sup>1</sup> I wished to do so before. I can now show them with pleasure.

Rest assured Sir, that I shall consider this as the happiest day of my life, in finding the friendship and esteem I

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<sup>1</sup> Æneas la Rose, interpreter for the Menomonees.—ED.

have always entertained for you firmly reestablished. Accept of my sincere wishes for the removal of the indisposition that affects you at present, and of which I was only informed by your letter of this day.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant

R. DICKSON,

Agent & Superintendent.

Capt. Bulger,

Commanding Fort McKay  
and on the Mississippi.

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHELIMACKINAC,

16th Feby. 1815.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your Letter of the 14th Novr I must say was not calculated to afford me much satisfaction. I fear you have listened too much to the sombre representations of Mr. Dickson, who is the last man I know that I would employ in situations of trial & difficulty. It was for this reason that I selected you, long in the army, engaged in much honourable service, & of a sound judgment, in order that your energy & resolution might guard against the mischiefs of his supineness and want of management. But for this circumstance, there was no occasion for any alteration in the Garrison of Fort McKay; that gallant little band, having conducted itself with a firmness & address, which has excited general applause; overcoming their difficulty's & their enemy, by meeting them half way, and boldly looking them in the face. I knew the command to which I appointed you, to be an arduous one—perhaps nearly equal to my own; but I believed (and still believe) that it would be met with proportionate firmness & ability; "common chances, common men can bear, for when the *sea is calm*, all boats alike shew mastership in sailing." How strongly is this doctrine illustrated by the campaign on the Niagara frontier; General Real (a very gallant officer) was retiring



before the enemy at the moment General Drummond took the command; the columns were instantly countermarched & led on to the attack, & this system, amidst unprecedented difficultys, & struggling with overwhelming [numbers], was persevered in, till it triumph'd at last, the American army being obliged to blow up Fort Erie & cross to their own side.

I implicitly credit the distressing scenes you have witnessed, and am fully aware that the supplies you took with you are totally inadequate to relieve the *general* misery of the Indians. I am convinced, from the state of matters, on our own side, & the still more deplorable situation of those on the southern shores of Lake Michigan (who have got nothing Mr. Dickson knows best why) that *ten times*, the quantity of goods which arrived, would not be sufficient to place all the Indians who have claims upon us, above want. What then would have been their horrible fate, but for the exertions of the Govt and the singularly fortunate capture of the Enemy's schooners, in which you bore so creditable a share? What folly then it is, what more than childish imbecility, to inspire the Indians with false hopes of abundant supplies, which, with the Enemy's naval superiority, never can be realized. Who that has manly sincerity, or common reflection, would hold out the "solemn promises of Government," (to use the hackneyed phrase) to that unfortunate people; would so grossly and fatally deceive them, as to *assure* them of supplies, when it is beyond doubt in the power of the enemy to prevent our receiving a barrel of powder or a blanket, except perhaps, the few that may arrive by stealth in such canoes as were so fortunate to elude their vigilance. What will become of Mr. Dickson's "solemn promises" this year, should the Enemy, as is said to be their intention, succeed in such an early & strict blockade, as will cut off our supply: Government, I fear, in that case, will find it difficult, to load Balloons at La Chine, and direct their unerring course to the Mississippi. & if they do not, it will be a burning shame. their "good faith is implicated," they

cannot perform the impossibilities, so lavishly and *judiciously* promised in their name by Mr. Dickson.

Sincerity with an Indian, as it ought to be with all mankind, is the only mode. It is the first of Virtues (upon that subject Mr. Dickson ought to remember the cutting reproach of an Indian Chief on this very Island). Tell them fairly & candidly the truth, tell them that their Great Father the King; ever true to his engagements (tho' he at times cannot be to those of his thoughtless & improvident servants) is sedulously endeavoring to do his *utmost* to do what is possible to support them, & relieve their distresses, but that the road being blocked up, the supplies which used to come in ships, now creep along by stealth in canoes, & are of course both small & precarious. that he has also a great many red children to provide for, that they must therefore be moderate in their expectations, & contented with little, (as even that little adverse circumstances may prevent their receiving!) until the impediment is removed, which will restore to them that abundance which the King, their benificent Father, has provided for them in Lower Canada—that the difficulty is in getting it conveyed to them, & that they must never relax in their efforts, until the road is again opened, & the days of plenty restored—that these happy days could not be far off, as the Enemy pressed on every side, by the numerous sea & Land forces of the King would soon be compelled to do them justice.

Had this language, dictated by truth itself, & delivered in the genuine spirit of sincerity, been held out to the western Indians, (instead of pompous & high sounding promises, trusting only | what a reed to lean on | that "*something would turn up,*" to realize them)—had the situation of affairs been thus explained to them, accompanied at the same time, by a fair, impartial & judicious distribution, of the large & magnificent assortment of goods, which within the last fifteen months have been sent to the Mississippi, (independent of what Mr. Dickson received for his Indians at this place, at Amherstburg, and on their arrival

here last summer, being no small quantity,) most fully convinced am I, as I think most men will be, that the Mississippi would not have exhibited *such* a scene of distress, & that the conviction would have been strong in the minds of the Indians in general, that the King their Father had done the utmost that human efforts could do, to relieve their distress and ameliorate their condition.

As for myself, I came here invested with some degree of latitude, which those who sent me doubtless thought I deserved; claiming absolute independance in my situation, & a right to judge for myself, tho' like all men in public situations, liable to that responsibility, from an iota of which I will never shrink, & from which Mr. Dickson will find *he* is not exempt;—not improperly, or weakly bias'd by any man, or set of men, much less to be subjected to the deep disgrace of becoming the puppet of so poor a conjuror as he is. I believe it frequently happens, that a mans actions in private life, afford a apt illustration of his public conduct, & that he who fails in the management of his own affairs, is not likely to succeed with those of the King. How Mr. Dickson has succeeded in both is pritty well known. I have been totally disappointed in the assistance, I expected from him throughout the whole limits of my command—wherever he has been, all has been confusion and mismanagement, thereby necessarily lessening that confidence in the officers of his Department, which a Leader of Indians should invariably excite, & encrease by a personal example of energy, arrangement, boldness & intrepidity. I have neither seen nor heard of his exhibiting any of these essential qualities, without a conspicuous display of which, but little good can be derived from the Indians. On the contrary, *where he is not*, I have seen method, order, and regularity revive, & in some instances followed by a degree of courage and judicious daring, "which saved that Country which it was his peculiar duty to watch over."

On this hateful subject, I shall at present say no more, tho' it was my intention to have taken Mr. Dickson to task

in a way that he deserves for a most insolent & disrespectful letter he wrote me from Green Bay; a Letter which he has yet to answer for, & which, had he been honoured with His Majesty's commission, would have ignominiously dismissed him the service. I spare him at present, in consequence of the situation of the Country.

Believe me to be, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

Rt. MCDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Com'g.

MICHILIMACKINAC 18th Feby. 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER:—Your several communications of 30th & 31st Decr. and 7th, 15th & 17th Jany together with their respective enclosures reach me on the [no date given] instt. I shall reply to them according to their different dates. I cannot however refrain from expressing how much I have felt at the sufferings you endured on the voyage, & the very arduous & trying situations in which you have been placed since your arrival. It does you but strict justice to say that you have conducted yourself with equal prudence, firmness & ability, & what is no small praise, have proved yourself fully equal to the difficulty's which you were called upon to encounter; all your measures meet with my unqualified approbation.

I am very sorry to find that there is such a general scarcity of food among the Indians, which occasions the evil to be augmented tenfold by their destructive ravages in all kinds of provisions.

I thank you for your patient investigation of the losses sustained at La Baye: the amount is really enormous, & if such excesses cannot be prevented, must ultimately ruin the Settlement. I have adopted your suggestion & appointed Mr. Porlier & Mr. Pierre Grignon to be Captains of militia, & also Justices of the Peace at that place. I shall also place at the disposal of the former Gentleman, such supply of ammunition &c as can be spared, & have also authorized

him to administer to the wants of the Indians of his neighborhood, according to their necessities, and the means which may be at his disposal; & particularly to the families of such as may repair to this Island in the Spring. I added that I would authorize the expence. I trust that this will in some measure alleviate the evil and encourage the settlers to grow more corn. To expect relief from this place as to the articles of food is totally out of the question, as it is a doubtful point with Govt whether it will be in their power to supply this Garrison, owing to its increased numbers, & particularly if the re-enforcement of a hundred men (which I have asked for as indispensably necessary) can be sent. As to similar losses, sustained at Prairie des Chiens, you will have to transmit another such statement of the same, which I shall also transmit to His Excellency, strongly urging the necessity of a liberal remuneration.

As to the inadequacy of the Indian supplies, it is one of the many trying difficulties with which we shall both have to struggle. I know well that the goods which Govt were so perplexed in getting up, & which, considering the obstacles in the way, we were lucky in receiving, could not (in consequence of the want of Traders) supply the tenth part of the numerous tribes who have claims upon us. In such a cruel emergency, what was to be done, but to apportion them in such a way, as to give all a share, & be most conducive to our general interests. So fully was I convinced of the necessity of straining every nerve to support the Indians, of the Mississippi, that I set apart for them, more than most men in my situation would have ventured to do: & to do which, I was obliged to curtail the usual allowance of ammunition for the Tribes of this neighborhood, *besides withholding the cloathing which they invariably received on the approach of winter*, thereby running the risque of adding to the existing discontent, & jealousy with which the Ottawas and Chippeways viewed Mr. Dickson's partiality for the Western Indians, which had attained to such a length that Capt<sup>n</sup> Askin can prove that

a deputation of those nations, would have proceeded last summer to represent their grievances to the Governor, had he not prevented them. I enclose you a copy of his statement. In addition to this dilemma in which I was placed (of so hazardous a tendency as we must chiefly rely on those Indians for assistance in the hour of trial) I had scarcely any thing to spare for the numerous tribes at Sagana,<sup>1</sup> St. Joseph River, Grand River, & to such of the Kikapoos, Pottewattamies &c, as are inclined to our side, & which doubtless has compelled some of them to apply for that help to the Americans, which I was unable to give. I am convinced that Mr. Dickson's total neglect of these nations, has had no small share in driving such of them into the arms of the Enemy as are now against us. You see how very difficult a card I had to play. Besides as there is not a doubt, but that the Americans availing themselves of their southern climate, & commanding Naval Superiority, will make a great effort to be here before our little Squadron, I leave you to judge of the imperious necessity that existed, that we might not be without ammunition & a small share of other supplies for the Indians that may join us in the Spring, in case such a misfortune should happen. As it is obvious to every one, that our connexion with all the Indian nations depends wholly on our being able to retain this Island, it would have been the height of infatuation & folly to have stripped ourselves of the means of defence—an act for which I never could have been justified or forgiven, & which to give *them* a momentary relief, might have ruined them for ever. If with the supply which was sent with you, they are still in such distress, what would be their horrible fate, if they were cut off from the fountain from which they derive their existence, if thro' any act of childest inadvertence, this Island were endangered or lost?

The idea of being obliged to send your provisions from Michilimackinac would make all below, utterly despair, they entertained strong doubts of being even able to sup-

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<sup>1</sup> Saginaw, Mich.—Ed.

ply ourselves,—most puzzling and difficult are our situations. Should our vessels fortunately arrive with a good supply, I must, if it can possibly be spared, & conveyed, endeavor to send you some Pork to Green Bay, altho' it is a most cruel and unlooked for emergency. Mr. Dickson himself, repeatedly told me last summer that we might expect to be assisted *here from Green Bay* with a hundred barrels of flour, instead of our being obliged to send supplies in that direction. After this statement, you will less wonder at the resources of that country & the Mississippi being overrated to me, from other quarters.

The fact is, my Dear Bulger, that the conviction was, and is so strong on my mind, as to the irreparable & overwhelming evils, which our evacuation of the country, & abandoning the Indians would occasion, that I was constrained to give some credit to these accounts & to try the experiment of a small Garrison, around which they might rally, & be encouraged, directed & *led on* by it against the common Enemy. The failure of our hopes on that respect will not, in prudence, honor, or sound policy, justify our withdrawing from the country; in my several letters, there is a good deal of tautology on this subject, but it shows how strongly I am impressed with the truth of this opinion. You have with you some active able officers; even with their assistance alone, in organizing, uniting and inspiring the Indians, it will be scarcely possible for the Enemy (pressed on every side, & particularly on the Mississippi) to establish himself at such a distance from support.

Turn, therefore, all your attention, to the most prudent and judicious management of your precarious resources. I dread the mischiefs which will result from the total want of economy, from the invariable havoc & waste made by that Timon of Athens—Dickson. The *whole* arrangements as to provisions must center in you, & no purchases made by any other authority. Try if all the volunteers can be struck off from receiving rations; the actual value of which might be allowed them, by the Acting Commissarys' re-

purchasing them again into Store. This mode would perhaps satisfy some of the Michigan's, particularly by exempting *such* from Parades, & allowing them to work. (I trust that Captain Anderson & Lieut. Porlier will infuse new life & animation into these Corps, & make them render you still good service). You must give every encouragement to the planting *as much corn as possible*, & particularly *above* your Post. Take the utmost pains in this, or the Indians will next winter perish for want. From the Enemy's late establishment, near the Sauk village, they will probably have to move farther up, at all events to plant their corn.

The great price for that article, will I hope cause much to be sown by the Settlers around you. Spare no expence for provisions rather than any misfortune should happen for want of it. Might not the Sioux (who are out of reach of the enemy) raise a good deal? The Indians ought to know that their ravages & depredations, if continued, will force us from the Country—cut off their supplies & thereby leave them exposed to the vengeance of the Americans & end in their ruin and extermination.

Believe me, very truly yours,

RT. MCDOUALL,  
Lt. Col. Comm'g.

Captain Bulger.  
&c. &c. &c.

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*Capt'n Askins statement referred to in Col. McDoualls letter of the 18th February, 1815—*

"It has appeared to me that Mr. Dickson has in several instances shown a disposition to obtain from His Majesty's store, a greater quantity of goods for the Western Indians than he was entitled to. On his way to Detroit in June 1813, he applied for every article in the Indian Store at this Post, for the Indians under his command which he received (to the exception of a few articles that were retained by a special order from the Commanding officer of that Post) exclusive of all the goods and guns that were pur-



chased from the Merchants in this place, and tho' the same Indians got what presents the stores of Detroit and Amherstburg could afford, they were again clothed on their return to this place by order of Mr. Dickson, from the goods sent up under mark  $\frac{I^P}{M}$  for the Indians resorting to this [place] thereby causing no small degree of jealousy & discontent in the minds of the Indians in the vicinity of this Post. In addition to the fine assortment of goods sent to the Western Indians in the autumn of 1813 under mark  $\frac{I^P}{I}$  the whole who accompany'd Mr. Dickson to this [place] were again clothed in June last, & thereby reducing the quantity of Presents to which the OTTAWAS and CHIPPEWAY'S here were entitled.

In the beginning of last summer a deputation of the OTTAWAS were about to proceed from here to Quebec for the purpose of laying before the Governor in Chief their grievances, & Mr. Dicksons treatment and partiality; but they were dissuaded from that intention by me.

In my opinion the commandant in his zeal to do the utmost that was possible for the Indians of the Mississippi, in his appropriation of presents last fall, for that Quarter, ordered more goods than prudence and good policy could well justify in consequence of which, the Autumn presents which used to be invariably given to the Indians of this neighbourhood, were withheld, thereby running great risk of diminishing their zeal & attachment to us, and perhaps of rendering them less ardent in repairing to our assistance when attacked by the enemy.

From my long acquaintance with the Indian Character I think it absolutely necessary that their rights should be most strictly attended to, particularly those around us, for they are the natural defenders of this Post; and to efface from their minds every idea that their interests are sacrificed to those of the Indians of the Mississippi.

JHN ASKIN.

Indorsed: "Certified — True Copy. (Signed) Jno. Radenhurst Lt. Fort Adj<sup>d</sup> Michilimackinac."

MICHILIMACKINAC, 20<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER — Be on your guard as to Mr. Dickson, that insidious, intriguing, dangerous, yet despicable character, will require the exercise of all your prudence, all your caution, all your good management. I shall ever regret having sent him with you, as the conviction is strong on my mind, that what with your own judgment & foresight, together with Captain Anderson's zealous assistance & the other officers, that I am highly pleased to hear you speak so well of, you would have been able so to have husbanded your precarious resources, as to have left you no small chance of preserving to us a Country of such vast importance, and which if you succeeded in, could not fail of being attended with the most signal advantages to yourself. Your dispatches I shall forward to His Excellency the Governor, they are very creditable to you, & place your zeal & abilities in a very conspicuous point of view. Of this, be assured that no influence of mine shall be wanting to reward your exertions for the Public good. I did contemplate the possibility of your first getting a compy. in your Regiment, and that an opportunity might occur on the Mississippi, which would give you a fair claim for the Brevit Rank of major. We have a recent instance of such good fortune in Faucett of the 100<sup>th</sup> who tho' so very lately a subaltern, has now 500 majors below him! I can pritty well answer for Lieut.-General Drummond's disposition, & also Sir George's, most warmly to take up & second my recommendation.

I am glad to find that my good opinion of Capt<sup>n</sup>. Anderson is corroborated by yours. Assure that gentleman that I duly appreciate his zeal & service, & doubt not but he will assist you with his hearty support & co-operation. Before I received your dispatch, I was studying in what way to serve him, & could think of no better mode than by recommending him most strongly to be a Captain in the Indian Depart<sup>t</sup> which I have done in my last letters to His Excellency. & have little [doubt] of his appointment. It will be

more advantageous to him than the temporary command of the Michigan Company (which I believe will be left with Mr. Armstrong) as there will be at the end of the war (I have little doubt) either half pay, or an equivalent. I have also represented the necessity of *all* your officers being allowed Bat & Forage money. Tell Mr. Keating<sup>1</sup> that he will not be forgotten, when his present employment ceases.

Our winter express being daily expected, I have not yet heard, as to your loss of baggage, which if forgotten, I shall re-urge most strongly. You will charge your command money from the date of your appointment. Your supplies by Mr. Forrest, shall be duly forwarded by the canoes.

Rt. McDouall, Lt. Col.

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FROM DICKSON.

DEAR SIR, — About Fifty Renard Indians are just arrived if you think proper I would wish to give them Twelve or Fifteen loaves of Bread, as these people have a great quantity of corn, I would wish to hide our poverty in provisions.

I am

Dr. Sir,

Yours Truly,

R. DICKSON.

Feb. 20th 1815.

Capt. Bulger.

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BULGER'S AUTHORITY CONFIRMED.

MICHILIMACKINAC 23rd February 1815.

*Garrison Orders.*

His Excellency The Commander of the Forces & Governor-in-chief, has been pleased to sanction, and confirm the appointment of Captain Bulger, Commanding at Fort Mc-

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<sup>1</sup> Lieut. James Keating, of the Royal Artillery, was bombardier on the expedition to Rock River rapids, in August, 1814. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., *passim.*— Ed.

Kay and on the Mississippi; as also his local rank and half the Command money allowed for Michilimackinac.

Lieut.-Colonel McDouall, commanding Michilimackinac and its Dependancies, and Commanding and Superintending the Indian Department at these posts, is pleased to order and direct that the Indian Department on the Mississippi shall be subject to, and entirely under the orders of the officer commanding and representing His Majesty at Fort McKay. The Agent & Superintendent of the Western Indians, together with the Captains, Lieutenants, and Interpreters thereof, will therefore receive their instructions from Captain Bulger and govern themselves accordingly.

Captain Bulger will devote what time he can spare, to the restoration of that order, method, and arrangement in the Western Indian Department, the want of which is so apparent, and which has hitherto rendered it such a scene of inextricable confusion. He will direct the Indian presents to be judiciously and impartially distributed and all requisitions and purchases for the Department must be examined & approved of by him. All expenditures and disbursements must be invariably accompanied by the proper vouchers, and on being regularly certified by the officer commanding, he will direct his acting commissary to draw upon Dept. Asst. Commy. Gen. Monk for the amount.

In all parts of the British Empire, both at home and abroad, in whatever relates to the expenditure of the Public money, the most scrupulous adherence to the prescribed forms is invariably exacted from those invested with commands. It perhaps belongs alone to the Western Indian Department, to plead exception from those salutary rules, which it is so obviously the policy of the Government to enforce. But as the departure therefrom, subjects the commandant to a very heavy responsibility, it can no longer be permitted. The last Pay List of that Department up to the 24th of Septem<sup>r</sup>, amounts to a very large sum, containing no deductions for rations, or Income tax, besides other errors which were wilfully persevered in, though

pointed out by Capt<sup>n</sup> Askin, and which the commandant, not aware of its defects inadvertently certified.

Captain Bulger will be pleased to ascertain by a Court of Enquiry, if the officers of the Western Indian Department have been regularly settled with, and received their pay to the 24<sup>th</sup> of Sept. as there cannot be a doubt that the receipt of their pay every two months will materially conduce to their comfort and advantage, instead of being put off to indefinite and uncertain periods, equally inconvenient to the individual and the Public. Captain Bulger will enforce the order of the 17<sup>th</sup> October and cause Pay Lists (in triplicate agreeably to the form transmitted) to be made out every two months, regularly vouched & certified and the amount drawn for on Dept Asst Commissary General Monk. Such officers of the Department, who may happen to be absent on duty, and who have not previously signed the Pay List (or left receipts, which with a little management can in general be effected) may be included in the subsequent Pay Lists for the whole period which may be due.

The commandant having sanctioned a temporary advance (made by Mr. Monk in the course of last summer) to Mr. Robert Dickson, agent & and Superintendant of the Western Indians, for the use of his department, and of the expenditure of which no account whatever has yet been rendered, amounting to Five hundred and fifty pounds, eleven shillings & eight pence. That Gentleman will forthwith transmit to Michilimackinac correct and accurate statements in Triplicate, showing the disposal of the sum alluded to, accompanied by the proper vouchers, in order that the same, after undergoing the usual investigation, may be sent with other Public accounts to Montreal.

J'N'° RADENHURST.

Fort Adjutant.

## FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 25<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1815.

SIR,—Upon the subject of Mr. Rolette's conduct, & taking into consideration the difficulty's which he has had to surmount, particularly the malicious persecution of Mr. Dickson, I am inclined to shew him every reasonable indulgence. It will be of the utmost consequence that his zeal & exertions to supply you with Provisions, should by every encouragement, be stimulated & encreased, rather than it should abate. For these reasons, I empower you to grant him such relief, & so to alter and modify the contract, even to the granting him an increased price, as it may appear to you, that his zeal to fulfil it, & the necessity of the case requires.

As the Indian Department is now under your orders, which you will see the necessity of strictly enforcing, I rely on your prudence & judgment for taking such steps as will prevent any extravagance, or waste on their part as to provisions. Had I given the rein to Mr. Dickson's improvidence, when here, Mr. Monk assures me we should now have been without provisions, & exposed to the horrors of famine. Think of every possible method of encreasing your supplies, & diminishing your consumption, & let no improper obstacle be thrown in Mr. Rolette's way; he writes positively that but for Mr. Dickson opposing him by giving Indian Goods, & most extravagant prices for the provisions bought in, that he could easily have fulfilled his contract. It is so much in Mr. Dickson's way that I am inclined to believe it. Inform me if it be so, and take the most decided measures to stop so improper and mischievous a traffic.

I have read the proceedings of the court of Enquiry upon Mr. Dickson's charges against Mr. Rolette, with equal astonishment & indignation. A more vile or iniquitous conspiracy against the life of an individual I have scarcely ever heard of. I am highly obliged to you for your able & patient investigation of charges which appear to me equally

absurd and malignant; prefer'd too, against a man who so recently had given proofs of his loyalty, zeal & courage, by the expence he incurred, and the efforts he made to support Colonel McKay, at a time when his Prosecutor was very lukewarm in the business, & shewed no disposition to assist in the deliverance of that Country " which it was his peculiar duty to watch over and protect."

I agree with you, that in the affair of the teams and that of sending the Powder to the Gens-de-la-Feuille tiré Mr. Rolette was wrong; in the former case, the importance of fulfilling his contract would have induced me (perhaps) to exempt him; the latter instance, pleads in some measure, a similar excuse, but all matters of that kind I would wish to leave wholly to your own decision.

Believe me to be, very truly yours

Rt. McDouall,

Lt. Col. Comm'g.

If money will enable you to get  
provisions, & enable you to stand }  
your ground, spare it not.

*Captain Bulger,*

*Commanding on the Mississippi.*

*Fort McKay.*

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#### PROMOTIONS.

MICHILIMACKINAC 25<sup>th</sup> Feby 1815.

*Garrison Orders.*

The Lieut-Colonel commanding is pleased to make the following promotions in the Dependancies of this Garrison.

*Jacques Porlier Esq* }  
*Pierre Grignon Esq* } to be Captains of militia at Green Bay.

— Captain T. G. Anderson of the Mississippi Volunteers to be a Captain in the Indian Department, from 1<sup>st</sup> September until the pleasure of His Excellency The Commander of the Forces is known.

— Captain Francis Deace of the Militia at La Prairie des Chiens to be a Captain in the Indian Department from

the 2nd Sept. until the pleasure of His Excellency, The Commander of the Forces be known.

—Interpreter Joseph Renville<sup>1</sup> of the Indian Department to be a Lieutenant in the same from the 25th of December.

Lieut Jacques Porlier of the Mississippi Volunteers to be Lieut in Michigan Fencibles from the 25th Instant.

Serjeant Amable Dusang of the Mississippi Volunteers to be Ensign in the same from the 25th instant.

—Lieut. James Pullman of the Michigan Fencibles to act as commissary and Barrack-Master at Fort McKay with an allowance of five shillings p. day, for the performance of those duties.

Mr. Colin Campbell to be an Interpreter in the Indian Department, and Mr. Louis Desormier to be ditto from the 25th of November

—Bombardier James Patterson of the Royal Artillery to be overseer of works at Fort McKay, with an allowance of 1s \6d per day.

Serjeant Thomas Walsh of the 81st Reg to be Garrison Serjeant-Major at Fort McKay with an allowance of 1s \6d per day.

—The acting Barrack-Master & Commissary at Fort McKay will be under the orders of and accountable to the heads of those Department's at Michilimackinac who will furnish Lieut Pulman with such clear and explicit instructions for his guidance as will enable him to perform the duty correctly, and transmit the public accounts free from errors, and properly vouched & certified by the officer commanding, as must also be all the accounts of the Indian Department.

Should the officer commanding on the Mississippi think it necessary to call out the Militia—Captain Deace's services will still be required at their head, until the confirmation of his appointment.

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<sup>1</sup> Interpreter for the Sioux. McKay spoke well of his conduct.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 266.— Ed.



Captain Anderson will continue to command & be included in the Pay Lists of his company of volunteers until the ratification of his appointment; and Captain Bulger will likewise be pleased to place the Detachment of Michigan Fencibles under his orders. He will state to them the Lieutenant Colonel's extreme regret & mortification, that the men from whose former conduct he had expect much, whom he had reason to praise, and that highly too, more than once for their gallantry should suddenly forfeit their reputation by the commission of one of the most heinous crimes a soldier can be guilty. He however, confidently trusts, that under the active and judicious officer appointed to command them, an opportunity will occur, for again signaling their courage in the field, & thereby do away the disgrace which has befallen them in quarters. This is the only mode of attoning for their transgression, & of effectually restoring them to the Lieutenant Colonel's good opinion.

JHO. RADENHURST,  
Fort Adjutant.

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC 26th Feby 1815.

SIR—The measures which you found it necessary to adopt, upon the unfortunate occasion of the murder of Mr. Rolette's men, appear to me to have been absolutely necessary to the future preservation & tranquility of the Country, & this act of summary justice will I trust have the good effect which you hope for. Tho' perhaps it would have been [desirable] to have made the execution of the murderer appear to have been the act of the Indians themselves—this would not have admitted of cavil & objection. I feel with yourself, the strong necessity which exists, that those in command at such a distance should be invested with adequate powers, in order that capital crimes may meet with prompt & immediate punishment. This shall be strongly represented accordingly.

I entirely approve of your declaration of Martial Law, & of your conduct as to the address, which was spirited & dignified, as it [the conduct of others?] was elsewhere low and mean.

You will see by the orders transmitted, that I have sanctioned your appointments. Captain Anderson will be much better off, as a Captain in the Indian Department, than as Commanding the Michigan Fencibles, which probably will not stand long, and Mr. Armstrong continues to command. You will announce to the Officers of the Indian Department, that I have been doing every thing in my power to benefit them, & render their situations more comfortable and advantageous. I have strongly recommended half pay at the end of the war, for such as are not retained in the service; also an allowance of Bat & Forage money, & my being empowered to unite the offices of Lieut't. and Interpreter in favour of those who distinguish themselves by their zeal and have merit. I have great hopes that these suggestions will be attended to. In addition to these, they must regularly receive their Pay & *allowances* I find there is a *general order* for their being paid every *two months*, therefore as Mr. Dickson has drawn for them to the 24th of Septem'r in order to close the year, the next Pay List must be from 25th Sept'r to 24th Dec'r & the others regularly every two months. It will not be difficult for such as go on command, priviously to sign the Pay list, or leave receipts, & where that cannot be done, to include them, on their return, for the whole period due. I shall endeavor, with the Spring supplies, to complete the officers of the Department with uniform coats (& the Captains & Lieut's with Epaulites) to give them the due respectability in point of appearance.

You will therefore, in making known to them my appointment to the command & Superintendance of the Indian Department at this place and its Dependancies, State the measures which I have adopted for their advantage, & that it is my fixed determination to do every thing in my power for the promotion of those, who have the

good fortune to distinguish themselves in the cause of their King & Country. On their part, I shall expect from one & all, a cordial, zealous & active performance of their respective dutys.

I am sorry to see Captain Anderson's Company reduced so low in point of numbers. I fear it will occasion objection on the part of Government, to incur the expence of a Captain, Lieut. & Ensign for little more than Twenty men. & I fear the Company allowances which have been charged, are scarcely admissible for so small a number. I think he will be able to encrease the Company to 50 R & F<sup>1</sup> by exempting them as much as possible from Drill or Duty & such as receive no rations (which if you can possibly manage it, you should allow the Michigans & the few men from this Garrison only) only [be] required to parade on Sundays. It will be highly desirable to effect this, were it only to provide for the deserving officers belonging to it. I trust that the Michigan Fencibles, under Capt. Anderson & Mr. Porter, will again distinguish themselves against the Enemy & wipe off their late disgrace. Your conduct in that trying affair did you great credit, & meets with my entire approbation. The Culprets, however, well deserved the whole of their punishment, & I would recommend in future, rigorous discipline, *with the promoters of such mischief (who if possible should be found out) but every favour & encouragement to those who conduct themselves well.*

I have informed Mr. Porlier's Father, that if he approves of it, I will recommend his son, to the Commander of the Forces, for an Ensigny in the Line, You may appoint La Rose, the Folleavoine Interpreter (who behaved well with them on the 4th August) a Lieut. if you have reason to approve of his subsequent conduct.

You will inform Mr. Rolette for me, of my opinion as to the charges brought against him, & that from what I have seen of him myself, as well as Colonel McKay's report of his conduct, I have ever considered him a loyal

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<sup>1</sup> Rank and file.—Ed.

& zealous subject, resolved to do his utmost to preserve the country from the Enemy. That I am fully confident, his future conduct & exertions will bear me out in my opinion, & that I depend on all his efforts & influence being used with the Scioux, and the Indians in general, to animate them in the common cause. From what I have noticed of Mr. Rolette, his chief fault is culpable flippancy of tongue, which lead him into scrapes—tho' he means well.

My Dear Bulger, by every means in your power, cultivate harmony & the best possible understanding among all around you, reconcile Captain Anderson & Mr. Rolette, & let the only rivalry be, who shall do most for the Public good. I scarcely can include Mr. Dickson; I consider that weak, wretched man, as "fallen like Lucifer, never to rise again."

Believe me, very truly yours,

Rt. McDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Comman'g.

*Captain Bulger,*

*Commanding on the Mississippi.*

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MICHILIMACKINAC 26<sup>th</sup> Feby. 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been delaying my dispatch from day to day in the anxious hope of Mr. Livingstone's arrival, in order to transmit you your Letters, some Newspapers, & above all, to acquaint you with the events of the war in all quarters, but particularly as the different operations effect ourselves. I have, so far, been grievously disappointed at his non-arrival, & I fear I can no longer detain my dispatches.

I have no later accounts from the Commander of the Forces, or General Drummond, than the 30<sup>th</sup> November. The former then at Kingston—the latter embarked in the St Lawrence of 104 Guns; returning to that place after a campaign which will forever immortalise him, & which terminated in the Americans blowing up Fort Erie, & retiring to their own side, having failed in all their projects.

Our magnificent first-rate [navy?] had given us absolute command of Lake Ontario, another large re-enforcement had arrived at Quebec, & preparations upon a large scale, were making to assail the Enemy on every side.

The most interesting intelligence from Europe, was the breaking up of the Congress at Ghent, & consequent failure of the negociations for peace with the Americans; *the principal cause, was the question relating to the Indians.* our Government insisting upon their being included in the Treaty as our Allies; upon their future independance, upon the restoration of their lands, and a new boundary, upon the basis of that agreed on by General Wayne at the treaty of Grenville. This article having for its object, the future security & welfare of the Indians Nations, was demanded & persisted in, as the *sine qua non* of negociation. The American Commissioners had no instructions relative to those demands, & the treaty accordingly broke off. His Excellency in communicating to me this intelligence, adds, "I consider the article relating to the Indian Tribes, so highly important, that I have extracted it for your information, in order that thro' you the Indian Tribes of the North-West may become acquainted with circumstances so highly important to them, while at the same time, they afford such strong evidence of the religious observance of those promises which I was commanded to make to them, in the name & on the behalf of H. R. H. The Prince Regent."

"You will of course impress on the Tribes in your neighborhood, on the one hand, the earnest consideration evinced by the Prince Regent, for their future welfare and Independance, contrasted with the insidious designs of the Enemy against their prosperity, the evident consequence of his outrageous injustice, that would altogether exclude them from any pacific arrangement between the two Country's, after having so repeatedly recognized them as intimately allied with us in one common cause."

I have accordingly made known to the Indians of this

Neighborhood (most of them, indeed being absent on their wintering grounds) news of such great importance to them. And Chebainse, a principal Pottewattamie Chief having been here with Lieut't Cadotte of the Indian Department, from Grand River, (Lake Michigan) I sent with him on his return, a Belt of Wampum, giving him the full particulars of the intentions of our Government in their favour, & directing him to circulate the news, among his own nation & also the Miamis, Kikapoos, Delawares & Wyandots. This he faithfully and zealously promised to do. He likewise informed us that most of the Tribes just mentioned, tho' a number of them had been compelled to make peace with the Americans at Grenville, yet having been deceived by them, had determined to leave, and declare against them; that the two first Tribes had actually done so, & joined the *Bad Sturgeon* a Pottewattamie chief zealously *attached to us*, at Theakiki River; that the others were anxious to follow their example, but that their removal required great caution, themselves and family being in the power of the Enemy & besides not having any ammunition wherewith to defend.

Chebainse added, that they only required arms and ammunition in the spring, & a little cloathing for their women & children, of which articles they were deplorably destitute, to rush upon the enemy.

From the wily character of the Indian, & his propensity to change sides as the events of the war proves adverse or prosperous, it is difficult at times to implicitly rely on their statements and professions. Chebainse has however, been uniformly zealous for our side, & Cadotte speaks highly of his influence & exertions. (I had sent the latter with what supplies *we could spare*, for the wretched and starving Indians of the Grand River, & of St. Joseph | whom it is of the last importance not to lose | but a mere trifle in comparison of yours.) He was highly pleased with the result of his mission, and stated that the news he carried back would rejoice all the Nations. Chebainse was with us on the 4th of August—Captain Askin gives great credit to his statements, & tho' I received them with some caution,

yet I am impressed with the belief that he speaks the truth — We have many loyal and well affected Indians on the shores of Lake Michigan, who must not in future be so entirely neglected.

I send you a newspaper, giving all the particulars of the late negociations. You will announce this intelligence to the Indians in Grand Council with all the éclat & effect which you can give it, & which its singular importance to them, is so well calculated to inspire. I enclose a speech which you may add to, in any way that you think will make it more impressive. In fact, the ensuing summer will require no small dexterity and judgment in successfully managing them, amidst so many difficultys. Leave no means untried to excite their enthusiasm & perseverance, were it only for the next campaign which if we bring to a successful close (of which I have most sanguine hopes) all will be well & the game our own. Pay your court to *every one* that has influence with them, & engage them in promoting & encouraging in them the right disposition. Let no endeavors be wanting and whatever may be the result, let us at least have the proud consolation of knowing that we deserve success.

Yours always,

Rt. MCDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Comg.

Captain Bulger,

&c &c &c

Fort McKay.

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M'DOUALL'S SPEECH TO THE INDIANS.<sup>1</sup>

*To The Folleavoines, Waynebaggoes, Ottawas, Chippawas, Sauks, Renards and Sioux.*

"MY CHILDREN!" — "The Great Chief Sir Geo. Provost who holds at Quebec the place of your Great Father The King, has lately sent me intelligence of great importance to your future welfare and prosperity, & which he has commanded me to circulate, and make known to all his Indian Children."

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<sup>1</sup> Enclosed and alluded to in the foregoing letter.— ED.

"My Children!" — "You know that the Americans (called by you the Big Knives<sup>1</sup>) unjustly declared war against the King your Great Father, at a time when most of his soldiers and ships were employed in fighting the French, who first discovered you. He has again completely subdued that powerful nation, who are now his friends, and who would willingly assist him against the *Big Knives*, if he required their help. That deceitful People knowing that they were unable to resist his victorious Troops, sent commissioners across the Big Lake<sup>2</sup> to treat for peace. Your Father the King, faithful to his promises which he made to his Red Children, resolved that justice should be done to them, and would not listen to any proposal of the American Government unless they would first agree to redress your wrongs, restore to you again all the lands which they have robbed you of since their General Wayne's treaty of Grenville,<sup>3</sup> dismantling their Forts, and withdrawing their Troops from within the new boundary, and the country thus restored to you, to be entirely independent, as well as all the Indian nations, whose rights were in future to be held sacred."

"My Children!" — "The reply of the Big Knives ought to sink deep into your hearts and never be forgotten. They positively refused to comply with the moderate, just and reasonable demands which the King your Great Father had stipulated in your favor, or that the Indian nations, should in any shape be included in the Treaty. The King your Great Father seeing there was no other resource, ordered his ships, and those victorious Troops who above, have been able to conquer the French,<sup>4</sup> to attack the Enemy on every side, and compel them to do you justice."

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<sup>1</sup> The term "Big Knives" or "Long Knives" was applied by the Indians to the Virginian borderers, certainly as early as 1750. It probably had reference, originally, either to the long knives carried by white hunters, or to the swords worn by backwoods militia officers.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Atlantic ocean.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Aug. 3, 1795, at Greenville, O.— Ed.

<sup>4</sup> The day that McDouall presumably wrote this speech (Feb. 26, 1815), Napoleon left Elba for France.— Ed.



"My Children!" — "It is therefore evident, that the War now continues on your account. Your Great Father the King could easily make an advantageous peace, but he is resolved to fulfil his Promises to you, and not leave you in the power of the Americans, who would shew you no mercy. Their refusal to admit you into the Treaty, is another proof (if proof at all was wanting) that it is their fixed and unalterable determination to seize upon your lands, to destroy one nation after another and to drive the miserable remnant who survive [to] the Rocky Mountains. Because they cannot effect their cruel purpose at present, their object is to lull some of you into a fatal security, until you are wholly in their power, and when it will be too late for the King your Great Father to save you."

"My Children!" — "I own that some of your situations for some time past has been hard and perplexing. Your Great Father has plenty of ammunition and clothing (for all his true & faithful children) at Quebec: but unfortunately the road by which we used to receive them, has been stopped up: but this cannot last long, for the power of your Great Father the King was never so great as at this moment, and the rubbish which now obstructs the path will soon be removed."<sup>1</sup>

I added the following, with the wampum Belt, sent to the Folleavoines.

"My Children!" — "Great re-enforcements had arrived at Quebec. A large Fleet and army were attacking the enemy on the side of the Great Lake, & another army (assisted by the Spanards,) at the mouth of the Mississippi. The Veterean Troops of Great Britain, were collecting

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<sup>1</sup> McDouall refers to the practical control of the lower Great Lakes by the Americans. The treaty of peace between England and America had been signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814, and had been ratified at Washington, Feb. 18, 1815, eight days before the writing of the letter in which this speech was enclosed; but so slowly did dispatches travel in those days that it was not until April 25 (see *post*) that McDouall received the news at Mackinaw, whereas Bulger doubtless heard of it a few weeks earlier (see *post*, Clark's letter to him, of March 22). — Ed.

from all our colonies to assail the Enemy. The Americans had been driven entirely from the Niagara frontier. Their Fort of that name, still in our possession, & our Fleet re-enforced by a Great ship of 100. Guns, was decidedly superior on Lake Ontario."

"My Children!" — "In the course of the ensuing summer the Big Knives, attacked by so many of our Troops everywhere accustomed to victory, must be humbled & beaten. But as the enemy's Fleet on Lake Erie interrupt the communication between Quebec & Michilimackinac, it is still necessary that great efforts should be made for the protection of your Fathers fire at that place, from which you have hitherto derived such warmth & comfort. You know that if you suffer that place to be lost, your supplies must be cut off, & you will inevitably perish for want. Your Father at Michilimac requires 80, or 100, of your best warriors, & it is necessary that they should be there with as great expedition as the season will admit of, & well armed. Such as have good guns will be particularly distinguished when the presents are distributed."

RT. MCDOUALL.

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By Robert McDouall, Esq., Lt. Colonel, Glengary Light Infantry. Commandant of the Island of Michilimackinac and Dependancies, & Commanding the Indian Department thereof —

By Virtue of Authority in me vested & having full confidence in your zeal, courage & discretion, I do hereby appoint you, Captain A. H. Bulger, to the command of the Garrison of Fort McKay, & of all description of Troops & Persons, employed by, and in the service of His Majesty, on all parts of the Mississippi, whether of the Line, Fencibles, Volunteers, Militia, or of the Indian Department, and all troops & Persons coming under the denomination aforesaid, are hereby required and commanded, to pay strict, & implicit obedience to your orders accordingly, and enjoined to a cordial & zealous co-operation in whatever may promote the common cause, as they shall answer for the same at their peril.

I do likewise, invest you with the command & direction of the Indian Department at Fort McKay, and on the Mississippi: the whole of the officers of which, are hereby commanded to abide by your orders & Instructions accordingly.



Given under my hand & seal at Michilim  
this first day of March, 1815.

Rt. MCDOUALL, Lt. Colonel,  
com'g Michilim<sup>c</sup> & Dependancies—  
& com'g the Indian Department thereof.

*Capt. A. H. Bulger,  
com'g the Forces of His  
Majesty on the  
Mississippi.*

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC 1<sup>st</sup> March: 1815.

SIR,—I have hitherto delayed averting to that part of your dispatch, in which you require my instructions for your future conduct and guidance, in the anxious hope, that the Express from York would have arrived, & probably enable me to give you a good idea of the support & assistance which it would be in my power to afford you in the opening of the navigation. In fact, this communication is of such importance, and my dispatch without it would be so little satisfactory, that painful as it is for me to keep you so long in suspense, yet there appears an indispensable necessity for delaying it till Mr. Livingstone's arrival, daily, hourly looked for.

Notwithstanding the circumscribed resources of the Country, the scarcity of provisions & the general difficulty's of your situation, yet in defiance of all, it must be maintained & defended to the last extremity: to abandon it now, would be infinitely worse, than if we had tamely acquiesced in its conquest. It would beside be a measure in every point of view, pregnant with the most eminent danger, and not only occasion the loss of this Island, but

ultimately place the Canadas themselves in jeopardy; for of this be assured, that the day which witnesses our departure from the Mississippi, for ever loses us the country, severs our Indian connection, & instead of their assistance as allies, we shall find them ferocious enemies, indignant at being abandoned, and leagued with the Americans, pouring down in swarms upon the province of Upper Canada. It is not quite clear to me, but that the attempt to withdraw the Garrison, by exasperating the Indians, would be more dangerous, than by an unanimous resolution to meet the Enemy with a most determined resistance. By adopting the latter expedient, and concentrating a large Indian force *for the short time the operations would last*, you would have every chance of defeating the enemy, the discription of troops that they can bring against you, being by no means formidable. Should such be the result, the country would be secure for another year, our Indian alliance preserved, & you the author of such advantage would be placed in such an enviable point of view that it would be decisive of your lot in the army. No officer of your rank (& seldom ever a Field Officer) was ever before invested with so important a command. That you will prove equal to it, and fully answer my expectations. I have not a doubt. Rouse then all your energies for the successful termination of the ensuing campaign, that it may eclipse the last in glory: be bold & ever full of confidence, which is sure to generate that in-valuable quality in war amongst all around you. But above all, let the most cordial union and even enthusiasm, if possible, prevail among yourselves, & among the Indians in the common cause. Of this you may rest assured, that any assistance which I can give from this Post, which will not absolutely compromise its safety, shall be afforded, but you will admit, that such a dispersion of my little force, as would endanger this Island, the source from whence all the Indian Nations are supplied, and the link which connects the whole of them with us, would be the most fatal polocy that could be adopted. If we fall, all the advan-

tages which you could gain would be useless, & as our Indian Alliance is the Chief obstacle to a peace, we have here every prospect of being assailed by a formidable force in the Spring. Much will depend on our good fortune in receiving supplies and re-enforcements in the spring, & of course, according to these, will depend the extent of the assistance I can afford you. So convinced have I always been of the importance of being able to maintain ourselves on the Mississippi that my efforts to do so have *invariably* far exceeded *my* instructions. I should have been happy to have complied with your wishes, as to sending with you part of your men, but there then existed insuperable objecting against it.

In recommending the meeting the Enemy at Rocky River,<sup>1</sup> I had no intention of prescribing to you your plan of operations, as from your local information, you can form a more just idea of the best mode of defending the Country: it will be necessary for you to look well before you, & anticipate every probable situation in which you may be placed. Should you be forced from the Prairie des Chiens (which I most ardently hope will not be the case), I should hope there would be little doubt of making your retreat up the Ouisconsin River, with your Boats & *your* Guns, without much molestation, as the Enemy's Boats must be too large for that river, & at all events could not follow you far for fear of the Indians. Four of yours, should be always ready fitted to receive your Guns. I should think a very strong position might be taken up on the Fox River, near the Portage, from which the Enemy could not dislodge you (of course having your Guns) You would be surrounded by the Warlike Folleavoines & Winnebagoes, give protection to these nations (against whom the Enemy are very inveterate) & have an easy communication with this Garrison. These are mere suggestions thrown out for your considerations. As I have the highest opinion of your character as an Officer, so I am convinced that you will display equal judgment and determination in your conduct.

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<sup>1</sup> Rock River.—ED.

I therefore with the more confidence, leave much to your discretion, nevertheless, again reminding you, that the posture of our affairs require that the Country should be defended with the obstinacy of despair. I have every reason to believe that a *strong* British force, joined by the Creeks, are operating against the Enemy, from Pensacola, towards the mouth of the Mississippi: the Spaniards too, were crossing the River Sabine & advancing from Sante Fé. There cannot be the smallest doubt, that early in the spring they will be most formidably re-enforced, & give the Enemy such employment to the Southward, as will render them unable to effect much on the upper Mississippi.

Certainly, never was a nation more amply provided with the means, or more heartily disposed to employ them, than we are in this just war, & the Americans, I trust, in the ensuing Campaign will have to drink deep of the cup of humiliation. For a little longer *our stations* only, will be arduous and difficult, but thereby presenting a wider field for honor & distinction, if successful.

I enclose you a map of your part of the Mississippi, very neatly copied by Capt<sup>n</sup>. Wardry.

The Command money allowed you is half of that of Michilimackinac, Vez 3 | 9 a day. You will however charge 5 | from the 25<sup>th</sup> Octob<sup>r</sup> in a supplementary Pay list up to the time, when you can include it with the other Staff of the Garrison. I will on that head make the proper representations below. On the opening of navigation, & arrival of the vessels, I shall do my utmost to send you what supplies & assistance I can possibly spare, we have every reason to expect an attack at that very time. The 6 pounder & car-ranade, will depend on what may be sent us. By our last Express, hopes were given us, that a sloop of war would this winter be built at Penetanguishine Bay;<sup>1</sup> many difficultys were in the way. & I have hitherto studiously avoided the subject, fearful of raising expectations which might not be realized, & trusting that Mr. Livingstone's ar-

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<sup>1</sup> In Ontario.— Ed.

rival would give us certain information. To my unutterable surprise & heartfelt vexation, neither him or the Express have yet made their appearance. You may judge of my disappointment, from your own, & particularly as I have detained this dispatch till now, in the hourly hope of being able to give you encouraging news, & being able to point out the precise mode of conduct you would have to adopt in the Spring, & the nature of the assistance we could afford you. It must however, be no longer delayed, & I trust will soon be followed with [favorable] intelligence.

Believe me, very truly yours,

Rt. McDouall Lt. Col.

Com'g.

*Captain Bulger,  
Com'g on the Mississippi,  
Fort McKay.*

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SIR,—You are hereby ordered to repair forthwith, & with as little delay as possible, to this Garrison.

On your arrival at Green Bay, you will make every arrangement to expedite the departure of the Folleavoines and Winnebago Indians.

Given under my hand at Michilimackinac

This 1<sup>st</sup> day of March 1815.

Rt. McDouall, Lt. Col.

Com'g Michilimac'c & Dependancies,

& the Indian Department thereof.

*To Mr Robert Dickson  
Agent & Superintendant  
Western Indians.*

Indorsed: "Order alluded to in Col McDoualls letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> March 1815."

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MICHILIMACKINAC 1<sup>st</sup> March: 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—My intention is that Mr. Dickson should remain with you as long as you find his assistance & services beneficial to you, and conducive to the general good. If on the other hand, he should delight as usual, to

fish in trouble[d] waters, to generate opposition & discontent, or be in any way an impediment or hinderance to the execution of those measures, which you see fit to adopt, you will then deliver him the enclosed order to depart immediately to this Garrison. When you find it necessary to give it, it must be promptly obeyed. After the clear and explicit General order of the 21st October, transmitted in the handwriting of Major-General Baynes, Adjt. Gen'l, and the regular & fair delegation of my authority to you, as commanding on the Mississippi, there must be an entire stop to the vain pretensions of Mr. Dickson—he must awake from his dream of greatness, & be made to understand the consequence of disobedience of orders, & that whatever his powers & instructions may have originally been (at a time when we had no officer commanding on the Mississippi) they are superseded & rendered of no effect by those with which I have been recently invested.

Should Mr. Dickson depart for this place, you will appoint either Captain Deace or Capt<sup>n</sup> Anderson to perform the duty of the Department in his absence; it will be particularly necessary that the one you appoint, should be fittest for the duty, most esteemed & held in respect by the Indians, & in fact capable of rendering the most service. It will probably be Capt<sup>n</sup> Deace, tho' I am not much pleased with him or Capt<sup>n</sup> Graham for their servile support of Mr. Dickson in his shameful prosecution [persecution?] of Mr. Rolette.

We have been indefatigable the whole winter in improving & strengthening our positions; we are mounting an 18 Pr. in the angle of the Fort close to the Mess Room: a new bastion nearly finished at the angle facing Fort George, for a long 9 Pr. on a circular pivot. Fort George greatly improved & in a progressive state of improvement; the Block-house to be unroofed and lowered, & the long 9. mounted on a circular pivot; the ditch still more deepened & the glacis raised to a height that will nearly cover the Fort: with immense labor, stores and magazines have been



excavated in the hill *close to the entrance* of Fort George, & nearly finished, which are bomb proof, & will hold all our provisions & eatables, a bakery now going on, also under ground tanks for 400 barrels of water, making in case we do not find a spring, & the hill itself surrounded by an abbattis of great extent. Depend upon it, that the greatest difficulty's insensibly diminish on being resolutely encountered.

Believe me,

Yours very truly

RT. MCDOUALL,

Lieut. Col. Com'g.

Captain Bulger,

&c

&c

&c

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MICHILIMACKINAC 7<sup>th</sup> March, 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER—My patience being utterly exhausted in waiting for the Express from York, I am constrained, however, much as you may [be] disappointed, to forward my dispatches without my being able to acquaint you with those events of the war, which I have reason to hope would have been of such a nature, as to have infused fresh spirits into your Garrison, & amongst your Indian Allies. No time shall be lost in acquainting you with this desirable information, as soon as it is in my power.

I have forwarded you 1233 lbs. of powder, exclusive of 100 lbs. to be left at Green Bay, & which, if you are in want of, you can order on. This supply will reach you in time for the spring operations, where as, had it gone with you, it would probably have been expended in the winter. It reduces our stock here, greatly (in consequence of our supplies issued to the Indians for the winter & what was sent to the Grand River) but I must trust to our vessels having the good fortune to arrive with an ample stock to replace it, as that article is so inestimably precious. I would recommend the utmost economy in saluting or practice. I shall do my utmost to comply with your requisition for ordinance stores, *but the Grape shot, you must contrive to make*

of Lead & quilt them together yourselves.<sup>1</sup> With regard to your works at the Fort, you must follow the dictates of your own judgment, in carrying on those that you deem indispensable for your security & convenience. I am inclined to think that the speech you sent me, relative to Wabasha, originates in Mr. Dicksons quarrel with Mr. Rollette; that chief gave the most solemn promises here of his attachment to the British cause, & of his determination to support Colonel McKay to the last. Show no unnecessary distrust, but do everything to confirm him in those sentiments, to inspire confidence, & to do away with jealousy. Tell him and the Little Corbeau, from me, that I have full reliance on the promises they made me at this place, & on their utmost zeal and exertions for the King their Great Father, and that they may depend on mine to support their nation *to the utmost of my means*, that the time is not far off, when a Great change must take place, which will enable me, I trust, amply to supply their wants.

I inclose you a commission as commanding the Indian Department & on the Mississippi, also a few Newspapers, that having an account of the negociations at Ghent, has been taken away & mislaid, but my letter contains the substance of it. I hope soon to forward it with Newspapers of a late date & an army List. I know nothing of Mr. Deace's appointment prior to my own. I *recommended* his being allowed a year's pay as Captain of Militia; he may be continued for his allowances only, until he is confirmed in the Indian Department. I am equally ignorant of Mr. La Puche's real rank, or who appointed him. I understand he can neither read or write, and of course is admirably calculated for a commissary to such a man as Mr. Dickson! who is himself the very quentessence of Supiness & indolence. I trust you will be able to introduce some regularity into this confused Department, particularly its accounts.

We are here, as you may suppose, sadly off for almost

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<sup>1</sup> Bulk lead was readily obtainable from the neighboring mines which were worked by Indians.—Ed.

every thing which we require & will be so till the arrival of the vessels. Scarcely a spade or pick-axe or any kind of tools; an equal scarcity of iron & steel: not a bit of rope on the Island: our boats all out of order, & no oakum pitch or even gum to repair them; *but when supplied with these things*, every human exertion shall be made, to forward such assistance as may be in my power, *which I trust*, will include a good supply of ammunition, presents, & reinforcement of regulars, (when if you cannot feed all your Garrison, you must send back such of the Michigans, with the boats, as you think necessary,) & probably twenty Barrels of Pork.

I have forwarded two kegs of salt to assist Mr. Rolette till the opening of the Navigation; also a small quantity of Rum for yourself, if you have any to spare, you will easily be able to distribute it, of this article I will also according to my means, send you what I can.

I hope ere long to congratulate you on your promotion. In my dispatch relative to the schooners, I did you strict justice. I think it not unlikely, that not only yourself, but even Radenhurst & Armstrong will obtain company's in consequence of that gallant exploit, which I trust you will still be able to follow up in such a manner as will be productive of still greater advantages.

I refer you to Radenhurst for all our news at this place. as the Mississippi is destined soon (if not now) to be the scene of operations on a large scale, by both British & Spaniards. Struggle hard not to relinquish the hold we now have of it, which by preserving a little longer, must lead to important results. Adieu & may success and prosperity attend you!

Believe me my Dear Bulger  
very truly yours.

RT. MCDUALL. Lt Col.  
Comm'g.

Captain Bulger.

&c &c &c.

P S. I am told there is a very clever fellow of the name

of Blondeau,<sup>1</sup> among the Sauks, who has great influence with them, and who tho' employed by the Enemy might be yet reclaimed to the service of his King. If it could be adroitly managed, I would give him every encouragement & make him a Lieutenant in the Indian Department in the first instance. He formerly was with Mr Crawford, who speaks highly of his abilities.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF GREEN BAY.

*To the Traders and Inhabitants in the Settlement of Green Bay.*

You have now an opportunity of testifying to the world whether you are sincere in your professions of loyalty and attachment to His Majesty's Government. I understand that there is still a considerable quantity of wheat, as well as ammunition, in this place, and I have heard that some of you intend to hoard up those articles, in hopes of obtaining an exorbitant price for them. This is ungenerous, ungrateful to that Government which protects you. It was this, that induced me to take a journey of 400 miles, in the depth of winter through a wilderness, and in order to ascertain the exact quantity in your possession, I have issued an order that statements thereof be given in upon oath. I shall, by that means, be enabled to judge how far this settlement is capable of assisting Government. I do not mean to distress any man, but private interest must yield to the public good: the selfish views of a few individuals must not be put in competition with the preservation of the country: The fate of which hangs upon an immediate supply of ammunition. You have it in your power to contribute to its preservation by lending that article, or by disposing of it to Government at a moderate

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently Maurice Blondeau, the St. Louis trader, mentioned in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 148; xi., p. 313; and xii., p. 154. An interpreter named Blondeau was of service to the British in operations in this region during the Revolutionary War, *Id.*, xii., pp. 61, 63, 67-69, but I can trace no connection between the two.—Ed.

price. I do not like your charging 5. and 6. dollars, a pound for your powder, it does not look well. Such an exorbitant demand will stagger the confidence of Government, and will make it be believed that your wish is to impose and extort. How can you with any face, look to Government for indemnification for your losses, when such a glaring evidence of your disposition to impose upon it will appear against you. I know that the powder did not cost you more than 2. Dollars and a half at Mackinac, and you ought to be satisfied to receive four Dollars a pound for it. Of this I will venture to assure you, that such as appears to me to have a disposition to take advantage of, or impose upon the Government, in this dangerous crisis, will experience very little of its bounty or favour. It rests entirely with yourselves, by divesting your minds of all sordid considerations when the fate of your country is pending, prove yourselves worthy of belonging to the first, and greatest nation upon the earth.

Green Bay, March, 7th. 1815.

A. BULGER, Capt'n  
Commanding.

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TO M'DOUALL.

GREEN BAY 10th March, 1815.

SIR,—Several objects of great importance to the public service have called me to this place, one of which was to make arrangements for assembling and subsisting the Indians destined for Mackinac, but the principal object of my journey was to obtain a supply of Gunpowder for the defence of Fort McKay, having dispaired of receiving a timely supply from you. I had in the early part of the winter sent directions to Lieut Lawe, (whose zeal and attention to my orders I cannot sufficiently commend,) to ascertain the quantity of ammunition in possession of the Traders with a view of borrowing or purchasing it for use of Government, and finding afterwards that they were disposed to take advantage of the times, and exact a most

exorbitant price for their Gunpowder, I thought it advisable to repair to Green Bay myself, particularly as my presence at Fort McKay was not necessary.<sup>1</sup> I have accordingly come here in the depth of winter, and in a state of health which nothing but imperious necessity would warrant my hazarding. On arriving here, I ordered the Traders to assemble, and freely declared my sentiments upon their conduct. The result of those enquiries, which I caused to be made, has left at my disposal a considerable quantity of Gunpowder, and other articles, much wanted at Fort McKay: and which I shall endeavour to get conveyed there without loss of time.

I am extremely sorry to find that the disposition of the Indians to go to Mackinac is by no means such as we could wish, they are not inclined to go and leave their families starving as they did last winter. The extreme distress to which they had been reduced from a dependance upon our promises (whether they have been authorized or not I cannot say) and our inability to afford them any permanent relief, have not I regret to say merely caused dissatisfaction amongst them; a sentiment of a more serious nature, seems to prevail and authorize the belief that their confidence in us is shaken, if not entirely alienated. Nothing but the most vigorous exertions speedily to supply there wants will remedy the evil likely to result therefrom—and which another season of misery like the past, would render incurable. You may however, rest assured that I will prior to my departure (which I will postpone for a few days in hopes of hearing from you) make every possible arrangement with Lieut. Lawe, to insure you the Indian force you require: to effect which I shall be obliged to adopt some plan for subsisting the families of such as may be prevailed

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<sup>1</sup> Feb. 21, 1815, Dickson wrote from Prairie du Chien to Lieut. John Lawe, of Green Bay: "I am truly astonished at the behaviour of the Messrs. Grignon in withholding the Wheat they had promised to the Government. Captns Bulger and Anderson go to La Baye to sett these Matters to rights, and to meet the Express from Mackinac, & to procuring Gunpowder." (See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 308).—ED.

upon to go. In truth it is vain to expect their compliance upon any other terms, and I shall consider it a very fortunate circumstance if the resources of the settlement will enable me to accomplish an object so desirable to you and essential to the preservation of Michilimackinac. Permit me now I am on the subject, to give you my sentiments respecting the Western Indian Department—which I think might be made productive of more real satisfaction to the Indians, and consequently more benefit to the service and the Country at large. Many abuses exist in it which tho' trivial in themselves, may lead to bad consequences. They result chiefly from the very great authority vested in the Superintendant, who, appears to have been under no sort of Check, or control. Unlimited power such as Mr Dickson said he possessed, ought never to have been given to the head of a department which can be made the channel of so much good or evil to the country, and I by no means think the present Superintendant entitled to an exception in his favour. To prevent the presents from being misapplied and perverted to a wrong purpose (as I have reason to believe they have been in some degree) a storekeeper ought to be appointed to reside at this place, and no issue made without the usual regulations on that head being observed. It ought to take place in presence of two Military officers. No delivering of presents to individuals, except in particular cases ought to be made. The portion intended for each nation or Band, ought to be given Publicly to the Chief to distribute which would make the Indians think more of their Chief than they do at present, and of course pay more attention to their advice. It is the prevailing idea of the Indians in the Country that the Sioux are (thro' the influence of the Superintendants lady) the most favoured Nation, and more liberally supplied than the rest, this may be true or it may not, for I have never had an opportunity of judging, but whether or not the opinion be well founded, it is certain that it does exist, and causes a great deal of harm. It might be removed by observing more publicity, as well as ceremony

in the distribution of the goods Which as I said before ought to take place in presence of officers of the Garrison; as they are now issued the Indian rather looks upon them in the light of a tribute which we are bound to pay, than as bounty conferred upon by the King their Great Father. Another very injudicious practice prevails, that of giving medals (which ought to be, and I believe were intended as marks of distinction for the Chief) to every favourite, it has really brought the possession of them into some discredit; formerly a chief would have parted with his life rather than his medal. Now very few think it worth preserving. This error which we have fallen into may however be remedied by a proper and judicious distribution of commissions which are, I am told regarded with particular veneration, indeed a few instances thereof have come to my knowledge.

There ought certainly to be a Depôt of Indian goods at this place, and the delivering of presents for the winter season ought to be made in the beginning of October; the Indians would then have time to reach their hunting grounds before the cold sets in. The late arrival of the goods last fall, has put us to too much trouble as well as expence for provisions such as could be procured. In this settlement alone, many hundred lives have been saved by the distribution of a little wheat, the only kind of provisions that was to be had. It was much against my inclinations that I ordered it to be furnished them, but there was an absolute necessity for it. Had I withheld all assistance, they would have been driven to despair, and rather than see their families starve, would perhaps have proceeded to acts of violence which was by no means improbable from the irritated state of their minds.

I shall put my name to such accounts as I have authorized which I suppose will be paid, perhaps you may think them high. They are in fact really so, but were called for by the exigences of the service. I am not aware of having authorized any unnecessary expence, having made it a point never to loose sight of that regard to economy in



the public expenditure which you have so forcibly recommended in your instructions for my guidance. Should the account from this place, and Fort McKay, when I assumed the Command, and which obliged me to order the acting Commissary to purchase many things at an exorbitant price.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants seemed determined to impose and extort their own price from Government for every article that may be wanted, in my opinion are totally undeserving of the protection afforded them. I shall defer writing more at present in expectation of hearing from you.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. BULGER, Captain.

Commanding at Green Bay and on  
the Mississippi.

*Lieut. Col. McDouall*  
*Commanding at*  
*Michilimackinac.*

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GREEN BAY 15th March, 1815.

SIR,—I have made arrangements for sending in the Indians, as soon as the Lake opens, messages have been sent to invite them. Mr. Lawe will take in such as may assemble when the ice breaks up and Lieut. Grignon<sup>2</sup> will remain to take in the rest. I have provided means for subsisting them as well as a temporary supply for their families. I think you may expect about 200 in the beginning of May, perhaps about the 10th. A Blacksmith must, if possible, be sent from Mackinac for the Indian Department at this place, otherwise an enormous expence will be incurred, and that without having the Indians arms properly repaired. The Blacksmith in this settlement being by no means capable of putting them in proper order. Mr. Lawe, has shown great zeal in the service of the Gov-

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<sup>1</sup>The sentence is incomplete; the sense apparently is, "Should the account from this place, etc., . . . . appear otherwise, it should be remembered that the inhabitants seemed determined," etc.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup>Louis Grignon, a lieutenant in the Indian Department.—Ed.

ernment during the winter, and is worthy of being promoted and appointed to conduct the duties of his department at this place. He is, indeed, one of the few belonging to the department who are of any service.

We are much in want of intrenching tools at Fort McKay, one shovel, and one spade are I believe all that we possess there. Iron is also wanted—on the arrival of your supplies from below I trust you will spare us what you can. It is my duty to notice that Mr. P. Grignon<sup>1</sup> has shown every wish to impose upon Government in demanding much higher prices for what I wanted for the public service, than the other traders. I think him unworthy of any remuneration for his losses. I have nominated Jacques Porlier Esquire to act as Capt. of Militia, and Justice of the Peace for this place, until your pleasure upon the subject be known.

I have the honor to be Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
A. BULGER, Captain.  
Commanding.

*Lt. Col. McDouall,*  
*Commanding,*  
*Michilimackinac & Dependencies.*

TO LIEUT. JOHN LAWE.

GREEN BAY, 16<sup>th</sup> March, 1815.

SIR—You will please to settle with the under-mentioned persons, on their return to this place for transporting Government Stores from hence to the Portage de l'Ousconsin.<sup>2</sup> You will pay them the sums opposite their names, provided it should appear by Mr. Janviers Report, that they have conducted themselves well, and paid proper attention to his orders. Such as may have behaved otherwise are to be deprived of part of their wages.

<sup>1</sup>Pierre Grignon, Sr. He had a claim against the British for £225.11.8 sterling, as per judgment of the court of inquiry held at Green Bay, Nov. 13, 1814. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., p. 129.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>The Fox-Wisconsin portage.—ED.

			Currency.
To Mr. Janvier (Conductor)...	60 dollars	....	£ 15 " "
" Baptiste Brunette <sup>1</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Baptiste Grignon <sup>2</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Colish Veau <sup>3</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" J. M. Duchame <sup>4</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Pierre Provincial <sup>5</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Baptiste Lavigne <sup>6</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Fanfou Forrest.....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Joseph Haul .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Pendant C'Anglis .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" J. B. Jebon <sup>7</sup> .....	30	...	" 7.10 "
" Pierre L'Allemand....	30	...	" 7.10 "
			£97.10 "

Amounting to Ninety-seven pounds, ten shillings Halifax Currency. Such articles as may be required for the Public service after my departure, you will provide at the cheapest possible rate for which you will receive payment from Dept. Asst. Commr. General Monk, to whom, and to the commandant, if necessary, you will produce this authority.

You will use every exertion to send off to Mackinac, the moment the navigation of the Lake admits of it, a select body of the Winnebagoes & Folleavoines to assist in the defence of that most important place. Lieutenant Grignon will accompany the first Division, and you will remain here to assemble and take in the second party. The great-

<sup>1</sup> Augustin Grignon mentions him (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., p. 241) as a resident of Green Bay in 1785.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Augustin Grignon.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Nicholas Vieau, son of Jacques Vieau who settled at Milwaukee in 1795.—ED.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a son of the Jean Marie Ducharme spoken of in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., vii., and xi.—ED.

<sup>5</sup> See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp 241, 242, 259, where Provencall is spoken of as a mutineer against McKay, the previous October.—ED.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Baptiste Lavigne is mentioned by Augustin Grignon (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., p. 242), as a Green Bay resident in 1812.—ED

est efforts must be made to reach Mackinac by the 10th of May, as there is little doubt that the Americans will be there by that time. Be particular also in selecting the best, the most tried warriors. Your number being confined to 150—you will I think have little difficulty in selecting such.

You will communicate with me as often as you can, and if necessary employ a regular *Courier*. Be particular in mentioning how matters get on in your neighborhood, and how the Indians about Lake Michigan & Milwaukie seem disposed, write to the Interpreter stationed at the latter place, and tell him to be particular in sending you every intelligence which he may receive through the Pottawatemies.

I am &c.

A. BULGER, Captain  
Commanding.

P. S. The moment an Express arrives from Mackinac forward it to me—lose not a moment.

To Lieut. John Lawe

Senior Officer of the Indian Depart.  
Green Bay—

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 19th March, 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—Our long-looked for Express has at length arrived. It was detained by Gen<sup>l</sup> Drummond in the hope of being able to send me the result of the attack on New Orleans, which as I predicted to you in my last, was begun about the middle of Dec'r. When the despatches left York (23<sup>d</sup> Feb'y) much anxiety was entertained respecting this expedition, which was under the command of Sir. Edward Pakinhan, & under him Gen<sup>ls</sup> Gibbs, Keane, & Lambert. Some severe fighting had taken place of which we only have the American accounts. I am exceeding sorry to state, that the latest of them mention that Sir Edward (a most gallant soldier, & an old

friend and fellow campaigner of mine), has been killed, & also Major-Gen'l's Gibbs & Keane. The American General Jackson says we have lost 3000 in killed, wounded & missing—I trust much exaggerated. Major-Gen'l Lambert (according to last accounts) commanded our army before New Orleans.

The plan for re-enforcing our Naval Forces on the Lake has changed. Instead of a ship, two large schooners, & five or six gun-boats heavily armed were to be built, but I am apprehensive, that few will be completed by the opening of navigation. Fifty more of your Regt are coming up here under Capt. Skinner; a re-enforcement not at all adequate to the formidable force with which we are likely to be attacked. Great preparations were making at Detroit for that purpose—building boats &c., &c., & they talk of bringing a force of from two to three thousand men. I trust I shall yet have a large re-enforcement, which I have pressingly applied for. I shall do for you what is possible; but here the enemy must be beat, or all fails. The Indians, however, are here, all staunch, & I am most happy to say that Colonel McKay arrived to day, who is to be at their head, & is in himself an host. We shall have no more of the wretched drivelling of last summer. A great many canoes will likewise be here in the spring & their crews will probably render us material assistance. A Capt. Colier is appointed to the command of the little navy of this Lake, but it is understood that Worsley will have every chance of being made [commander]. A great contest is going on, both at Kingston, & Sacket's harbour, for the naval preponderance the ensuing campaign, which I trust will be on our side. Exertions on a great scale are also making at Isle aux noix to restore our marine on Lake Champlain, & it is also in contemplation to build on the Grand River in order to recover the command of Lake Erie. It is, however, not unlikely that all these warlike preparations may be suddenly put a stop to, as Col. Foster in a short letter (dated 23rd Feby) just as the Express was coming away, transmitted me a hand bill from Montreal taken from the

Albany Register of the 12th Feby, stating that a Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th Decr. I have desired Radenhurst to send you a copy of it. Judging from the circumstantial and clear manner in which the dates, names & other particulars are given, & also the previous state of the Negotiations, by which it appears that all the difficult points had been adjusted by the negociators, & no material obstacle to the conclusion of a peace existed, I cannot but incline to the opinion that it will prove true. Still if so, it is most extraordinary that our Commissioners should have so suddenly changed their tone, & receded from the high pretentions & demands with which they commenced the negociations & it is only to be accounted for in the prospect of an immediate rupture in Europe, & also serious & alarming nature, could possibly have induced the Ministry to grant terms (I write you in confidence) apparently so repugnant to sound policy, & not only prejudicial to our Indian connexion but endangering not a little, the future interests and safety of the Canadas.

Should the Peace have happened & on the terms which are stated, it will require no small share of prudence & good management with regard to the Indians. The task is rendered the more difficult, from the recent communication which I was especially commanded to make known to them, as a striking proof of our religious observance of the promises made to them, as I wrote you in my last. It is said the Treaty with regard to the Indians (the whole of which, both ours, & those of the Enemy, are included in the pacifications) places every thing on the same footing as before the war. I shall however suspend any further remarks untill the truth or falsehood of the report is ascertained, which very soon must be; till when, conduct yourself with caution on the subject. I fear this dispatch will be too late, to prevent or stop for the present, the announcing to the Indians in Council, the important determination which Government *had resolved on*, in their favour. It is a little hard upon officers commanding to be made the channel of these vacillating communications, having so strong a tend-

ency to make the Indians believe they were purposely deceived & trifled with upon subjects of such peculiar interest & consequence to them.

The papers which I have sent you, will show you the progress of the Negotiations, & assist you in forming an opinion on this subject. Act in this (until my next Dispatch) with your usual discretion.

This report, however, must not be [to] suspend or relax in the smallest degree, the preparations necessary for your defence. The formidable attacks which will be made on the Enemy on every side, & particularly at the mouth of the Mississippi, will I trust (should the war continue) prevent them from undertaking anything serious against you. As to ourselves, the Enemy appear to have come to the positive determination of having this place, but we trust, not until they have our free will & permission.

You need not I think apprehend much from Dickson's misrepresentations—his character will soon be well known, & they will recoil upon himself. I have, however, done you strict justice with General Drummond, as a zealous & faithful servant to the Public. I am myself, in the same predicament. The same underhand, insidious suggestions have been used against myself, & were not my character well known to General Drummond & Sir George Provost, his malice & gross mis-representations might have done me serious injury. I however, view them with the most superlative contempt.

Exhausted as your resources are, yet our operations to the southward of the Mississippi, has suggested a strange scheme to Gen<sup>l</sup> Drummond. They find the Indians at the head of the Lake, a useless burden, that they cannot feed, who in the last campaign, rendered little or no assistance. They have it in view to send them (I suppose by this place) to the Mississippi; thinking perhaps that with their assistance, you could take St. Louis, forgetting your being unable to feed those you have, the improbability that they will receive such intruders, without permission, & that on their whole route, havoc & desolation would mark their

progress. I shall strongly state my sentiments on the subject. Your command money is allowed.

Believe me my Dear Bulger,

Yours very truly,

RT. MCDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Com'g.

*Captain Bulger,*

*Commanding on the Mississippi,  
Fort McKay.*

MICHILIMACKINAC 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—Whatever men I can hereafter spare you I shall endeavour to send under the command of Radenhurst, who, in that case, you must contrive to make your assistant Engineer. If so arranged, Mr. Keating, I think may be still continued as military conductor of Stores. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Batt of the Kings is expected to be reduced, & the officers sent home, which, as it would be extremely injurious to Radenhurst, I shall retain him in this country.

No appointment must be made in the Indian Department, without your concurrence & my approval, nor can any expenditures incurred in it, be paid here, that have not previously been authorized, & certified by you.

Believe me Yours truly

RT. MCDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Comg.

*Captain Bulger,*

*Comm'g on the Mississippi,  
Fort McKay.*

MICHILIMACKINAC 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—I forgot to tell you that as the Michigan Fencibles are still under the command of Lieut. Colonel McKay, in directing that part of the Company to come in here, you will not omit to inform them of that circumstance. As he is very popular with them & all the Canadians, I am in hopes he will effectually succeed in re-



claiming them from their errors, and causing them, in conjunction with the Indians still to render us good service.

Believe me, Yours truly,

RT. MCDOUALL,

Lt. Col. Comg.

*Captain Bulger.*

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TO CAPT. JACQUES PORLIER.

GREEN BAY 20<sup>th</sup> March: 1815.

SIR,—In answer to your communication of yesterday I have only to say that as Captain of Militia, you will have to attend to no orders but such as you may receive from Lieut-Colonel McDouall and me. I have requested him to furnish you with instructions for your guidance, also arms, accoutrements, and ammunition for your men. When you receive them it would be well to have an assembly of Militia every Sunday. One good effect which it would have, would be to show the Indians that you were all united, which in all probability might deter them from further depredations. Upon an order being received from Lieut-Colonel McDouall, or me, the Militia or a portion thereof will of course repair without loss of time to whatsoever place their service may be required. In the meantime, I wish you to select about Thirty of the young men, (such as can be best spared from home) and hold them in constant readiness to march to Fort McKay upon an order from me to that effect. And I wish them to be placed under the command of Lieutenant Jacob.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the subject of acting against the Indians mentioned in your letter, I forbid anything of that kind being resorted to without orders from Colonel McDouall. I have written to him on the subject and hope that he will take some steps to preserve the inhabitants and the remnant of their prop-

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<sup>1</sup> Augustin Grignon (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., p. 242) mentions John Jacobs as a Green Bay householder in 1812. This is probably the person referred to by Bulger.—ED.

erty from distruction. With respect to such Indians as may commit depredations, I would recommend the adoption of the plan suggested by Captain Askin to Mr Lawe. I strongly Believe it would be attended with the desired effect. Mr Lawe has received my directions to place a Keg of Powder at your disposal to be delivered in the course of the Spring, to such Indian families as may stand most in need of it.

A number of the inhabitants having given Bonds to furnish Government with wheat, you will — should Lieutenant Lawe experience any difficulty in obtaining it—take measures for inforcing a compliance with his requisition. Always attending to the exact quantity which each person is bound to furnish. If necessary you will order a Serjeant and a party of Militia to seize the same—making a report of the circumstances to Colonel McDouall, and to me by the first opportunity. I have only to add that in all cases where there may be a want of orders, you will act according to the best of your judgment for the good of His Majesty's Service.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient Servant.

A. BULGER Captain.

Commanding.

*Jacques Porlier Esqr.*

*Captain Commanding*

*Militia at Green Bay.*

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TO M'DOUALL.

SIR,—I propose starting tomorrow for the Mississippi, much disappointed in not being favoured with a letter from you. I have received the Gunpowder by Mr. Grignon which I shall get forwarded without loss of time to Fort McKay, in effecting which I shall experience a great deal of difficulty as the season will not admit of its being sent

in boats, and the ice in the small Lakes is not sufficiently strong to allow of its being sent on sledges: however, extraordinary efforts must be made to get it sent forward. I had previous to its arrival purchased some from the Traders: but we shall not have too much. I now wish to give you some idea of the state of Fort McKay. As I expected, I was obliged before I left it, to use rather extraordinary means to obtain a supply of wheat. I ascertained the quantity in possession of the Farmers and ordered that every one should furnish a fourth of the quantity which they were possessed of. I left Mr. Pulman orders on the subject before I came to this place, and I expect that by that means I shall obtain about 200 bushels of wheat which with a little grease will satisfy the Indians. Besides this supply I expect I shall be able to collect 100 bushels of corn. Previous to my leaving the Fort I purchased lead to make balls for the Indians. Mr. Keating had begun the magazine, and provision store, and I gave orders to have the boats repaired and equipped for service. It is my intention to send Mr. Dickson and the Indians up the Mississippi until they are wanted to a place where there is an abundance of fish and wild fowl by which means I shall save provisions. I stated in one of my last letters from Fort McKay my intention of sending away the Michigans, but I have changed my determination and shall retain them, with the exception of some suspected persons whom I shall send away early in the Spring. Every thing will be hazarded on the conduct of this Detachment, but all that I can do to counteract any evil designs which they may entertain shall be done. I propose taking with me into the Fort a select band of Saulks, which will operate as a check upon the Michigans, should they be disposed to do any mischief. I am fully aware of your inability at present to furnish me with any aid, but I hope and trust that when circumstances put it in your power, you will send me some assistance. It now only remains for me to assure you that the Country which you have been pleased to entrust to my care, shall not be lost for want of exer-

tion on my part. The Fort itself shall never fall into the Enemies hands.

GREEN BAY, 22<sup>d</sup> March, 1815.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant:

A. BULGER Captain

Commanding at Green Bay and on

The Mississippi.

*Lieut.-Col. McDouall,*

*Commanding at*

*Michilimackinac.*

FROM GOV. WILLIAM CLARK.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,

*Missouri Territory,*

SAINT LOUIS, March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1815.

SIR, — I enclose to you a National Intelligencer containing the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, which was concluded at Ghent on the 24th and signed by the Prince Regent about the 30th December last.

I have the honor to be,

Respectfully,

Your most obed't Humble Servant.

WM CLARK.

*To the British Officer*

*on the Mississippi.*

FROM COL. WILLIAM RUSSELL.

BELLE FONTAINE, MISSOURI TERRITORY,

March 25<sup>th</sup>, 1815.

SIR, — Having been apprised by my Government that a Treaty of Peace has been signed and ratified by His Britannick Majesty, and the President and Senate of the United States, and agreeably to said treaty of peace, hostilities are to cease with both Indians and their allies. I have taken the earliest opportunity of transmitting the above intelligence to you by Major Taylor Berry, my Deputy

Quarter-Master-General, the bearer of this. I trust Sir, you will make arrangements with the Major to have this information communicated to the Indians in your quarter, as early as possible.

I have the honor to be,  
Your obedient Servant.

W. RUSSELL,  
Col. 7th &c.  
District Commandant.

*The Officer Commanding  
His Britannic Majesty's Forces at  
Prairie du Chien,  
Mississippi River.*

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TO DICKSON.

FORT MCKAY, 5th April: 1815.

SIR,—I directed Captain Anderson this morning to apply to you for the War Belt, and was not a little surprised to hear from him that you had refused to deliver it. As to the propriety of my demand, that I shall leave to the proper Authority to determine, but as the Belt is absolutely necessary to carry on the service with the Indian Tribes, I have to desire that you will send it to me without delay.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant  
A. BULGER, Captain,  
Commanding on the Mississippi.

*R. Dickson, Esq.,  
Agent & Superintendent of Western Indians.*

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#### INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERPRETERS.

*Copy of Instructions to Mr. Guillroy<sup>1</sup> Interpreter for the Sauk Nation.—*

Deeming it of very great importance that some person should be sent to the Rock River to animate and encourage

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<sup>1</sup>Jean Baptiste Guillroy, who led the Sacs in the attack on the American gunboats at the mouth of Rock River, the previous September. He is frequently referred to in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix.—ED.

the Sauk and to communicate to me the Enemy's movements. I have selected you for that service, as one in whose zeal and exertions I can place full dependance.

On your arrival at the Sauk Village<sup>1</sup> you will endeavor by every possible means to find out what the enemy are doing, as well at St. Louis, as on the Missouri. This I apprehend can only be done by detaching frequent and strong parties to reconnoiter. Any intelligence which you may receive, and consider of sufficient importance to be known to me, must be communicated *by letter*, without delay.

You will take some pains to explain to the Sauks, the speeches sent by Capt. Graham, as they contain intelligence of the highest importance to the Indian Nations; and you will endeavor to impress on their minds that it is *solely on their* account that the war is now carried on. That the King their Great Father always true to his promises is resolved not to lay down the Casse-tête<sup>2</sup> till the Indians are restored to their rights, and their future independence secured. But at the same time, tell them that on their part great efforts must be made to aid their Father in accomplishing the object he has so much at heart.

You will write to me frequently and let me know how the Sauks seemed disposed, whether unanimous or divided. You will likewise inform me of the state of the river as to its height (particularly at the Rapids) and the moment you receive intelligence of the Enemy been on his way up, endeavor first to ascertain its correctness and then despatch a *trusty* Indian with a letter to me. Should the Enemy attempt to ascend the river, and the Sauks be unable to make any effectual resistance to his advance, I should wish the women and children to retire up the Rock River where they will be perfectly secure, and the Sauks themselves to fall gradually back upon the Garrison and the main body of the Indians. You will state my wishes on this subject to the principal Chiefs and let me know what they say.

A Blacksmith is ordered to accompany you to the village

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<sup>1</sup> Black Hawk's village, at the mouth of Rock River.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Casse-tête (literally head-breaker), Fr. for tomahawk.— Ed.

to repair the arms, hoes &c, &c. He is not to be allowed to take any payment from the Indians for what he does, being handsomely paid by Government. Provisions of course the Sauks will find him, but nothing else.

Should you hear anything about Blondeau inform me. Captain Graham has a letter to him from me, which if possible I should wish you to get conveyed to him. You might send it thro' some of the Sauks of the Missourie.

As you will, upon this service, have it in your power to render much good to the country, so you cannot fail by a zealous and faithful discharge of your trust to meet with favour and reward.

A. BULGER, Captain.

Commanding on the Mississippi.

FORT MCKAY, 8th April, 1815.

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*Copy of Instructions to Lieutenant Joseph Renville Interpreter for the Sioux Nation.*

It being necessary in consequence of the scarcity of Provisions at this post, the Sioux should be assembled at some convenient place, perhaps about Lake Pepin, and there remain until the approach of the Enemy renders their service here necessary. I have with a view of enabling them to subsist at that place, sent by Mr. Dickson 140 lbs. of powder, some shot, and some lead. These articles it will be necessary that you should distribute yourself, (should Mr. Dickson not have time to do it,) in order to insure an equal proportion to each band.

You will remain with the Sioux until you receive further directions from me: Endeavour as much as may be in your power to prevent any of them from coming down here until I send for them, for were they to come down now they would soon devour our stock of provisions, the country would be lost thereby, and themselves and other Indians ruined forever.

You will see by the speeches I have given Mr. Dickson, and which you will be called upon to interpret, that the

war is now carried on solely on account of the Indians, and I wish you to take every opportunity in public as well as private to impress this highly important fact upon the minds of the Sioux. In short I wish you to say everything likely to confirm their attachment to us, and increase their exertions in the common cause. Mr. Vertefeuille goes to Lake Pepin to kill and salt wild fowl for the Garrison. give him all the assistance you can.

A. BULGER, Captain

Commanding on the Mississippi.

FORT MCKAY, 8th April, 1815.

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FROM MAJ. TAYLOR BERRY.

OFF MOUTH OF ROCK RIVER,

Gun-boat Gov. Clarke

April 10th, 1815.

SIR,—Enclosed you will find received a letter from the Commanding Officer of the 8 United States Military District. Finding Captain Duncan Graham of the British Service at this place, who has promised me to convey this letter with the accompanying dispatch to you without delay, renders it unnecessary for me to proceed further. Permit me to assure you, that it is the sincere wish of my Government, as well as the Commanding Officer referred to, That hostilities should immediately cease in this quarter with the Indians, but should they repeat their aggressions, it will be considered as a violation of the Peace, and they will forfeit the rights and immunities guaranteed to them in the Treaty of your Government, and will be left to make their own peace, on such terms as the American Government may grant them.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

TAYLOR BERRY, Major,

Commanding.

To

*The Commanding Officer*

*Of His Britannic Majesty's*

*Forces at La Prairie des Chiens.*



## AN INDIAN COUNCIL.

Council held at Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien, on the 18th April, 1815, by Captain Bulger, Commanding on the Mississippi with the Saulks.<sup>1</sup>

*Speech of the Great War Chief, a L'Epervier noir.*<sup>2</sup>

"My Father!—I am pleased to hear you speak as you have done. I have been sent by our chiefs to ask for a large gun to place in our village. The Big Knives are so treacherous, we are afraid that they may come up to deceive us. By having one of your large guns in our village we will live in safety; our women will then be able to hoe the ground, and plant corn unmolested, and our young men will be able to hunt for their families without dread of the Big Knives."

*Taking the war-belt in his hand, and advancing a little.*

"My Father!—You see this Belt. When my Great Father at Quebec gave it to me, he told me to be friends with all his red children to form but one body, to preserve our lands, and to make war against the Big Knives who want to destroy us all. My Great Father said, 'Take courage, my children, hold tight your war club, and destroy the Big Knives, as much as you can. If the Master of Life favours us, you shall again find your lands as they formerly were. Your lands shall again be green, and the sky blue. When your lands change colour you shall also change.' This, my Father, is the reason why we Saulks hold this war club tight in our hands, and will not let it go."

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<sup>1</sup>The report of this council is given in part in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 278, 279, but that copy, furnished by Anderson, carefully avoids mention of his chief, Bulger. It will be noticed that the letters of Bulger and McDouall give unstinted praise of Anderson, but that officer became vainglorious in his old age and sought to exalt himself at the expense of his superiors. The report is given in full here, to complete the record.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>Black Hawk, head-man of the Rock River band of Sacs.—ED.

"My Father!—I now see the time drawing nigh when  
"we shall all change colour; but my Father, our lands have  
"not yet changed colour. They are red—the water is red  
"with our blood, and the sky is clouded. I have fought  
"the Big Knives, and will continue to fight them till  
"they are off of our lands. Till then my Father, your Red  
"children cannot be happy."

*Laying down his tomahawk before him.*

"My Father!—I show you this war club to convince  
"you that we Sauk have not forgotten the words of our  
"Great Father at Quebec. You see, my Father, that the  
"club you gave me is still red, and that we continue to  
"hold it fast."

"My Father! When I lately came from war, and killed  
"a party of the Enemy, I promised my warriors that I  
"would get something for them from you, and I beg of  
"you, my Father to give me something to take back to  
"them."

"My Father! I hope you will grant what I ask, and not  
"allow me to return, ashamed and with a heavy heart to  
"my Warriors."

*Captain Bulger's Reply.*

"I shall reply to their message to-morrow, and shall  
"now only tell them that the war club was put in their  
"hands by the King their Great Father for the best of  
"purposes for their own good, and the general good of the  
"Indians, and when he thinks it necessary for them to  
"bury it down, he will tell them."

A. BULGER, Captain,  
Commanding on the  
Mississippi.

*Fort McKay, 18th April, 1815.*

TO BLACK HAWK.

*To the Saulk Chief — Black Hawk.*  
(*A L'Epervier noir.*)

As a mark of friendship for you, and as an acknowledgement of your fidelity and attachment to the King, Your Great Father, I present you with these things.

The coat and pistols are from myself,—and I hope you will long preserve them for my sake.

A. BULGER.

FORT MCKAY 19th April: 1815.

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC 25th April: 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—I hasten to communicate to you the important news of Peace between our Government & the United States.

Worsley arrived last night in the Scorpion but unfortunately did not bring my dispatches, which were entrusted to the Indians who have not yet arrived. I am therefore as yet ignorant of what has been determined upon. by the Commander of the Forces, as to this Garrison, & that of Fort McKay. I shall not fail, the moment I am in possession of his intentions, to send you instructions for your guidance. The terms of Peace are yet but imperfectly known. I fear however, they are not such as we had a right to expect. As regards the Indians, the 11th article secures them in the rights to which they were entitled before the war, & Great Britain becomes the guarantee of those rights. In this state of things, you will immediately adopt every precaution to instil pacific sentiments into the minds of the Indians, to place that part of the Treaty which regards themselves, in the most favourable point of view, & above all, to guard against any future act of hostility on their part against the Americans. As the Peace expressly includes *all the Indian nations that have been engaged on either side*—any infraction of it, however trivial

may perhaps furnish the Gov't of the U. States with a pretence to exact that vengeance, which they are so apt to indulge against them.

I believe there is little doubt that we cede this Island & there can be none, that your Garrison will be withdrawn. You may very soon look forward to that event. The Indians should be told, that we occupied Fort McKay while the war lasted, for their defence, but that since peace was concluded, it was no longer necessary, besides a proof, on our part, that we had no improper designs upon *their Country*. I doubt not, but on this occasion you will exhibit your usual address and good management.

The Flank Company's of the 37th have already taken possession of Amherstburg. Our great expedition to New Orleans failed with great loss. & Sir Geo. Provost & Sir James Yeo gone home. Genl Drummond a Knight of the Bath, & said to be the new Governor General, which I am most happy to hear. Commodore Owens Commands on the Lakes. Worsley goes down by Detroit, to the Chippewa to take him on board for the purpose of exploring the Lakes, new boundarys &c. We shall of course see him here. Most of the Fleet at Kingston, already paid off. I forward you a keg of salt—a keg of Rum for immediate use, to which allow me to add a small quantity of tea, in case you are short of that article.

The Indians with the Dispatches it is thought will not be here this six or seven days. On my becoming acquainted with the arrangements made, I shall forward to Green Bay, such supplies of Provisions, as will enable you to bring in the Garrison of Fort McKay.

Believe me to be

My Dear Bulger,

Very truly Your

Rt. McDouall, Lt. Col.

I send you the few Papers I received by the schooner & also some letters, both of which will no doubt be very acceptable.

*Captain Bulger, &c. &c. &c.*

TO DICKSON.

FORT MCKAY, 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1815.

SIR,—The manner in which you addressed the Indians yesterday, and the language which you then held forth to them being highly reprehensible and more calculated to increase than lessen the suspicion which they naturally entertained of the views of Government towards them, besides of a tendency to destroy my authority in the Country. I cannot with any degree of justice to myself, or of regard for the safety of my Garrison, refrain from expressing my decided disapprobation thereof, and which nothing but the critical state of the Country prevents my making in the most public manner, with the censure it deserves. I, however, pledge myself at a future day to bring it before the notice of His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief.

You will proceed without delay to Michilimackinac.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

A. BULGER, Captain.

Commanding on the

Mississippi.

*R. Dickson Esqr.*

*Agent for the Western  
Indians.*

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FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHELIMACKINAC 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1815.

SIR,—The Official Dispatch from Genl. Drummond, to which I alluded in my last, has not yet arrived; but this day an American vessel from Detroit, has brought me a duplicate of the same—confirming the previous report of a mutual restoration of all Forts & places taken on either side, directing me to take immediate steps for the evacuation of this Island, which is to be given up to the American Govt. on the same day that Amherstburg is restored to ours. Major Brock of the Qur. Mar. Genls. Departmt. [has] already been a month in the vicinity of that Post, in order to re-

ceive it, but Colonel Butler (commg. at Detroit) tells me that his instructions are positive, that the restitution of both places shall be simultaneous; he proposes to me the 20th May as the day on which mutual restitution shall be made, & his Garrison (he states 16th April) is to move in a few days. Situated, however, as I am & the dilapidated state of St. Joseph, taken into consideration, scarcely any cover for the Troops, or stores, with so little time left for the choice of the most advantageous position for our *new Post*, I feel it to be my duty to prolong our retention of this Post, for various important reasons. I have therefore named the 10th of July to Colonel Butler, as the day on which I shall be prepared to restore this Island agreeable to my instructions.

I now quote Lieut. Col. Harvey's official letter, as to what immediately concerns your command. He says, "with regard to Prairie des Chiens. Lieut. General Drummond directs that no time may be lost in getting rid of all Provincial Establishments, at that Post, and in giving it up to the American Government." You will therefore take instant & immediate steps to carry this order into effect, which, however, unpalatable & unexpected is nevertheless in strict conformity to the Treaty recently concluded.

By the non-arrival of my Dispatches (so peculiarly provoking at such a crisis) I have as yet had no opportunity of seeing the Treaty. It is however, well understood, that one of the articles expressly stipulates, that the Indian Nations are to be on the same footing as before the war. There therefore can be no doubt, that in compliance therewith, the Americans on receiving Fort McKay, as before directed, must evacuate the same, and retire to the boundary of 1812. I shall not fail to remind the Commander of the Forces of this circumstance.

You will remove from Fort McKay & bring with you all the public stores of every description that you consider worth removing. The Guns captured from the Enemy must be restored with the Fort. However, mortifying, I have

similar orders to give up the Guns taken at this place, a still more trying task, as you recollect they bear the inscription of "Taken at Sara[to]ga." "Taken from Lord Cornwallis, &c." What a strong temptation, this, to a breach of that faith, which in all public treaties, it is infamy to violate.

I am in hopes that you will have time to effect the complete evacuation of the Post under your command, & to join me at this place previous to my departure. The staff of your Garrison, will cease to draw pay as such, from the day it is restored to the United States. By a G. O. all allowances to the militia, & militia staff, cease on the 24th March.

The detachment of Michigan Fencibles you will bring with you to join me at this place, or at the new Post, in order that they may be discharged. You are authorized to discharge at Fort McKay or Green Bay, *such men*, of that company, who were before in the service of the United States, who may in consequence of that circumstance be averse to returning to this place. To such men you will allow a gratuity of thirty days' extra pay.

The Mississippi Volunteers, being collected from various parts it would be desirable to discharge them at the places where they entered the service, allowing each man thirty days extra pay. The officers of that corps will draw pay to the 24th of June. You will signify to them (the whole) thro' Captain Anderson, my gratitude for the uniform & excellent good conduct & the high sence which I entertain of the services which they have rendered their country.

The whole of the Western Indian Department be prepared to accompany you. The Pay Lists, Disbursements & all the accounts of that Depart't I trust, are in a clear and satisfactory state. I can have nothing to do with any, which have not been previously approved & certified by you. I doubt not, from the specimen of your past industry that the whole of *your* Public accounts and Pay Lists, will be distinguished by their usual correctness & regularity.

I have sent to Green Bay, a supply of provisions to assist you in your progress to join me, should there be more

*Pork.	}	than you want, bestow it upon the Indians. I have also forwarded the articles as p'r margin* (in two Batteaux) to be distributed by you amongst them on your departure. With the present treaty we
Flour.		
Bales of Goods.		
Powder.		
Ball.		
Shot.	}	have nothing to do, but to obey it, as in duty bound; its stipulations as regards the Indians are solely the work of the Ministry, called for, perhaps by imperious
-----		
Powder		
Bale of Goods.		
2 Guns.	}	Ministry, called for, perhaps by imperious
Iron 2 cases.		

circumstances, but contrary to re-iterated & incessant suggestions from this Country. Still, with that dexterous & judicious management, which I sanguinely anticipate from you, it may be made to appear, a prudent and judicious peace, & really conducive to their interest and advantage. It is my firm conviction that the Americans must retire: to the boundary of 1812. You can add that the misery they endured from the superior naval Force of the Enemy, prevented the arrival of their supplies, must now cease; that we shall now be able to attend to their wants, without interruption, & that numerous traders will again be amongst them, finally, that the King their Great Father, would, pursuant to his promises, have continued the war, and recovered the lands which the Americans had deprived them of, but that his red children were disunited, & did not act in concert against the common enemy that the very tribes

*Wyandots.	}	who were most interested and had lost most, had made peace with the Big Knives,* & had agreed to take up the hatchet against those who remained faithful to us; & that we did not wish to expose them to the
Shawanese.		
Pottewattamies.		
Kikapoos.		
Miamies &c.		

miseries of a civil war, which would have seconded the views of the Americans, who wished them to exterminate each other. This is literally the case. The utmost pains must be taken, that this Peace should be generally promulgated & every nation be cautioned how they infringe it, which will be sure to call down upon them, the vindictive



vengeance of the American Gov't at a time perhaps, when we cannot ward off the blow, or prudently interfere.

I am in great hopes that we shall succeed in gilding the bitter pill, which the Indians of this neighbourhood must swallow in viewing the surrender of this important Island to their inveterate Enemys. I have proposed, & have every reason to believe, it will be immediately acted upon, that a very strong Fort, to mount a number of heavy cannon, be commenced in the most eligible situation. I returned to-day from an excursion having that for its object; & very soon I am in hopes a formidable Fortress will be in progress. It must combine the advantages of a good harbour, for the future Naval Forces of this Lake, for it must not be disguised, that everything prognosticates an early renewal of the war. I expect Commodore Sir Edw<sup>d</sup> Owen, or one of his Captains, to pronounce upon the latter point, accompanied by Captain Payne, Roy<sup>l</sup> Engineers, with artificers, &c.

I have confident expectations that the whole Ottawa nation will remove to the vicinity of the new Post, which I am greatly desirous of effecting as it will place them out of the reach of American intrigue & secure to us a formidable band of faithful warriors, ever ready to fly at the first summons to the defence of our new establishment.

I have the honor to be,

Sir.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> servt

R<sup>t</sup> MCDUALL, Lt. Colonel,

Com'g Michilmack' & Dependances.

*Captain Bulger.*

*Commanding on the Mississippi.*

*Fort McKay.*

P. S. The Americans effect to exult much at the peace, tho' it is said that they are shut from the Fisheries, & also from the trade to our East and West India Settlements. In commenting on the peace to the Indians it will be right to state, that amongst other advantages which we shall derive from it, will be the opportunity which it

will afford us of equipping such a Fleet on Lake Erie & Lake Huron as will keep open the communication and secure us the command of these Lakes, by which the supplies for the Indian Nations will be uninterrupted.

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TO M'DOUALL.

FORT MCKAY, 1st May, 1815.

SIR:— I have the honor to send you a report from Captain Anderson dated the 29th ultimo, acquainting me with a circumstance which will excite your surprise as much as it did mine. On receipt thereof I saw at once from whence the mischief proceeded. It appeared that several officers of the Indian Department having gone to see Mr. Dickson off for Mackinac, had indulged themselves rather liberally in the use of Spirits, and had given free scope to their inclinations to abuse all those who opposed Mr. Dickson's measures, he no doubt bitterly inveighed against you and me: his officers low and servile as they are, re-echoed his words. Captain Graham has, however, carried subservency to that gentleman a little too far, for in its excess, he lost sight of even common respect for me, and totally forgot the duty which he owed to his country, for he ought to have known that the very existence of this Garrison depended in a great measure upon the Indians entertaining a good opinion of the commanding officer, and that if that was once destroyed, I was liable to insults, and the Garrison itself to be injured. The indignation with which I parted with Mr. Dickson in the morning was increased by the conduct of Capt. Graham. As I attributed it solely to Mr. Dickson's instigations, and it was a further proof to me of his intriguing dangerous disposition. Had I passed over Captain Graham's conduct unnoticed, it would have been an encouragement to the interpreters and through them the Indians to speak disrespectfully of me. In order therefore, to put an effectual stop to a liberty of speech so extremely dangerous at this moment, I placed Captain

Graham in close arrest, and have sent him to Mackinac upon the enclosed charge; having first given him an opportunity of attoning for his ill conduct, but which his obstinacy would not permit him to avail himself of.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant.

A. BULGER, Captain  
Commanding.

*Lt. Colonel McDouall  
Commanding*

*Michilimackinac and Dependencies.*

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*Copy of the charge alluded to in the foregoing letter.*

Captain Duncan Graham of the Western Indian Department ordered into close arrest by Captain Bulger Commanding Fort McKay and on the Mississippi upon the following charge:

For language on the 29th of April, 1815, tending to excite discontent and dissatisfaction against the commanding officer of Fort McKay, also calculated to create much mischief amongst the Indians by impressing them with a bad opinion of the officer appointed to represent His Majesty on the Mississippi, and consequently to deminish that respect and influence which he ought to maintain amongst them. Such conduct on the part of the said Captain Duncan Graham endangering the peace and security of this Garrison, being in violation of his duty as an officer, prejudicial to good order, and Military Discipline and contrary to the Articles of War.

FORT MCKAY, UPPER MISSISSIPPI,  
April 29th, 1815.

A. BULGER, Captain.  
Commanding Fort McKay and  
on the Mississippi.

*Copy of Report from Capt. Anderson alluded to in Captain Bulger's letter to Lt. Col. McDouall dated 1st May, 1815.*

FORT MCKAY, 29th April, 1815.

SIR, — This afternoon between 5 and 6 o'clock, Capt. Graham, Lieutenant Brisbois, and Renville of the Indian Department came to my quarters a little in liquor, having as they said, just returned from seeing Mr. Dickson off for Mackinac. Captain Graham immediately commenced making remarks on your conduct with respect to Mr. Dickson, yesterday, which I conceive my duty obliges me to make known to you. His expressions as nearly as I can recollect were as follows: "Anderson I have just been seeing Mr. Dickson off. Where is Captain Bulger? I must go up and see him, and tell him my sentiments on what passed. Mr. Dickson has gone off disgraced. Captain Bulger is a man of sense, but the unjust manner in which he acted yesterday will undo all that. I wrote to Mr. Lawe of him last winter in the highest terms, but my opinion of him is now quite changed. Anything that has passed privately between him and Mr. Dickson I know nothing about, but I'm a man that cannot see another wronged. This business, Captain Anderson, will go before the British Parliament, and Captain Bulger, you may depend upon it, will be brought to an account for it. I shall state the business of yesterday on a piece of paper, and show it to Captain Bulger, and send it to Colonel McDouall with a letter containing my opinion. Captain Bulger has acted upon information he got from a damned murderer and a noted thief, he did not think it worth his while to send for me, and ask me who was present when Mr. Dickson spoke to the Saulks: all this will be made known to the world."

This, Sir, is as nearly as I can recollect his discourse. Captain Graham was a little in liquor, and I prevented him going up immediately to speak to you in this way.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

THO. G. ANDERSON Captain

Mississippi Volunteers.

To Captain Bulger  
Commanding.

FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 1815.

MY DEAR BULGER,—I have officially informed you of what we yet know of the interesting events which have recently taken place. That rascal Cowan, whom you may recollect in charge of the provisions at Nottewasago, has been five weeks (nearly), on the road from York, with dispatches, our Letters & news papers, & not yet arrived. We have in that respect been shamefully neglected this winter. It is for me, peculiarly embarrassing, as it leaves me with but little information on some interesting & important points.

Sir Geo. Prevost has gone home, via Halifax, across the Portage, & Sir Gordon Drummond in the meantime succeeds to the government. Sir Geo. Murray commands in the Upper Province. The Kings' go home; the 41<sup>st</sup> & 49, to the West Indies! 97<sup>th</sup> York, 37<sup>th</sup> Amherstburg. I am authorised to send your detachment down the Grand River; but I consider so material a diminution of our force, as highly impolitic at this juncture when the Americans will occupy this place with a strong Garrison, and when it becomes absolutely necessary that our new Establishment should be as respectable in the eyes of the Indians as possible. I trust I shall be able to obtain Gen<sup>l</sup> Drummonds consent to the erection of a Fort of such strength such a number of heavy guns, & a proportionate Garrison as will not a little tend to lessen their regret at the cession of this place.

I therefore propose to keep the Roy<sup>l</sup> Newfoundland detachment until relieved.

Our negociators as usual, have been egregiously duped; as usual, they have shown themselves profoundly ignorant of the concerns of this part of the Empire. I am penetrated with grief at the restoration of this fine Island — “a Fortress built by nature for herself.”— I am equally mortified at giving up Fort McKay to the Americans, when the Treaty itself specifies that the Indians are to be on the

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning the King's regiment.— Ed.

same footing as before the war. Sir. Gordon Drummond's order, is, however, positive, & of course, leaves no alternative, but compliance. The irritation & sullen dislike, still subsisting & likely to subsist between the two Countrys require the utmost prudence and caution, lest we inadvertently sow the seeds of a new war, & heavy would be the responsibility thereof.

I trust I shall be able to retain this place, until all the Traders for the Mississippi have past on,<sup>1</sup> as I have my doubts, if the Americans would permit a grain of Powder to go to the Western Indians. If I succeed, (of which I have little doubt) they will this year be well supplied, & without the Traders being taxed with the usual heavy duties. You must take every prudent step which the case requires, to facilitate an intercourse, so highly beneficial to the Indian nations; but above all, let them not imbibe the fatal error, that the ample supply's of ammunition (should they prove so) are furnished them as an inducement to further hostilities: this would be equally detrimental both to them, & to us. Since the Peace *is* concluded, a war on our part is to be deprecated, & most sedulously avoided, until our Fleet on Lake Erie is restored, & until we have the supremacy *of this*.<sup>2</sup>

Two American Schooners, with Flour, Whiskey, &c. are now here from Detroit. The masters state that Colonel Miller, with the U. S. 17th Regt & other detachments, are to occupy this place, & also Chicaga. It is perhaps Brigr Miller, whom you may recollect at Detroit.<sup>3</sup> I send the few Papers I received by the last express. Radenhurst will give the remainder of the news.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

R<sup>t</sup> MCDUALL.

Captain Bulger

*Com'g on the Mississippi.*

P. S.—I met Assigenack<sup>4</sup> & other Ottawa Chiefs this day

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the usual spring fleet of trading canoes from Montreal, destined for the Northwest traffic.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless meaning Lake Michigan.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> John Miller was colonel of the 17th U. S. infantry. The Army Register for 1814-15 does not mention a brigadier-general of that name.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Sigenauk (or "Black Bird"), known also in Illinois history as Letur-

in Council, & succeeded beyond my hopes, in reconciling them to the Peace. The Chief difficulty was the mortifying cession of this Island. They behaved nobly on the occasion, & I trust I shall be able to effect the object I have so much at heart, of inducing them to follow our fortunes to our new Establishment. I propose visiting them at Arbre Croche in a few days.

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MICHILIMACKINAC, 5th May, 1815.

SIR.—In my Letter of the 2nd Instant, I communicated to you the orders of Lt. General Sir Gordon Drummond, as conveyed thro' Lt. Colonel Harvey, Dep't Adg't Gen'l, for the giving up Fort McKay to the Government of the United States, with the Guns which were in it at the time of its capture.

Tho' I have not myself yet seen the Treaty of Ghent, at full length, a circumstance which I exceedingly regret, yet from the heads of it, as stated in several of the Papers, there can be no manner of doubt that the Indians are to be put upon the footing they were on before the war. There is therefore a strange inconsistency which I cannot account for, in the order of Sir Gordon Drummond, directing Fort McKay to be given up to the Americans. It *may* have been the result of inadvertence, & and not recollecting that it is situated in the heart of that Country, which belonged to the Indians in 1812, & is guaranteed to them by the recent treaty. Should this appear to you to be clearly and unequivocally to be the case, from no demand being made of it, or preparations to take possession, or any correspondence upon the subject, there then can be no doubt that the literal meaning & spirit of the Treaty as understood by both Governments *is*, that the Indian country, alluded to, shall be mutually evacuated by both parties. In that case,

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neau, was an Ottawa who, having a Pottawattomie wife, was elected a chief in the latter tribe. His village was near Chicago. Dickson accuses him (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 110) of selling to the Americans, news of British movements in 1814.—Ed.

you will take immediate steps for distroying the Fort, and withdrawing the Garrison, taking care that the Guns, Gun-carriages & ord[n]ance stores taken with the place, be correctly restored to the American Government, by the best & most convenient mode; either by sending them down the Mississippi, or if that is not practicable, by bringing them to be given up at this Garrison, acquainting the officer commanding at St. Louis of the arrangement made.

Should the nature of the Treaty made, (certainly not such as the Indians had a right to expect,) excite in them such a degree of irritation and ferment, as evidently to endanger the safety of yourself & Garrison, should the Fort be given up to the Americans; & as such a disposition on the part of the Indians, would undoubtedly manifest itself also in acts of hostility to the Detachment of U. States troops, coming to take possession; & tend to embroil & interrupt the good understanding subsisting between the two nations. You will in that case, on yourself, and Mr. Dickson<sup>1</sup> being clearly convinced of the absolute necessity of the measure, take the necessary steps for withdrawing the Garrison, distroying the Fort, & disposing of the Guns as before directed. taking the earliest opportunity of informing the Government of the U. States of the delimma in which you were placed.

It is of great importance that you clearly comprehend these instructions, the substance of which I recapitulate.

1st. The order of Lt. General. Sir. Gordon Drummond. must be carried into effect, if so understood, & required by the Government of the United States, provided that the thing is practicable, without committing to eminent hazard, the safety of the American Detachment, or of your own Garrison, thereby having a tendency to interrupt the harmony so recently restored.

2nd. Should the order alluded to have originated in mistake (which appears probable from the nature of the treaty) & the cession of Fort McKay not be required, or demanded.

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<sup>1</sup> Of course the news of Dickson's disgrace had not yet reached McDouall.—Ed.



by the Government of the United States, you will then, on that fact being clearly ascertained, destroy and evacuate the Fort as before directed.

3rd. Should it appear to you and Mr. Dickson, distinctly and unequivocally evident that in attempting to put the American Troops in possession of Fort McKay, or retaining it for that purpose, that the safety of yourselves & Garrison is thereby hazarded, & that no doubt remains on your minds that it would be resisted on the part of the Indians, & also highly endanger the safety of the said detachment of United States Troops, & have a tendency to renew hostilities between them & the Indians; the unavoidable necessity of the case will compel you to destroy the Fort, & withdraw the Garrison &c as before stated.

The Light Three Pounder, Col. McKay informs me was solemnly presented by him to the Scoux nation. & of course must be left with them: they should be cautioned against its falling into the hands of the Americans.

On your march to Green Bay, it will be perhaps advisable to observe the utmost caution & vigilance, having your Light Two-pounder mounted in one of the Boats, & always ready for service. Mr. Dickson will of course render you every assistance in carrying your arrangements into execution.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

R<sup>r</sup>. MCDUALL, Lt. Col.

Com<sup>g</sup> Michilimac<sup>c</sup> & Dependancies.

The presents sent you will distribute among the Indians, on your taking leave: I shall do my *utmost* for them as soon as possible.

*Captain Bulger,*  
*Comm<sup>g</sup> on the Mississippi*  
*Fort McKay.*

TO GOVERNOR CLARK.

FORT MCKAY — PRAIRIE DES CHIENS,  
23rd May, 1815.

SIR.—I have now to acknowledge the receipt of the two Dispatches sent to me sometime ago. Vez., one from His Excellency Governor Clarke the other from Colonel Russell; answers to which it was not in my power to get conveyed to Saint Louis without imminent hazard to the person carrying the same.

The official intelligence of peace reached me only yesterday<sup>1</sup> upon which I adopted the most prudent, and at the same time, decided measures, to put a stop to the further hostilities of the Indians, and I most ardently hope, and strongly believe that the steps I have taken will be attended with the good effects which the British Government and that of the United States are so desirous of.

I propose evacuating this Post to-morrow taking with me the guns &c captured in this Fort, in order that they may be delivered up at Mackinac, to such officers as the United States may appoint to receive that Post. My instructions were to send them down the Mississippi to Saint Louis if it could be done without hazard to the party conveying them.

My motive for immediately withdrawing from this Post will be best explained by the enclosed extract from the instructions of Lieut. Colonel McDouall Commanding at Michilimackinac. I have not the smallest hesitation in declaring my decided opinion that the presence of a detachment of British & United States Troops, at the same time, at Fort McKay would be the means of embroiling either one party or the other, in a fresh rupture with the Indians, which I presume it is the wish and desire of both Governments to avoid.

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<sup>1</sup>This would be the 22d. Alfred E. Bulger (*post*, p. 158) gives the date as the 20th, which is doubtless correct. Governor Clark's letter of March 22 arrived at Prairie du Chien April 16 (see *post*, p. 156), but Capt. Bulger appears to have waited five weeks, until after officially informed of the peace, before replying to it.—Ed.

Should the measures I have adopted, prove, in the smallest degree, contrary to the spirit & intent of the Treaty of Peace, I beg that it may not be considered by the Government of the United States, as proceeding from any other motive, than a desire of avoiding any further trouble or contention with the Indians, and of promoting the harmony and good understanding so recently restored to the two Countries.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
A. BULGER, Capt<sup>n</sup>  
Com'g a detachment of  
British Troops on the Mississippi.

*To His Excellency Governor Clarke,  
or Officer Commanding at  
Saint Louis.*

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TO M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1815.

SIR,—I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this place, with part of the detachment that composed the Garrison of Fort McKay; the remainder having been discharged at that post.

On receipt of your dispatch of the 25<sup>th</sup> April, I lost no time in announcing the peace to the Indians of the Mississippi, and in directing them to desist from further hostilities. To those who were assembled at the Prairie du Chiens, I communicated the intelligence myself, observing all the ceremony necessary on such an occasion; and I dispatched Captain Dease, of the Indian Department to the Red River, to announce it to the Saulks and others in that quarter.

In my previous despatches I had the honor of stating to you that great ferment, and discontent existed amongst the Indians, in consequence of the report of peace. Having formally announced that event throughout the Country it

became evident, that our further stay therein would be productive of very serious consequences: I saw that the delay of even a few days, would afford time to the Indians to assemble from all quarters, and, having strong and sufficient reasons to apprehend hostility from some of them, in effecting a removal from Fort McKay, I, with the advice and concurrence of Captain Anderson, senior officer of the Indian Department, decided upon evacuating that post, whilst it was in my power to do so, with safety to the Garrison. Aware of the heavy responsibility attached to such an unauthorized measure, I hesitated, till convinced that, by a longer delay at Fort McKay, I only hazarded the lives of my detachment; without, in the least, benefiting the service. I have the honor to enclose a communication from the officer acting at the head of the Indian Department, upon this important subject.

I withdrew from Fort McKay on the 24<sup>th</sup> May; bring[ing] off the public stores of every description, that could be removed; including the guns, etc., captured therein, in order that they might be restored to the American Government at Michilimackinac; it being impracticable to send them to Saint Louis; of which circumstance, as well as the necessity which compelled me to retire from the Prairie du Chien, I informed the American Government, in a letter addressed to Governor Clarke, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> May.

The day after my departure from the Mississippi, I had the honor of receiving your despatches of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> May: I also received the Batteaux of Indian presents, which I caused to be distributed to the Saulks, and the Indians about Prairie du Chien.

I have not the smallest doubt, from the perusal of the Treaty of Ghent, and from no demand being made by the American Government, for the restitution of Fort McKay, that the Prairie du Chien is considered by them as lying within the Indian boundary, and not to be occupied by either nation. Be this, however, as it may; it is certain, that an attempt to restore it to the American troops, would have proved fatal to the British garrison.

It affords me satisfaction, to be able to say, that I have left the Indians on the Mississippi above want: their situation, in comparison with former years, is comfortable; and I only perform a pleasing duty, in declaring that you are to be considered as the author of their happiness. The liberal supplies of ammunition, with which you had furnished me, have been fairly and judiciously distributed amongst them, under Captain Anderson's superintendence. Their arms, axes, etc., have been repaired; hoes and fish-spears made, and distributed in such numbers, as not only please[d], but astonished them; and all this has been done for one sixth part of the expense which heretofore attended such services.

I have brought in the detachment of the Michigan Fencibles; also twelve of the Mississippi Volunteers, who solicited a conveyance to this place. Their conduct during the voyage has been admirable; that of the Michigan Fencibles has completely effaced the recollection of their former misbehaviour. I cannot sufficiently express my approbation of the conduct of all the officers who were under my command. The cordial support which I have received from Captain Anderson, who, since Mr. Dickson's departure from the Mississippi, has conducted the duties of the Indian Department, demands my gratitude: and the uncommon merits, and good conduct of Lieutenant Keating, require that I should recommend him particularly to your notice. The Fort has been destroyed.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant

A. BULGER, Lieut.

R Newfoundland Regt late

Capt. Commanding at Fort McKay.

*Lt. Col. McDouall*

&c

&c

&c.

## PRAISE FROM M'DOUALL.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 22<sup>d</sup> June, 1815.*Garrison Orders.*

Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall avails himself of an early opportunity to offer to Captain Bulger, the tribute of praise so justly his due, for his judicious, manly and energetic conduct, while commanding at Fort McKay, on the Upper Mississippi. Unawed by that opposition, so industriously exerted to counteract his measures, he has steadily and successfully persevered in the faithful discharge of his duty, under circumstances peculiarly trying and difficult. Merit like this must, in the end, attain reward and distinction, while its opposers, and abettors of intrigue, never fail to reap the bitter fruit of their labours, and to lower themselves in the estimation of every man, whose praise is worthy the having. To those officers, who, unseduced by bad example, undeviatingly supported their Commanding Officer, remote as he was from assistance, and environed as he was with difficulties, the Commandant returns his best thanks, particularly to Captain Anderson, of whom Captain Bulger speaks in the highest terms, for his uniform zeal and unceasing exertion.

Certified.

Rt. MCDOUALL, Lieut. Col.

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 M'DOUALL TO SIR F. P. ROBINSON.

DRUMMOND ISLAND,

24<sup>th</sup> September, 1815.

SIR,—With regard to the charges transmitted to Your Excellency through Mr. Baker, I have not the smallest doubt, but they are purposely exhibited in order to give some colour and pretext for the tragedy about to be enacted on the Mississippi, to shut our eyes to that transaction, and to divert the Government from the enquiry, of how it agrees with the 9<sup>th</sup> Article of the treaty of Ghent. It appears to me that this outcry is precisely made upon

the principal of some ingenious depredators, who when in danger of detection are among the first to bawl "Stop Thief!"

I repeat to Your Excellency my firm conviction, that the war of extermination with which the unfortunate Indians are threatened on the Mississippi, will be equally unjust and unprovoked. Unjust, inasmuch as the Americans have no right to seize their country and build forts thereon, never having possessed it *till after* 1812. Unprovoked, as I do not believe that a single act of hostility was committed by them, since the Peace was announced by Captain Bulger on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, at the Prairie du Chien. That officer made every exertion to recall the war-party that attacked the Americans on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May, as mentioned in the letter of Col. Russell—but it was too late. They could not be overtaken. This affair Your Excellency will observe is the latest act of hostility which occurred, and I pledge my word to Your Excellency, that the Indians engaged in it knew nothing of the Peace, except from American reports, which they imagined were purposely circulated to deceive them.

I have the honor to be  
Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant,  
Rt. MCDOUALL, Lieutenant-Colonel

To His Excellency,

Sir F. P. Robinson, K.C.B.,

&c. &c. &c.

## LAST DAYS OF THE BRITISH AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

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BY ALFRED EDWARD BULGER.

By means of two Canadians who had escaped from St. Louis during the winter, timely warning was given to the British garrison stationed at Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien, of the intention of the Americans to ascend the Mississippi towards the end of April or the beginning of May, and endeavour to regain possession of that post. For this purpose a strong force was to be dispatched from St. Louis, by land, as well as by water, accompanied by the Indians of the Missouri. The unexpected arrival of these men, in the middle of winter, bringing such important news as a combined attack by land and water on the part of the Americans and their Indian allies, — a move quite unlooked-for by the British garrison, — caused much uneasiness in that isolated situation.

Although in the heart of the Indian territory, the little band were not discouraged, neither were they alarmed for the safety of the fort which had been entrusted to their care; nevertheless they took every precaution to guard against surprise. During the remainder of the winter, every preparation was made for the spring operations. The fort was strengthened, and put into a proper state of defence. Special care was taken to have on hand an ample supply of ammunition and provisions. In regard to the latter, a stock of wild meat was collected, and stored in an ice-house. From a mine in the vicinity, an abundance of lead was obtained, and a large supply of ball and shot pre-



pared, ready for any emergency. A supply of gunpowder was, however, more difficult to obtain. Most of this article had to be drawn upon hand-sleds, over snow and ice, a distance of more than four hundred miles. Active measures were also adopted to secure a large quantity of Indian corn, which was to arrive from a distant settlement on the opening of navigation. But all these provisions and stores, collected from all parts of that vast country, large as they may appear, were found to be totally inadequate to supply a half of the Indians who were expected to take part in the coming campaign.

The most important point now to be decided upon was, whether it would be advisable to remain on the defensive, or meet the enemy at the mouth of Rock river, the scene of Lieut. Duncan Graham's successful encounter with the Americans on September 6, 1814. After much consideration, this latter plan was abandoned, principally owing to the fact that in the spring the Mississippi river rises at least eight feet, and boats can at that time sail up the rapids at Rock Island without any difficulty. Lieut. Keating, in command of the Mississippi Volunteer Artillery, clearly pointed out this fact, also that neither of the field guns could prevent the enemy's boats from ascending the river to Prairie du Chien. It was also shown that when the Americans were defeated in their attempt to ascend the river, the previous September, the water was very low. After due consultation with the Indian chiefs, it was determined to carry on the war in the vicinity of St. Louis, where it was known that cattle in abundance could be procured, and by this means the Americans might be kept at home to defend that place.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the month of April, a dispatch reached Prairie du Chien from Lt. Col. McDouall, commanding at Michilimackinac, announcing the breaking up of the congress at Ghent and the consequent failure of the negotiations for peace with the Americans. "The principal cause was the

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<sup>1</sup>See Bulger's Instructions to Interpreters, *ante*, pp. 127-130.—ED.

question relating to the Indians." A speech which accompanied the dispatch containing this information, was directed, by order of the commander-in-chief, to be announced in grand council to all the Western Indians. Agreeably to arrangements which had been previously made with the tribesmen, there arrived at Prairie du Chien, the first week of April, upwards of twelve hundred warriors of different tribes, fully equipped for war. Upon no other occasion in the course of the war had so choice a body of Indians been arrayed under the British flag, and a reserve of at least another thousand had engaged themselves to join the expedition when summoned to do so. At a council held at the council house, a short distance from the fort, amid all the ceremony customary on these occasions, the governor's message was made known to the Indians. At the conclusion of the speech they were also informed that it had been decided to carry on the war in the vicinity of St. Louis. In reply the head chiefs stood up, one after the other, and spoke in a highly satisfactory manner, promising their hearty support and coöperation to make the expedition a success.<sup>1</sup>

At the period of which I write, the garrison stationed at Prairie du Chien, under the command of Captain Bulger, consisted of: "Fifty men (red coats) of the Michigan Fencibles, with one hundred and thirty Mississippi Volunteers and upwards of forty Canadian voyageurs with a small party of artillery men and soldiers of the line (trained as gunners) in charge of two three-pounder brass guns for field and boat service." In the course of a day or two, everything being in readiness, strong war parties of Indians were sent on in advance down the Mississippi river to an appointed rendezvous, and the main force was on the point of proceeding to the same quarter, when on April 16 Captain Graham of the Western Indian Department arrived at Fort McKay from the advance war party, bearing a communication (delivered to him on the 10<sup>th</sup> inst. at the mouth

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<sup>1</sup> See report of Indian council, April 18, *ante*, pp. 131-133.— Ed.

of Rock river, by an American officer) from Governor Clark, the chief executive officer in command at St. Louis. This letter announced the reestablishment of peace between Great Britain and the United States. This unexpected announcement was accompanied by a printed copy of the treaty of peace, as published by the American authorities at Washington.<sup>1</sup> The commanding officer considered it his duty to lose no time in acting upon it, so far as to recall the war-parties in advance, and before May 10 over eight hundred Indians had returned to Fort McKay in a state of great excitement and indignation.

The Indians were included in the treaty. The eleventh article secured them in the rights to which they were entitled before the war, and Great Britain became the guarantor of those rights; but no provision was made in regard to the fulfilment of the promises made to the tribes of the West on taking up arms on the British side at the beginning of the war, viz: — "The restoration of certain hunting grounds of which they had been unjustly dispossessed by the Americans." It was a peculiar and most mortifying position for the commanding officer to be placed in, he having in less than a month past announced to the Indians in council, by the express command of the commander of the forces, that the refusal of the American government to restore these very lands in question, was the reason why the negotiations for peace had been broken off. "It was rather hard that officers commanding outposts should be made the channel of these vacillating communications, having so strong a tendency to make the Indians believe they were purposely deceived and trifled with upon subjects of such peculiar interest and consequence to them."

Intelligence of peace having spread throughout the country, the number of Indians assembled at Prairie du Chien had largely increased, and included all the head chiefs of the neighboring tribes. To these latter, the provisions of the treaty, as received from Governor Clark,

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 126.— Ed.

respecting themselves and the Indians generally, were announced by the commanding officer, at a special council which he held with them for that purpose. But as the conditions assured to them were not such as they had been led to expect, the chiefs expressed, in very angry terms, their determination not to abide by the treaty. The council broke up in confusion, all the chiefs excepting two leaving the council-house in a sullen humour, and retiring to their respective lands. Among the general body of Indians an extreme degree of excitement was visible; so much so, that there even appeared reason to apprehend that acts of hostility would be directed against the garrison at Fort McKay. Every precaution was immediately taken to guard against any such attempt. For nearly a fortnight the garrison remained under arms in the fort. Captain Bulger passed a portion of each day in the council-house, nearly a quarter of a mile distant, accompanied by an interpreter for each tribe, holding conferences with the chiefs and principal men. He endeavoured by every means in his power to influence them in favor of the treaty of peace; and as fresh bands were continually arriving, he experienced little respite from this wearisome duty. Meanwhile great anxiety was felt by every one within the fort. No one was permitted under any pretense to leave the fort during his absence at the council. Eventually many of the most influential of the chiefs were brought to view the treaty in a more favorable light. Some tribes still continued strongly to oppose it, yet from the subdued tone of their head-men, there appeared reason to hope that they would yet be persuaded to abide by its terms.

Matters were in this state when, on May 20, the official dispatch announcing the peace was received from Lt.-Col. McDouall, commanding at Michilimackinac.<sup>1</sup> Acting upon

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<sup>1</sup> In his letter to Governor Clark (*ante*, p. 148) Captain Bulger says that this news reached him on the 22d. Doubtless this was an error of the pen; apparently the 20th is the correct date, otherwise there would have been no time for the council here reported, for Bulger reported to McDouall (*ante*, p. 150) that he evacuated on the 24th.—ED.

the instructions which he then received, Captain Bulger lost no time in making necessary preparations for the official declaration of peace to the Indians of the Mississippi. The colour of the great war belt,—on which were represented the “castle” of St. Louis, and the Indian nations hand-in-hand with their English father,—was immediately changed from blood-red, the symbol of war, to blue, the emblem of peace. The pipe of peace was prepared and beautifully decorated after the Indian fashion, and an address drawn up to be delivered to them on this important occasion. For the convenience of interpretation, it had been carefully prepared in short paragraphs, and its heading was in these words: “To the brave and faithful—the Chiefs and warriors of the nations of the Mississippi from their Great Father the King of England, through the Great Chief representing His Majesty at Quebec.” While these preparations were being completed in the fort, several officers and interpreters of the Indian department were occupied in the council-house arranging for the ceremony. At one end of the building, directly under one of those large openings in the roof, which answered the double purpose of admitting light, and allowing smoke to escape, a small platform was erected and covered with blue cloth. On this was a chair for the commanding officer. To the right of this platform, a flagstaff was erected, the halyards hanging loosely within reach of the chair, and the staff passing through the opening overhead. It had been arranged to communicate with the fort during the council, by signals, the following programme being arranged: (1) At the hour appointed for the council to open, a gun was to be fired from the fort, to announce that fact to the Indians; (2) the moment the commanding officer informed the chiefs and warriors assembled that he was about to deliver a message from the king, on the name of the king being mentioned, the flag was instantly to be hoisted over the council-house; (3) on this signal being given, a royal salute was to be fired from the fort; (4) the commanding officer having been warned that an attack

would certainly be made on the garrison if any steps should be taken to deliver up Fort McKay to the Americans, as directed in the orders of the governor and commander of the forces, he had thought proper to be prepared; should there be any treachery, or any attempt on the part of the disaffected Indians to revenge themselves by an open attack on him or his officers, and their lives were in danger of being sacrificed, he would instantly lower the flag over the council-house; (5) on that signal being given, the guns of the fort were to be ready to open fire on the Indians the moment they were observed to make any hostile move towards supporting their chiefs inside the council-house. Captain Bulger hoped, in such a contingency, that with the aid of a few faithful warriors he and his officers might, in the confusion that would naturally ensue, escape to the fort under protection of its guns.

The morning of May 22 was the time appointed for the final ceremonies in connection with the declaration of peace to the Indians of the Mississippi. The officers of the Indian Department had completed all the necessary arrangements within the council-house, to make the ceremony solemn and effective, according to Indian customs. A messenger was then sent over to the fort to notify the adjutant of this fact, and that the Indians were already assembling in large numbers.

Before leaving the fort to attend the council, the commanding officer told the troops that the duty he was about to perform was one in which not only his own life, but the lives of those who accompanied him, might be sacrificed. To guard against treachery, every precaution had been taken. The troops were to remain under arms within the fort, and the gate was to be kept closed until he returned. If he returned, well and good; if not, they knew what he expected them to do. Captain Bulger then left the fort, accompanied by Captain Anderson, the acting head of the Indian Department, and several other officers.

On arriving at the council-house a large number of Indians surrounded it. Inside, it was crowded to ex-

cess, upwards of seventy chiefs and principal warriors being seated in their usual manner on the ground, forming three sides of a square, in the opening of which the commanding officer took seat, surrounded by his staff. The interpreters placed themselves in front of the chiefs of their respective tribes. Captain Bulger had hardly taken his seat, when a gun was fired from the fort, announcing the opening of the council. Thereupon the principal interpreter advanced into the middle of the square, and unfolding the great belt of wampum placed it on the ground so that it might be seen by all the Indians assembled within the house. The belt thus exhibited was the same which had been used in 1812, in summoning the tribes of the Mississippi to join the war, at which time its appropriate color was red; but upon the present occasion it was, as I have previously said, of a blue colour, which represented peace, and was a warrant to the tribes that they might place confidence in what the commanding officer should state to them in the name of the king their great father. The interpreter performed the usual ceremonies customary on special occasions. The commanding officer then directed Captain Anderson to inform the Indians that a communication from the highest authority was about to be made known to them in the name of the king their great father. This having been interpreted by Lieutenant Renville, on the name of the King being mentioned, the flag was immediately run up over the council-house, and a royal salute of 21 guns was fired from the fort. On the termination of the salute, while a deathlike silence prevailed throughout the whole assembly, Captain Bulger instructed Captain Anderson to make known to the Indians that peace had been declared between Great Britain and the United States, in which they were all included. This Captain Anderson did from a written speech, in which they were solemnly enjoined to observe the same, as it contained the words of their father at Michilimackinac. The eleventh article of the treaty secured them in the rights to which they were entitled before the war, and Great Britain became the guarantor of those

rights; but the lands that had been promised to them by their Father the "Red Head" in the name of the British government, the Americans had refused to give up. All the terms of the treaty were carefully explained to them. Each paragraph, as it was read out, was immediately interpreted to the different tribes, and the Indians were informed of many circumstances showing that the peace which their Great Father had concluded in their name had become necessary for the good of all his red children.

In reply, all the chiefs, one after the other, stood up and spoke, some of them in noble and affecting terms. The head war-chief of the Sacs, the leading man among those who had been the most strongly opposed to the peace,<sup>2</sup> after recounting the wrongs which his nation had suffered from the Americans, declared he would follow the good counsel which had been conveyed to them, and would endeavour to cultivate peace; but that he could not answer for his people, if any new act of aggression should be committed against them. Similar sentiments having been expressed by the other chiefs, Lieut. Renville brought forward the pipe of peace, which was tastefully ornamented according to the Indian custom, and presented to the commanding officer, who, having smoked it for a moment in silence, presented it to the nearest war-chief. The pipe was then presented in succession, by Renville, to the other chiefs and warriors in the council, a ceremony by which on behalf of their respective nations they engaged to bury the war-club, and to conform to all the conditions of the peace. The entire proceedings, which had occupied nearly five hours, terminated with a salute of nineteen guns, from the fort, announcing the termination of the war on the Upper Mississippi; and in little more than an hour after the breaking up of the council messengers were on their way to proclaim the reestablishment of peace, in the principal Indian villages throughout the Northwest.

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<sup>1</sup> The Indian nickname for Dickson, whom Neill calls (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., p. 138) "a red-haired Scot."— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless Black Hawk, of the Rock River band.— Ed.



PAPERS OF JAMES DUANE DOTY.<sup>1</sup>

## OFFICIAL JOURNAL, 1820.

## EXPEDITION WITH CASS AND SCHOOLCRAFT.

WEDNESDAY, May 24, 1820.

This Expedition is fitted out at the suggestion of Gov. Cass by the Secretary at War, Mr. Calhoun.

Its objects are understood to be the attainment of certain information of the moral & physical situation of the Northern Indians, their divisions, names, important men, of what numbers the tribes are composed, the country and its extent which they inhabit, and their history, manners

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<sup>1</sup>It may be necessary to explain to non-Wisconsin readers that Mr. Doty was the second Wisconsin Territorial governor. Born at Salem, N. Y., November 5, 1799, he was in his twenty-first year when, at that time secretary of the Territorial legislature of Michigan, he was selected by Gov. Lewis Cass to be official secretary of the United States exploring expedition whose record is here given. Of the party was Henry R. Schoolcraft, who published a detailed and very readable *Narrative* of the expedition (Phila.: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), covering 596 large octavo pages. In his introduction, Mr. Schoolcraft recites the documentary history of the expedition. The official journal, kept by Doty, has not heretofore been published; it admirably supplements Schoolcraft's popular work, which has long been an authority among Western historians. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., pp. 195-206, is a report on the topography, resources, and Indian trade of Northern Wisconsin, made by Doty to Cass, under date of September 27, 1820, which shows him to have been a close observer; this report has been of much practical value to writers on Wisconsin history.

We are indebted to Governor Doty's son, Charles Doty, of Alton, Ill., for the originals of all the Doty papers presented in this volume.—Ed.

and customs, as also what their feelings and dispositions are as respects the United States & Great Britain.

The topography of the country is to be accurately observed and noted and collect all the information possible necessary to form a complete map of this section of the Union.

Eligible Scites for forts are to be selected and purchased, and particularly one at the Sault de Ste Marie.

The geological and mineralogical aspect of the country are to be examined, especially the copper mines, lead mines and gypsum quarries, their quality and quantity, and the facilities of obtaining them.

To effect these objects such rout is to be pursued as shall be deemed most advantageous after having arrived at the head of Lake Superior. To ascertain the sources of the Mississippi may be considered another object.

The canoes which were to convey us had been bargained for with the Indians of Sagina, but as they did not arrive two others were obtained. The wind for two weeks has been from the East very strong which has also been an impediment to our departure. The Governor's ill health has also retarded our movements, and on the whole circumstances may be considered rather unfavourable.

As we were loading our canoes, having determined to proceed to-day at all hazzards, those from Sagina came down and it was not until 4 P. M. that we had everything prepared. The canoes put off from the shore opposite the Governor's house, while the most of the party proceeded in carriages attended by most of the citizens of Detroit, to Grosse Point. We arrived at the Point at 6 but the wind being down the river the canoes did not reach until  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7. Our tents were pitched on the bank of the Lake St. Clair below Hudsons, 9 miles from Detroit.

The feelings of us all may be justly appreciated on thus leaving our friends, and the civilized world too, on a voyage of such length, danger & difficulty, and it will not be thought strange that our spirits were a considerably depressed.

Our party consisted of His Excellency Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, under whose direction and guidance the Expedition was placed,

Capt. David B. Douglass of the corps of Engineers and Professor of Mathematics at the Military academy at West Point,

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Mineralogist & geologist,

Doct. Alexander Woolcott, Jr., Indian Agent at Chicago,

Lieutenant Aeneus Mackay of the Artillery,

Robert A. Forsyth, private Secretary to the Governor,

Charles C. Trowbridge and Alexander R. Chase, Assistants to Capt. Douglass,

James Ryley Interpreter,

Engagées and soldiers,

One of the Frenchmen named Roy is to be our pilot across Lake Superior, and one of the Soldiers (Baptiste) attended as a cook, and myself.<sup>1</sup>

THURSDAY, May 25.

The wind continued strong from the N. E. and the swells were very high so that we remained encamped during the day. The men were occupied in gumming and fixing the canoes, and it was found necessary to arrange many other things, as the tents &c. In the morning the Governor returned to Detroit. Thermometer at 6 A. M. stood at 56.

FRIDAY, May 26.

Mercury at day light at 51 in the tent—at 7, 56 in the shade. Wind ahead.

At 12 o'clock the Governor arrived, and the wind having ceased, we embarked, steering N. N. E. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 1 passed Milk River point—6 m. Landed at 4 o'clock below

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<sup>1</sup>“Besides the gentlemen mentioned as constituting the traveling party, ten Canadian *voyageurs* were taken to manage the canoes, ten United States soldiers to serve as an escort, and ten Ottawa, Chippewa, and Shawnee Indians to act as hunters, under the direction of James Riley, an Anglo-American, and Joseph Parks, a Shawnee captive (at present [1855], head chief of the Shawnee nation), as interpreters. This canoe contained a chief called Kewaygooshkum, a sedate and respectable man who, a year afterwards, played an important part at the treaty of Chicago.”—(Schoolcraft's *Narrative*, p. 48.)—ED.

Huron point. Dined, re-embarked for the river St. Clair. The point is about 1 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, immediately above which the river empties itself. Crossed the Lake—wind high and ahead. The waves broke over the canoes very fast and one man was kept continually baling and we were all considerably excited by the danger. The most of us were unused to canoes, and the traverse was very unpleasant. Our course was about north. We arrived at Lawson's Island at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 in the evening, where we found the Governor, from whom we had parted, on the Lake, and who had taken a different channel of the river,<sup>1</sup> encamped. Both channels were east of the ship channel. We were shivering with cold when we landed.

Distance from Detroit 60 miles. This Island is supposed to belong to the English.

*Names of the Indians.*

Mac-a-tawa-sim, Black Dog. Pot.  
dischd at Grosse point.

Wy-ang-ding, Sources of the winds.  
Chipewa.

O-shash-e-ba-qua-to, many openings in the clouds. Chip.

Wy-amg-boye-au-sha, scattered by the wind. Chip.

Wau-bon-e-quet, pale cloud. Chip.

O-me-ze-ke-ke-zchie, the rays of light striking the earth.  
Chip.

Mani-tou-waba, the devils view.

Ottawa.

Ke-wa-cho-skum,  
Ottawa, chief.

Haep-san-ze.  
Ottawa.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Here follow the crude totem marks of six of the Indians, evidently scrawled in Doty's note-book by the tribesmen themselves: "A-was-se, A small catfish;" "Ke-non-jai, Pike" (two); "Tickiming, White fish" (two); "Kish-con-quo, the Bears hind legs & parts." — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft and Major Forsyth were in the governor's canoe. Schoolcraft says (p. 50): "We had three canoes in our little squadron provided

SATURDAY, May 27.

Rose at 4, breakfasted and at half p. 6 embarked. In a short time came into the Ship channel. Hursons Island lies opposit to our encampment. Passed several houses. The land appears fertile and the farms comfortable. The river is beautiful; The banks descend gently to the waters edge, covered with fine thrifty timber.

Course E.—Passed point O'Chene at 8 o'clock — — course N. E. Passed south channel, South Island to the west, kept main channel. Foxe's Creek to the left, small. Got out of the canoe and walked to the settlement. Wind changes to the south — — for the first time fair. Passed Belle River, 10 miles from encampment. Sailed 5 miles farther, put in and dined at 12.

Proceeded on course N. 15 E. River about 1000 yards wide—banks from 3 to 15 ft. course changed due N. Passed Town of St. Clair  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 2 P. M dist. 6 m. Considerable pine timber on the shore above and below the Town. Came to Elk Island, 4 m. at 3 P. M. At the foot of the Island on the canadian shore on which we passed up, is a large Indian Village. On the American [side] Meldrim & Parks creek empties in. The channel on either side of the Island is good, that on the Amer. is rather the largest. Course N. The Island is fine land, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  broad. There are a few indian huts on it. Came up to Bunce's place  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5, to which we had kept nearly a N. course. From thence our course lay N. E. until doubling a point near to Gratiot, we resumed our course N. The timber is generally from a short distance below the Town of St. Clair to Gratiot, oak, hickory, birch, beech, maple, whitewood and pine. We arrived at Gratiot at 6 P. M. It is situated on a Bay, the water of which is a strong rapid. It is with great difficulty that any craft passes the point  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles below the fort, the current passing around it with great velocity. The point and the whole of the bank

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with masts and sails, and a small United States pennant to each, so that the brigade, when in motion, and led as it usually was, by the chanting canoe-men, had a formidable and animated appearance."—Ed.

around the Bay appears to be made land, it being composed first of blue clay, then about 2 feet of sand on which lies another strata of blue clay of about 4 ft. which is covered by 6 ft of sand. Between the sand and clay are logs found stuck into the bank their whole length. There are few rocks. In many places a chalybeate is discovered running from the bank. Three miles below Gratiot Black river empties itself into the St. Clair. For a distance below its waters are distinguishable, they being dark and of the color of strong lye. The difference in the water appears very singular, as much so as the waters of the Grand River and the St. Lawrence.

On our arrival a salute was fired from the Fort. Took tea with Maj. Cummings and his Lady. He appears to be an excellent and vigilant officer. There are no buildings except those belonging to the military. We were kindly recd by the officers generally.

From the situation of this Post, I should think government must be ill advised to abandon it.

Our encampment was in a field above the Fort.

The land on both sides of the river appears rich and fertile. The military cultivate about 40 acres.

We disch<sup>d</sup> [2] of our Soldiers & recd 5 from Maj. Cummings.<sup>1</sup>

SUNDAY, May 28.

Rose at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5. Wind fair but weather damp—rain expected. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 we embarked, wind ahead. After passing a rapid of near  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, entered lake Huron. Passed Green point, Deer point, and 4 o'clock Point O'Sable 30 m. from Gratiot. About 6 m. beyond this point we encamped before sunset. The whole of the country from Gratiot appears to be poor land. The timber is pine, oak,

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft says (pp. 50, 51): "At Fort Gratiot we were received by Major Cummins, U. S. A., who occupied the post with sixty men. The expedition was received with a salute, which is due to the Governor of a Territory. Two soldiers who were sickly, were here returned, and five able-bodied men received to supply their places, thus increasing the aggregate of the party to forty persons."—Ed.

hickory, beech, maple, poplar, hemlock, cedar and spruce and cherry intermixed. From Deer point to this the banks are high, composed of clay & sand.

MONDAY, May 29.

Rose at half after 4. Breakfasted and embarked at 6. Wind ahead. Course N. 20 W. to Kish-kah-bah-nó-ne-ka-gong—(high clay bank) four miles—banks slate, clay and sand, from thence to another point  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. 2 W. After paddling a distance of sixteen miles we landed and dined below a point on the upper side of which white river empties itself. Opposite to where we dined at considerable distance in the Lake lies a large white lime stone rock,<sup>1</sup> from which I took a specimen. It is surrounded with granite. On this the Indians offer sacrifices to the great Spirit. The breech of a gun, a part of the remains of one, I found on the rock. We then proceeded on about 14 ms. before a fair wind, course N. 15 W., until a thunder storm rising ahead compelled us to put in and encamp at 4 o'clock on a very rocky point, it was with great difficulty we landed. For the first 16 m. the land & timber same as yesterday, then 14 mls. appeared very good—some parts of the banks handsome. Whole distance 30 miles.

TUESDAY, May 30.

In the middle of the night a heavy wind arose which has continued all this day from the N. E. The swells & wind were so powerful that it was impossible to get out. Several vessels passed the point on which we were encamped, apparently in distress. The land back from this point is low and marshy, and too sterile for cultivation.

Took a specimen of *black mica* I found on this point.

WEDNESDAY, May 31.

Wind N. E. Waves high, continued encamped all day. 7 A. M. Ther. 49, sunset 48.

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<sup>1</sup>The town of White Rock, Huron Co., Mich., takes its name therefrom.—Ed.

THURSDAY, June 1.

Rose at 4, breakfasted and the wind having partially subsided, struck our tents & embarked. Crossed a bay 3 m. to another point (Elm pt.), the wind increasing compelled to land. I walked back into the country and after crossing a slight morass, found the land high and dry, generally timbered with beech, birch, maple, Elm, ash, Sycamore, basswood, hemlock, spruce & pine. About 3 miles above the point on which we encamped, came to a stream of running water, of a darkish colour, about 2 rods wide, called Elm Creek. The stone on its banks & bottom are chiefly a snuff coloured slate. It is from two to 4 ft. deep. This morning Canoe sent out to black river for game and fish. Returned in the afternoon without either. Indians came in from hunting but obtained no game. Two bears were shot by them, but both escaped. The wind subsiding got on board, and steerd from this pt. to another, course N. 30 W. dist. 2 m. After passing the creek the land appears dry. One or 2 miles above the creek is a small island behind which boats & canoes find a secure harbor. From this point to another at the distance of 9 miles our course was N. 33°: 30 W. Thence to a point  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. this side Black river High & pine bank. Thence to black river which empties itself at the foot of a bay is 3 miles course same as the last. This river is about 3 rods wide. From Black river to point au Barques is six miles, course N. 35 W. This point receives its name from the resemblance which some of its rocks bear to the stern of a ship. There are several caves on the south side of the point. To this point the shore and points have been so rocky that it is with great difficulty they are approached. In passing the points have been compelled to keep from 1 to 200 rods out in the Lake. In crossing from pt. to pt. large flat rocks are seen for the 2 last courses, at the bottom, generally  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from shore. Two miles from pt. au B. put in shore and encamped at the setting of the sun, at the bottom of the bay, a few rods above a small creek which empties in here



called Point au Barque creek.<sup>1</sup> The rocks here are chiefly sandstone — very soft.

FRIDAY, June 2.

Embarked at 5. Steered to a point 1 mile from the creek, from which to Sugar Loaf point the distance is four miles. At the bottom of the bay between these points is Pigeon River, a small stream not navigable. Two miles farther is point du Chapeau, to which from the first point our course was S. 70 W. The next pt. we made was point au Chene, on the same course, distance 5 miles. We landed in the bay between these two points, to breakfast. Picked many wintergreen berries, most and largest I ever saw — size of a red cherry, 5 to ten on a stem. The land is white sand ridges swamps intervening at the distance of from 1 to 2 miles. The timber is pine, hemlock, poplar, sycamore, birch & oak.

From point au Chene we steered across the Bay, making first to Mackinac Island of the Bay,<sup>2</sup> distance 15 miles, course N. N. W. From point au chene "Grand pt au Sable on the E. of Sag. Bay" is seen farther up the bay the course to which is S. 50 W. distant about 15 miles.<sup>3</sup> Off the pt. lies an Island which is easily mistaken for the point at this distance. In fact the point is hardly distinguishable from it until you have crossed nearly over to Mackinac when their distance from each other is discovered. There being little wind we had a fortunate time in crossing the Bay — the swells were very light. But [it] is seldom canoes can cross here. The Island of Mackinac is an oblong figure about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  broad. Its soil is good but not deep, the limestone, of which the island is composed approaches nearly to the surface. There is scarcely any timber on it but *hickory* and *pine*. Large quantities of fish are caught on its shores. We passed at the foot of the Island. Two miles above this a small Island,<sup>4</sup> and on the west side within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile another.

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<sup>1</sup> About the site of the present Port Austin, Huron Co., Mich. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Charity Island, on modern maps. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the present Sand Point. — ED.

<sup>4</sup> Little Charity Island. — ED.

Leaving the Island we made "Petite point au Gray"<sup>1</sup> course N. W. distance 9 miles. Above this point is seen "Grand point au Sable on the west of the bay" 3 miles distant.<sup>2</sup> From thence the highest point up the bay discernible is "Grand point du Gray." (*Great Grind stone point*) distant 12 miles, course S. W. At the foot of the bay above point au Sable the "Grand Point au Gray" river empties in. In crossing from the Island to the west shore the two points at the mouth of Sinaum [Saginaw] bay are discovered (Point au Barque on the E. & point au Sable<sup>3</sup> at the mouth of the river of the same name on the west) distant from each other about 40 miles.

From Grand point au Sable we steered N. E. to point A shet-a-moi-yaun, nine miles. Above this point and in a direction nearly N. E. the river of the same name empties. This river is about six miles long, navigable for boats & canoes, and takes its rise in a lake about 20 miles in circumference. The point makes out around the mouth of river in the form of a half circle. If the water is deep enough (which I had not an opportunity to examine) it is well situated for a safe and commodious harbor. It is said, however, the water is shallow.

Passing around this point we entered Red sand bay — Ind. name Me-sqau-ung-gung — which is about 2 miles deep. At the foot of this bay the Indians find a red clay which they use in painting their faces and canoes. It is near the color of Spanish brown.

The next point we headed to was Cranberry point (Indian name Mish-ke-ge-me-ne-cong-ing) course N. E. from pt. to pt. & distance 12 miles. From this to river au Sable point our course was N. distance 4 miles. We landed in the River au Sable above the point a little before sunset and encamped in the sand among swarms of black flies and musquetoës. Found a few Indians here of whom the Gov. ob-

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<sup>1</sup>Point Aux Grés.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>Now Gravelly Point.—ED.

<sup>3</sup>Here, Doty refers to the true Point au Sable of to-day, in Iosco county.—ED.

tained a Sturgeon. This relished very well with me having ate nothing from 5 in the morn. until 9 at night.

There were six Indian lodges on the river, one Chipawy chief & his family. A Mr. Chevalier a Frenchman from Michilimackinac was here trading with the Indians. His establishment was higher up the river.

This is a fine stream, its waters are deep. One mile up its bottom is pebble, but at its mouth bars obstruct the entrance so that boats can with difficulty pass.

The lands on its banks do not appear to be good being an entire bed of \*sand. The timber at its mouth is pine, spruce, cedar and tammerack & white birch. The sand cherry grows here, and a bush bearing a berry similar to the Juniper.

SATURDAY, June 3.

Early this morning we embarked, steering a N. course to Tamerack point, distance 4 miles, thence N. to a point 3 miles. From this to Rush point (Puck-wi-e-con-ing) course N. distance 9 miles the land is high—apparently *mountainous*. In the middle of the bay on the shore is seen a large black rock, one of the Indian stopping places. On this point there were several Indian lodges. At a considerable distance off, and on each side of the point the water is very shoal, bottom rocky, shore sandy. To Island point our course was N. 10 W. 8 miles distant. For the first 4 miles of this course the land continues high, after which the country becomes flat & swampy. The point receives its name from a small Island which lies near it. In a mile & an half farther we came to the south point at the mouth of Thunder Bay. Between these points and about 2 miles distant from shore lies an Island of good size called<sup>1</sup>

We steered directly across the bay, strong wind from the south, course N. N. E. distance 14 miles. The bay is about 16 miles deep, has three Islands, 2 near its mouth the first

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<sup>1</sup> Blank left by the writer, doubtless with the intention of filling it later, when the name was learned. He probably has reference to Solus Island.— Ed.

named Frog Island and 1 at the foot. We were an hour & 45 minutes traversing it.

From Thunder Bay point on the N. side to the point at Little Sturgeon Bay is 2 miles. Off here lie what are called the Thunder Bay Islands. This Bay is about 5 miles long and 3 deep. It contains 2 Islands, 1 about 2 miles long and 1 broad, the other small. The course from pt. to pt. is N. 20 W., which line also touches the outer edge of the large Islands. The N. point has the appearance of an island—it is nearly a peninsula. The next point we made was distant—miles on a course N. 10 W. Continuing the same course we made another point in—miles, on which we encamped. This point is a bed of limestone, with so light a soil that there is scarcely an[y] vegetation. Cedar is the only timber. Many beautiful and intelligible specimens of marine remains were on the shore and in the rocks. The stone is of a dark color, and that lying in the water is very soft & rotten.

June 4. SUNDAY.

We rose at day dawn, breakfasted and embarked steering N. 20 W. to a small point. From our encampment Middle Island lay in a north course, about 6 m. off. We had not crossed the bay or from our encampment to the point 3 miles distant before a severe thunder storm burst upon us, and compelled us to land immediately, which we did not effect however until we were all completely drenched with rain. We landed a few rods above the entrance of a stream heretofore unspoken of, and not to be found on the maps. At its mouth it is about 2 rods wide. I followed it up  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile to a large pond or marsh through which its waters appear to rush. Whether however it has its rise in the marsh or beyond it, I could not ascertain. Within the quarter of a mile I traced the fall of water I should suppose was as much as 18 feet. It being the first swift water I had seen in this country I named it Roaring River—some of the gentlemen called it Beaver creek from some faint appearances of Beaver around it.

After the storm had abated we put out again making a

point 2 miles distant, N. 30 W., nearly opposite to which lies Middle Island 3 m. from shore. It is 2 long &  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a m. broad.

From this our course was N. 8 miles to a Point I called "Portage point." The bay on the south side affords a good harbor; its water is from 4 to 5 feet deep. A river here empties itself in a southerly direction, & runs so near the shore above the point about 2 miles as to leave a carrying place of only 40 paces. When the wind and swells run high on the Lake this portage is frequently resorted to.

A short distance [up] the point we encamped on the stone, the whole point being a bed of round stone, apparently hove up by the waves. On some parts a little soil has gathered which is entirely covered with cedar and spruce. In some spots the *moss* was half leg high.

Cold rain, wind & waves high.

MONDAY, June 5.

The wind continuing boisterous, at 8 A. M. we started on foot for Presque Isle distant 8 miles, course nearly N., while the canoe-men proceeded with the canoes. On the lower side of Presque Isle is a large bay, which apparently affords a good harbor [for] shipping. Across the Isle is a portage of 120 yards, which we availed ourselves of, the waves being so high as to render it impracticable to go around. We encamped until near evening when the wind subsiding we embarked steering nearly W.

The Indian name for Presque Isle is She-bah-tah-wah-gog. The first bay west of the Isle is called O-chip-pe-way-mah-ske-mo-tosh, or Chippeway *bag* — taking its name from a small bay in the center of the large one. The small one furnishes the Indians with fish, they say, when they can find them no where else. About 1 mile from the N. W. point of the bay is Trout creek (Nah-ma-go-see-canning). In the autumn the Indians resort to this place to fish. It is not navigable.

A short distance farther is Swan river, "Wah-be-se-kah-ning," which empties into a bay of the same name, and is navigable one or two miles for boats and canoes.

At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 11 at night we encamped on a high sandy beach, 20 miles from Presque Isle.

TUESDAY, June 6.

We rose at day break & embarked.

Fifteen miles from Swan river is Wau-qui-og, or Deep bay,<sup>1</sup> into which a river of the same name empties, navigable for boats & canoes only a short distance. This river is frequented by the Indians for hunting beaver.

Bois Blanc, or white wood Island, called by the Indians Ke-tin-a-gung, is 18 miles long and 6 m. wide. Nearly opposite to this Island on the west there is Sha-baw-e-guning<sup>2</sup> bay into which empties a river of the same name. It rises in a lake.<sup>3</sup>

Although the wind was high, we determined if possible to reach Mackinac this day. At the head of Bois blanc lies round Island on which Trowbridge, Chase, Riley & myself landed and walked across opposite to Mackinac, where we again got into the canoe and passed over to Mackinac, two miles, where we arrived at sun set. Whole distance of travel this day 60 miles.<sup>4</sup>

Off the upper end of Bois Blanc about 10 miles distant, on the main [land] is a saw mill. The timber around it is pine.

June 7, WEDNESDAY.

Mackinac is situated nine miles from point St. Ignace on the N. W. and twelve miles from the shore on the S. E. From the Island the entrance into Lake Michigan is plainly seen at about 15 miles distant. The summit of the Island is 265 feet above the water, as measured by Capt. Douglass, and on it is situated Fort Holmes, now abandoned by our troops. Fort Holmes commands the entrance into the har-

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<sup>1</sup> Now known as Hammond's Bay.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cheboygan.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Mullet Lake.— Ed.

<sup>4</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 58): "The distance by ship [from Detroit] is usually estimated at three hundred miles; by following the indentations of the coast, and entering Saganaw Bay, we found it three hundred and sixty."— Ed.

bor, Town & the post now occupied. It was erected by the British when they conquered Mackinac during the late war.

The whole Island appears to be a composite of broken limestone. The stone is whiter than any I ever saw. Organic remains are found in it. Many of the rocks are crusted over with calcareous spar, particularly at Robinson's Folly.

One & a half miles above the Town is the Arch Rock.

Between Fort Holmes and the Town is Skull Rock. At the mouth of this cave, and in it, human bones are still found. Beyond the Fort on the N. E. side of the Island is Sugar Loaf Rock. The Rock is in the shape of a Sugar Loaf, and is about 100 ft. high.

TUESDAY, June 13.

We left Mackinac at 10 o'clock this morning, accompanied by Lieut. Pierce in a barge with a command of 22 soldiers.<sup>1</sup> The traverse to Goose Island is 12 miles. It is considered dangerous from the waves and wind being generally very high—the wind has a sweep of 200 miles on the lake. Leaving this Island our course was generally east. The whole of this coast appears to be sheltered by Islands. The pilot in the Govs. canoe mistook the mouth of the River St. Mary and led us into a deep bay below the River. We passed the "De Tour" steering N. 10 E. to a small point 3 miles and encamped. It is 45 miles from De Tour to Mackinac. On entering the river the foot of two Islands appear, one of which is Drummonds.<sup>2</sup> On this the British have fortifications & a garison. At night we heard their music playing.

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<sup>1</sup> A twelve-oared barge. This brought the strength of the party up to 64. The additional protection, under Lieut. John S. Pierce, brother of President Franklin Pierce, was only for the journey to Sault Ste. Marie.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> "A name," says Schoolcraft (pp. 74, 75), "bestowed in compliment to the bold leader, Col. Drummond, who led the night storming party, and was blown up on the bastion of Fort Erie, in 1813." The British first occupied the island upon their withdrawal from Mackinaw, in 1815; see McDouall's remarks on this project, *ante*, p. 139.—Ed.

WEDNESDAY, June 14.

At 5 we rose & embarked. We kept to the American shore, steering about N. 30 W. This river is so full of Islands that it is almost impossible to say when you are in sight of the main land. One on which we stopt to allow the men an opportunity of breakfasting is 3 m long & 1 wide.

We passed St. Josephs<sup>1</sup> where there was a village destroyed by Col. Croghan during the war. On the British shore some highland is seen. The channel we took had two rapids—the first altho' short is about 5 feet and very dangerous; the bottom being large limestone rocks. Three of the canoes were damaged in ascending them. The second one 2 miles below the Saut, is less dangerous but much swifter water. The fall is about 4 feet. For 10 minutes our canoe, with all of the men at the oars and paddles, did not stir 3 feet either way. There is some good land on the river.<sup>2</sup> We arrived at the Saut at sun set, and encamped opposite to Mrs. Armintingers house.

June 17, SATURDAY.

We left the Saut at 1 o'clock. We walked across the portage of rather more than one mile in length, while the

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<sup>1</sup> Isle St. Josephs, on which Fort St. Josephs was first erected by the British in 1795, the year before Mackinaw was evacuated under the Wayne treaty. This Fort St. Josephs, which was abandoned and burned by the British under Col. Croghan in 1814, must not be confounded with the old French St. Josephs, on St. Josephs river, emptying into Lake Michigan on the southeast. At the time of Doty's visit, the "ruined chimnies and buildings" could still be seen — ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 76): "We were now within two miles of our destination. The whole river is here embodied before the eye, and is a mile or three-fourths of a mile wide, and the two separate villages on the British and American shores began to reveal themselves to view, with the cataracts of the Sault de Ste. Marie in the distance; and a beautiful forest of elms, oaks, and maples on either hand. We ascended with our flags flying, our little squadron being spread out in order, and the Canadian boatmen singing one of their enlivening songs. Long before reaching the place, a large throng of Indians had collected on the beach, who, as we put in towards the shore, fired a salute, and stood ready to greet us with their customary *bosho*." *Bosho* is a corruption of Fr. *bon jour*. — ED.



canoes at several trips took up the provision and baggage. This is a rapid fall of 22 ft. 10 inches according to Col. Gratiot. From the head of the foot of the fall there are 5 Islands—3 large and two small. The rapid is run with an empty canoe in less than 5 minutes. Below, the river is about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a mile wide. The rapid extends rather more than half way across. It affords a beautiful prospect when approached on the river below.

At the foot of the rapid immense quantities of Whitefish are taken and of a superior quality—their flavor is delicious. They are the chief food of the inhabitants & indians of the place during the year.

'The inhabitants are Frenchmen chiefly, married to *squaws* by whom they have families. There are 8 or 10 houses. On the British shore are several good farms, the settlers appear to be industrious. At the foot of the rapids and the commencement of the portage on the British side the North West company have a large & extensive establishment. This portage is much better than that on the American. The traders resident here have always exercised great influence over the Indians of our country, They consider it (and very justly) the key of communication into the upper country, and hence have greatly opposed the establishment of a post at the Saut.<sup>1</sup> Our Government at present seems to entertain the same view of it. On the 16th inst. a council was held by Gov. Cass with the chiefs who claim the land around the Saut. They are of the Chippeway Nation. By virtue of a grant made to the French Govt. when this country was owned by France, which grant, among many others, was confirmed by the Treaty of Grenville, does our Govt. claim the fee of a

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft says (pp. 76, 77) that the village of St. Mary's consisted of "fifteen or twenty buildings of all sorts," and that "the principal buildings and outhouses were those of Mr. John Johnson, and the group formerly occupied by the Northwest Company. Most of the French habitations stood in the midst of picketed lots. There were about forty or fifty lodges, or two hundred Chippewas, fifty or sixty of whom were warriors." — Ed.

tract of land situated at the Saut. Though this claim was of a doubtful nature, yet for some few presents a Treaty of cession was concluded between the United States and these Indians for 16 square miles situate on the River; commencing at the white rock above Saut and extending two miles below the village at the foot of the rapids. This Treaty is of great importance to the U. S.; it will probably be ratified, and a post established here next season.

During the Council a British flag was hoisted by one of the chiefs<sup>1</sup> at his lodge. As soon as it was discovered the Gov. went up to the lodge alone, and at some distance from our camp, jerked down the flag and treading it on the ground told him the United States could crush him and his nation in the same way. He and the Indians were much frightened, and I think it in a great measure conduced to the Treaty. For previous to this, when the chiefs were retiring to reflect of the Govs. proposals, as the presents offered lay on the ground in the tent, some of the Indians as they passed kicked them one side very contemptuously. That night some trouble was apprehended from the offended chief, or *count* as he was called. Every one lay with his fire arms beside him, but no disturbance was made.

The son and daughter of Col. Johnson were very polite to the party. They are well educated and accomplished. Their mother is a large fleshy Squaw of the Chippeway tribe.<sup>2</sup> During the time we were at the Saut, day light

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<sup>1</sup> Sassaba, who had lost a brother in the Battle of the Thames, under Tecumseh.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The chief trader was John Johnston, an educated Scotch-Irishman, who had settled at the Sault in 1793, and "espoused a squaw in Christian marriage." Says our author: "Although now absent on a visit to Europe, his family received us with marked urbanity and hospitality, and invited the gentlemen composing the travelling family of Governor Cass to take all our meals with them. Everything at this mansion was done with ceremonious attention to the highest rules of English social life; Miss Jane, the eldest daughter, who had received her education in Ireland, presiding." See further references to Johnston, in article "The Story of Chequamegon Bay," *post.*—Ed.

did not disappear until after 9 o'clock at night. It was the same at Mackinac.

At 4 we got on board above the Saut, and in rather less than a mile passed the White rock, the upper boundary of the cession made by the Indians. We steered S. 60 W. 3 miles to a point, and continued the same course across the river to point au Pins on the British shore, 3 miles farther where we encamped near 3 or 4 Indian lodges. On the spot where we encamped it appeared several dwelling houses had formerly been erected, but long since destroyed. This was the ship yard of the company formed in England for working the mines of Lake Superior.<sup>1</sup> The bed of the river at the saut is white, red and grey sand stone. There is no lime stone seen. The land back of the settlement is good—timber pine, hemlock, cedar, spruce, birch & soft maple. From the point on the American shore the course up the shore was S. 80 W.

Day 6 miles.

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(*Copy of Let. to the Editors of the Detroit Gaz. St. Ste. Mary June 17, 1820.*)<sup>2</sup>

SAUT OF ST. MARY

June 17, 1820.

GENTLEMEN:—A Treaty of cession at this place was yesterday concluded by the Governor, with some of the chiefs of the Chippeway nation. The absolute necessity to the preservation of peace and friendship with the upper nations, renders this cession highly important and advantageous to our Government. The facilities which this point has always afforded to men not well disposed towards the American Government, to enter its Territory, and disturb its tranquility by poisoning the minds of the Indians with the most insidious counsels and with presents, have been too long and effectually practised. By establishing a

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<sup>1</sup>See Butler's "Early Shipping on Lake Superior," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1894, pp. 88, 89.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup>Paper found folded within the leaves of the journal.—Ed.

post at this place these facilities are entirely destroyed — this point may be considered the true key to the upper country. We guard the only channel of communication, protect our traders, give confidence to those savages favorably disposed, and intimidate and chastise those men who have heretofore not been affected by a distant force. For these reasons, the Saut of St. Mary must be considered a station quite as important as any out post now established, and it is presumed Government will soon realise every advantage expected from the occupation of this position.

The lands around the Saut appear to be susceptible of cultivation. I should think the soil well adapted to wheat & corn.

The white fish taken at these rapids are delicious. Great quantities are caught daily — they are the chief food of the inhabitants.

News was received yesterday of a peace having been concluded between the Sioux and Chippeway nations. It is hoped the information is correct.

We shall leave the Saut this afternoon for Fon du Lac,<sup>1</sup> at which we may expect to arrive in 18 or 20 days.

I am Gentlemen

very respectfully

Your obdt. Servt.

J. D. DOTY.

*Messrs. Sheldon & Reed*

*Detroit.*

N. B.—This is written at the request of the Gov., he not having time to address you.

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SUNDAY, June 18.

We rose early and embarked, though we were threatened by a thunder storm. On turning the point above our encampment, the British shore at the mouth of the river was N. 70 W. The land appeared very high and mountainous. We steered west across the river, leaving a very deep bay

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the Fond du Lac of Lake Superior.— Ed.

to the left, and off a small point, an Island. The storm approaching, we went on shore and encamped.

The storm having passed over, we embarked again at 1 o'clock P. M. steering S. 80 W. to Iroquois point 9 miles, at the mouth of the River St. Mary. On entering Lake Superior the British shore is visible at a great distance, as well as the land on the American shore, forming apparently deep bays on both sides.

We steered a S. W. course ten miles to the Tauquamanon<sup>1</sup> River, off the mouth of which lies an Island of the same name. From point Iroquois to White Fish point the course is S. 75 West. It is the farthest land seen on entering the Lake. The banks are high and sandy. The timber pine (white & yellow) hemlock, spruce, mountain ash the leaf of which resembles that of the wild locust-tree, birch & maple. We proceeded 9 miles farther to Shell Drake Creek and encamped. The water is very shallow off this creek and we found great difficulty in landing. A small dead stream enters at the mouth of this creek. We were piloted in by some Indians who were encamped here, on their return from the war with the Sioux Nation.

June 13, MONDAY.

As we were about starting several of the S. W. Co. boats came in, under the charge of Mr. Morrison.<sup>2</sup> Of him we obtained much useful information relative to the upper country and of the course most advisable for us to steer.

From the creek to the point our course was N. 15 E. distance 9 miles. In passing out we met 18 or 20 bark Canoes loaded with Indians. There were upwards of 200 souls. On this point are several high sand hills. From White fish point to another point ahead 12 miles distant, the course is S. 60 W. that into the bay is S. 70 W. A thick fog coming on and the wind rising, we put in shore & encamped. Here

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<sup>1</sup> Taquamenon.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless William Morrison, agent of the Southwest Company at the Fond du Lac of Superior.—ED.

we remained until the afternoon, when the wind ceasing and the fog passing off, the canoes were reloaded, and we being about to embark, a canoe came up with 12 *voyageurs*, sent by Mr. Brooks, with letters for the party. I however recd. none.

Proceeding on, the beach became sandy and the banks at least 70 ft. high. We encamped *in the sand* (for it was half leg deep) before sun set. Between our encampment and the bank is a pool of water, which can scarcely be passed. Capt. Douglass & myself crossed it however, and ascended the bank with difficulty it being almost perpendicular though covered with timber. Arrived at its summit we descended into a hollow, and then rose another bank about the same height of the first. In like manner they rose successively as far as the eye could reach nearly upon an equal level. The land was timbered with pine, hemlock, spruce, mountain ash, birch & soft maple.

TUESDAY, June 20.

Our course this morning was S. 80 W. 3 miles to a point, then S. 75 W. to a point 1 m. then S. 70 W. 3 miles to a point, then S. 55 W. to a point at the Grand Marrais 21 miles from the Two hearted river. The kind of timber which most predominates on this shore is pine, white and yellow. It is occasionally interspersed with birch. The shore is in no instance high or bold. If there is a marrais here it is not seen in passing along the shore of the lake. Boats and Canoes might find a safe and convenient harbor here and vessels also except from winds from the lake. Opposite the lower point, and directly towards it runs a point composed of gravel from 8 to 12 feet high. To the left of the large bay which is formed within the points, the entrance into which appear[s] sufficiently deep and wide, enters a large river as I was informed by an Indian well acquainted with this country, which runs from the east and is about 50 miles long. Immediately after passing this bay the timber is chiefly birch & beech; and wherever for 9 miles any soil appears it is

good and the timber continues the [hard] occasionally mixed with pine. Here also commences the *Grand Sables* or Sandy hills, gradually rising to the astonishing height of 250 feet. After they have risen to about 100 feet they become bleak and bare, and seem to be continually changed by the wind. A person passing along at their base looks to their summits with astonishment. He can scarcely believe it possible that such a quantity of sand could by any means have been collected and raised to such an height. I was informed there are several small lakes on their summit, and are nearly on their level. The course of these banks is S. They extend nine miles to a point. From this to one discovered ahead is S. 58 W. Our course into the bottom of the bay between these points was S. 50 W. We however went only 3 miles and encamped on the beach in the Sand by the side of a rapid Stream of water 2 rods over. This stream rises in a lake. I coursed it for about 1 mile, in which distance the fall was at least 20 feet. Its bed is red sandstone. This stone commences at the termination of the hills.

JUNE 21. WEDNESDAY.

At 10 o'clock last night the most tremendous storm arose I ever witnessed. It came on from the N. W. and directly on the shore where we were encamped. From the continued flashes of lightning the Lake appeared on fire. The wind was so strong it was with the utmost difficulty we kept up our tent—the *Governors* was blown down and also one or two others. Lightning struck several times near us. The waves rolled up to the mouth of our tent, and completely over the *Governors* wetting all his baggage and the gentlemen with him. I sat at the mouth of our tent until after 3 to see that the waves did not reach our baggage. Between 10 & 11 A. M. we embarked. In 9 miles we came to what are the pictured (*portaille*) rocks. These are 12 miles in extent. They are graywacke, or sand and pebbles cemented by lime; and the minerals and other matter between the strata have run out, and given the rocks various and very singular colours. A green like that running from

copper is seen in several places. The appearance of Iron is more frequent. These rocks are generally from 2 to 300 feet high. They present the most appalling spectacle I ever witnessed. From the deep caverns underneath a roar like that of cannon is continually reverberated, occasioned by the waves rolling in. In passing along under them the sensations exceed those excited on viewing the Cataract of Niagara. About midway of the rocks a stream of water is seen pouring over a perpendicular bank 70 feet high. The sheet is about 10 feet wide. Passing this we soon came to an arched rock separated apparently entirely from the bank. It is 10 feet from the waters edge to the top of the bank on which it is based the arch then rises about 35 feet. On the right supporting the arch 2 pillars well formed are seen, on the left but one was discovered—the woods however obstructed the view. The arch appeared smooth and elegantly shaped. On its top and under it pine trees were growing—one very large directly on its centre. Around this the mountain made a bend of several miles leaving a sandy bottom towards the lake—this lies to the right of the arch. The mountains rise close upon the rear of the arch gradually to their usual height & are timbered with birch, beech & maple. This arch we named the Doric Arch from the resemblance which it bears to that order of architecture.

The arches under these rocks are very frequent. The largest is under the first high rock after leaving the Doric arch. Immediately after this is another passing through the base of one of the highest cliffs, and under which we might have passed with our canoe to the opposite side with safety.

Passing the last bluff point of these rocks we approach Grand Island, 6 miles distant. I think however we do not lose sight of this range. About the middle of the Island we came to a bay and encamped before sun set. A little below this on the main land was a bay about 2 miles deep. I never saw an harbor as well formed and guarded as this. No wind can reach it. From the opposite point of the bay



to our encampment, to the main [land] is  $\frac{3}{4}$  m. To that point of the bay from the encampment  $\frac{1}{2}$  m.—course N. 60 E. To the point on the main from the encampment about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. course S. 70 W. The bay is about 2 miles deep, and something in the shape of one corner of a half moon. I should think the land on this Island is fertile—some of it is oak opening—some is covered with maple & beech, other parts with pine. A current is found setting down between the Island and main. Visited an Indian lodge<sup>1</sup> & saw a canoe on the *stocks*. It was swung at the ends on two stakes, and two or 3 on each side towards the middle to support it. They commence building at the top.

THURSDAY, June 22.

We rose and embarked early steering south 75 W. 4 miles to a point, off which lay a small Island near Grand Island. The first point  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from our encampment was N. 60 W. The next  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. N. 20 W. From the point to which we steered the extreme point of Grand Island was in a west course. I should think the length of this Island at least 10 miles—its width I could not judge of.

To the next point we went N. 85 W. a short distance. We then turned into a deep bay steering S. 70 W. to its bottom. The course across to the next point was N. 65 W. from which to the Island above Presque Isle the course is N. 50 W. In the first bay is the *riviere au train* 9 miles from G. Island. Off the mouth of this river is an Island of the same name, 2 miles perhaps from the mouth of the river. We put into next bay and landed in the mouth of laughing fish river and dined, six miles from train Island. We steered directly from this to Presque Isle<sup>2</sup> leaving the shore 12 or 14 miles. The Chocolate river is 15 miles from the laughing fish river, and 6 miles farther is the river of the dead a little

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<sup>1</sup>*Schoolcraft* (p. 87): "We came to Grand Island at a seasonable hour in the evening, and encamped on the margin of its deep and land-locked harbor. Our camp was soon filled with Chippewas from a neighboring village. They honored us in the evening with a dance."—Ed.

<sup>2</sup>Near the present city of Marquette.—Ed.

below Presque Isle. Iron pirites is found on this stream. We passed around the Islands of the Isle 9 miles and encamped on another peninsula. All the land we passed this day appeared good and well timbered. The land around these peninsula's is very high and mountainous. The red sand stone appears to predominate. Large, confused masses of granite is interspersed with hornblend, of which all the high peaks of the mountains appear to be composed. They are thrown up in a very singular manner, and one can scarcely believe they were so raised except by some volcanic eruption. Some of them are upwards of 400 feet high. A stream of good size came in where we were encamped.

FRIDAY, June 23.

At half past 5 we rose breakfasted & embarked. The course from the point on which we encamped to one about 12 or 14 m. distant is N. W. About the middle of this point Garlic river enters, 15 miles from dead river. We then crossed a bay 2 miles deep and 12 across, course N. 20 W. in the bottom of which Riviere St. Jean enters, 15 miles from Garlic river. Crossed another bay 5 miles [wide] & 1 deep course N. 52 W.—Another  $2\frac{1}{2}$  deep & 4 miles from pt. to pt. N. 74 W. Salmon Trout or Burnt Wood river empties. In crossing the next bay we steered from point to point N. 72 W. 3 miles, depth 1 mile. At the foot of this bay pine river empties. The same course continued across a small bay 2 miles. The next bay we crossed was 5 m. long and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a m. deep, N. 68 W. From this we could see the Long (Keeweenau) point across which is the portage. We then steered S. 80 W. 2 miles passing several small points and one creek, to a point, around which we turned and steered to the foot of a small bay, landed and encamped in a pine grove at the mouth of the Huron river. The water of the river is dark & deep, though the entrance into it is obstructed by sand bars. It is about 50 yards wide, and runs in a S. westerly direction. Off its mouth, or rather a little below, lie 5 small Islands called the Huron Islands. They are about 2 miles from shore. The country which

we have passed to day is timbered with larger quantities of pine than that of yesterday. In some places however the sugar maple entirely predominates.

Here was an Indian grave handsomely picketed in, with a cross raised over it.

Picked a few ripe *strawberries* to day.

SATURDAY, June 24.

We embarked 20 minutes before 6. The Thermometer last night stood at 70°—this noon at 58. After passing out of the bay, 1 mile, we steered N. 70 W. 3 m. to a point at the entrance of a bay about 5 miles wide which we traversed. We steered to Point au Baie<sup>1</sup> N. 40 W. This bay appears to be about 12 miles deep. About the same distance from the shore a range of mountains is seen. This point is 6 miles from Huron river. From point au Baie we steered N. 80 W. to a point 1 mile, then S. 60 W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a m., then S. 55 W. 2 miles, then S. 45 W. 5 miles, then S. 50 W. 4 miles, from which the bearing into the bay was S. 35 W. 5 miles. The bearing to an Island about 8 miles up the bay was S. W. From the 4 mile point we commenced a traverse across the bay steering S. [N. W.] to the entrance of the portage 8 miles. The bay after the point is called Keweenau<sup>2</sup>. In crossing, a violent gale of wind arose, and separated our *little fleet*. I never experienced so heavy a wind—the swells ran high dashing over our canoe—two or three from stem to stern. We were in imminent danger of breaking across them. Three of the canoes turned before the wind and ran their course back. The Govs. canoe having gone ahead of us about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour we were left alone, and without anyone on board possessed of the least knowledge of the shore we were steering to. After 3 hours of the hardest rowing & paddling in which Mr. Schoolcraft & myself joined we fortunately reached the shore at the entrance of the portage. I was wet 3 or 4 times from head to foot by the waves dashing over the

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<sup>1</sup> Now known as Point Abbaye; at the entrance of Huron Bay.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Now shortened to Keweenaw.— Ed.

canoe. I think were I again to pass this bay, I would never make the traverse in this place. Our steersman, who was a Frenchman, was less daunted than I expected he would have been. We landed and found the Gov. & those with him had already arrived at the same place & encamped. This river<sup>1</sup> is computed to be 21 miles from point au Baie, 45 miles from the bottom of the bay<sup>2</sup> into which it empties, and 45 miles from the point which runs out above it, into the lake, so that it is considered in the middle of a peninsula. I noticed in range with the mouth of the river and the point which we left, a high bluff mountain, situate a number of miles back and to the left of the river. In crossing from that point to the river it is the best object that can be selected to steer to. The land to right appears low, and thinly timbered. Each side of the small bay into which the river empties the shore is bold—the banks are composed of a dark red sand stone. The waters of the river, which are of the same color, are seen far in the large bay. They are warm & very unpalatable. On retiring to rest large fires were built up, that those persons in the canoes which were driven back, might find our encampment.

Here were several Indian graves the possessors of which it would appear by the crosses were of Roman Catholic faith.

SUNDAY, June 25.

The three canoes crossed the bay early this morning, and by 8 o'clock we were ready to ascend the river. This river runs nearly a south course through a marsh bounded on each side by high land. In winding its course along it frequently makes right angles. In a few places the current is strong, but generally it is weak. Six miles brought us to the lake.<sup>3</sup> Its waters are rather darker than those of the river. This lake is 12 miles long and from an half to six miles broad. For the first 4 miles it is about 3 m. wide.

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<sup>1</sup> Portage River.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> A slip in the entry; the distance is nearer 15.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Portage Lake.— Ed.

It then enlarges to the right forming a bay near 6 miles deep. Passing the bay which is 2 miles wide, the lake becomes very narrow & is not more than the half of a mile over. It continues nearly this width until it lessens to a river again.<sup>1</sup> From this to its source is 6 miles. 3 of this the river was 200 yds. over, but entering its source, the canoe completely filled up the stream. From this it became difficult. It was obstructed by logs, brush, grass and beaver dams, over all of which the canoe was lifted by the men.

This stream rises in a marsh, through which there was no channel but that made by forcing the canoe along through the mud and rushes. At the head of this the canoes were discharged and them and the baggage carried over the portage by hand. I took my baggage weighing about 100 lbs., swung it on my back and marched across with great ease (in no instance was I in the *mire* over my knees.)<sup>2</sup> This portage cannot be a mile over, though it is generally reckoned  $1\frac{1}{2}$  & sometimes 2. One third of the distance the land is very wet & marshy—the residue is high and dry. Timber, hemlock, pine, spruce & birch.

MONDAY, June 26.

This morn I rose at 4, and walking on the shore of the lake found several fine specimens of cornelian and agate. A piece of copper was found by Mr. S. Most of the stone on shore indicate they are in the neighborhood of copper. This piece was embedded in stone.

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<sup>1</sup>The cities of Houghton and Hancock are now situated at this point.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup>*Schoolcraft* (pp. 89, 90): "Each of the gentlemen of the party was to carry his own personal baggage across the portage. This was an awkward business for most of us. The distance was but two thousand yards, but little over a mile, across elevated open grounds. I strapped my trunk to my shoulders, and walked myself out of breath in getting clear of the brushy part of the way, till reaching the end of the first *pause*, or resting-place. Here I met the Governor [Cass], who facetiously said: 'You see I am carrying *two* pieces,' alluding to his canoe slippers, which he held in his hands. 'A piece,' in the trade, is the back-load of the *engagée*."—Ed.

The whole of this day was occupied in removing the residue of our baggage and canoes across the portage. Some of the *Engagees* took a keg of 90 lbs. and a bag of wheat flour besides on their backs and brought them over, apparently with great ease.

High ranges of mountains are seen running out on this point. The musquitoes are very thick here but the sand fly, a small insect, is more numerous and much more annoying. It is impossible to sleep where they are. Their bite is like the prick of a needle.

TUESDAY, June 27.

Everything being in readiness we embarked this morning before 4 o'clock. The range of the points on point Kee-aw-wee-nah above the portage are N. 10 E. We steered from the point S. 70 W. 3 miles to a point then S. W. 2½ to another. Having a fair strong wind we did not approach the shore but kept out in the lake. We arrived at the River Ontonagon a few minutes past 1 o'clock, having sailed 51 miles *before breakfast!*

Nine miles from the portage we passed Salmon Trout river, and six miles further Graverod's river. This is a small stream, and is only particularly noticed from a Trader by the name of Graverod being murdered on it many years since. His son now resides at Mackinac, an int. in the Ind Dept. Opposite its mouth are large flat rocks. Riviere au Mésiere<sup>1</sup> is 12 miles farther, the Fire steel river 18 miles, and the Ontonagon 6 miles, making in the whole a distance of 51 miles.<sup>2</sup>

We landed on the opposite side of the river to the Indian lodges, of which there are four or five very large, and had not completed our meal before the Indians had painted & dressed themselves, and crossed the river to pay us a visit. From fear they were rather shy at first, having as we learned, heard of our affair with the Indians at the Saut.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rivière au Misère.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft computes that the party had now traveled 416 miles from Mackinaw.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Schoolcraft (p. 94): "A small Chippewa village, under the chieftainship

We wished some of them to accompany us to the copper on this river. After a talk and some presents 4 of them consented, with whom, the Gov. Capt. Douglass, Mr. Schoolcraft, Doct. Wolcott, Lieut. Mackay and myself departed in two canoes (our smallest) up the river. We had proceeded about 4 miles when we came to a wier made by the Indians across the river, on which there were 6 Indians fishing for sturgeon. Here they set with a hook fastened on a long pole and when they feel a fish running against it, they draw it up suddenly which forces the hook into the belly of the fish. In this manner they take great quantities, and in fact, the Indians around here appear to subsist entirely upon sturgeon. Still they are the most fleshy and best looking Indians I have ever seen. We obtained 3 sturgeon for a little tobacco, and proceeded on 2 miles farther, and encamped at sun set. Sand flies and musquitoes *in abundance*.

WEDNESDAY, June 28.

We rose and embarked at half past 3 o'clock. Having gone about two miles up a very strong current, and frequently a rapid, the Indians informed us there was a path leading across from that place to the copper mine—that it was a good level path, there being but one hill in the whole distance—that it would be impossible to reach the mine in canoes and that we should be compelled to walk at least 6 miles. It was therefore concluded that Capt. Douglass, Mr. Schoolcraft, Doct. Wolcott and myself with two of the men & 2 Indians as guides should take the path, but before the Indians would consent they were very anxious to know our numbers. In this and frequently on our rout they showed how very suspicious they were of us. A few minutes before 7 we started taking a few pieces of biscuits in our pockets, and without having ate a morsel of anything for breakfast. We immediately found ourselves at the foot of a very high mountain which we as-

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of Tshweetshweesh-ke-wa, or the Plover, and Kundekund, the Net Buoy, was found on the west bank of the river, near its mouth, the chiefs and warriors of which received us in the most friendly manner."—ED.

cended. For the whole distance we kept the Indian pace and did not walk 2 miles over level ground—it was continually ascending and descending mountains from 5 to 600 feet high. The Indian who acted as guide lost the path soon after leaving the river, & we did not regain it until we came to a sugar camp of his fathers within 4 miles of the mine. In going this distance he led us wherever his fancy dictated, and with a swiftness of pace which accorded better with his strength than ours. I never underwent as great fatigue. The mercury in the Thermometer stood at 90 in the canoe—on the mountains the heat was oppressive. To see the wind waving the tops of the trees, without a single breath reaching us rendered the heat more intolerable. We passed several fine springs of water but our blood was so heated that we dared not taste them. At length we became so completely overpowered with fatigue & heat, the Doct. particularly, that we were obliged to rest every 90 or 100 rods, and when we arrived at the path I could not have gone 40 rods farther. It was about one o'clock when we stopped. Here we rested half an hour when the Gov. Lt. Mackay & several of the men arrived on their way across the portage to the mine, 2 miles from the canoes. We left 2 men and an Indian to return with the Gov. to the canoes,<sup>1</sup> while we took the ham and crackers he had brought and went on until we came to a spring where we set down and made a most excellent meal. We ate ham raw. We crossed one ravine and then commenced our descent towards the river. They led us directly to the rock or mass of copper which lies at the foot of the bank & close to the water. We were greatly disappointed as to size, its length being but 3 feet 8 inches its breadth 3 feet 4 in. & its thickness about 10 or 12 inches & containing 11 cubic feet as measured & computed by Capt. Douglass.

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<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 96): "The Governor had been so much exhausted by clambering up the river hills, that he determined to return to his point of landing in the river. In this attempt he was guided by one of the Ontonagon Indians, named Wabiskipenais, who missed his way, and wandered about he knew not whither." — Ed.



The copper is embedded in stone, of which I should think it did not compose one half. The copper might perhaps weigh one ton. With great difficulty we cut off some very small pieces. What this mass might have been I cannot say, but at present it in no respect equals the account heretofore given of it. It may have rolled from the mountain back of it, but of this there is no appearance—I should as soon believe it was deposited where it is by some freshet with the other rocks. It appears to be no stranger as to situation, for it has a regular place among them.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps this is not the mass generally spoken of, but is the only one of which we could obtain any information.

The distance from the mouth of the river to the rock is about 35 miles. I think it might be approached in light canoes, but they usually make a portage of 6 ms. Any man in his senses having crossed this once will hardly venture again. The river lies in a S. Easterly direction from the place where we landed to walk.

We returned from the mine to the canoe a little before sun set, and were much surprised to find the Gov. had not yet returned with the men who accompanied him. In no way could we account for his absence, and we all felt very anxious for his safety. Firing guns and halloing were resorted to, but without effect. One of the canoes was manned and sent up the river in search of him. Having proceeded about 3 miles up their gun was answered by a pistol and soon the Indian who had went with the Gov. was seen stretched at length floating down the rapids on 2 logs of which he had made a raft.<sup>2</sup> In a short time they all arrived safe at the camp to the great satisfaction of every one. When crossing over the mountains I had blamed myself for bringing my pistol, powder and hatchet with me.

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft gives a sketch of the stone, and its surroundings (*Narrative*, p. 97).—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 97): "This canoe had not proceeded a mile, when the object of search was discovered, with his companions, sitting on the banks of the river, with a real jaded air, with his Indian guide standing at no great distance."—ED.

When we left the Gov. I gave them to a soldier to carry to the camp. But when I found the Gov. was absent I felt satisfied with myself knowing of what service they would be to him. He found them all of use. After these adventures it was with pleasure we found ourselves comfortably in camp together at night.

THURSDAY, June 29.

Early this morning we rose and embarked, determined if possible to leave this river before farther difficulties & disappointments should reach us.

A short distance above the copper rock, the 'Ntenagon<sup>1</sup> is divided into 2 forks of an equal size, one coming from the country towards the Mississippi, and perhaps interlocking with the Chippeway, the other from Green Bay and interlocking with the Menomine riv. Three miles below the rock it receives the waters of a large stream running in an Easterly direction. The general course of the river from the rock to the point on which we encamped was S. E. The following are its courses from our camp to its mouth with its rapids and Islands, though its current is very strong until you arrive within 6 miles of its mouth, when its current is scarcely perceptible. N. 20 W.—N. 70 W.—N. W.—N. 30 W.—Rapid. N. 80 W. S. 75 W. strong rapid—N. 10 W. rapid. N. 10 E. N. 20 E. N. 70 E. rapid. N. 35 E. rapid. Here a stream makes out of the river to the right 1 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  rods wide. N. 20 W.—N.—N. 80 W.—W.—S. W. an Island, at the head of which is an Island. N. W. N. 25 W. rap. N. 75 W.—W.—S. W. rap. N. rap. N. 50 W. S. 20 W.—N. 20 W.—S. W.—S. 10 W. rap. N. 20 W.—S. 65 W. N. 50 W. N. 80 W. rap. an Island and N. 10 W. a large Island. S. 80 W.—N. 60 W. an Island. N. 70 E. N. 15 W. S. 60 W. N. 20 W.—N. 15 E. N. 10 W. N. 40 W. N. 60 W. N. 20 W. N. W. N. 70 E. N. 15 E. N. 50 W. N. 55 W. W.—N. 25 E. N. 85 E.—W.—N. 70 W.—E.—N. 30 W.—N.—N. 80 W.—E.—N. 20 W. N. 15 W. N. N. 15 W.

<sup>1</sup>Ontonagon River.—Ed.

The bank of the river and the surrounding country is timbered with Sugar maple, beech, birch, hemlock & spruce.

The latitude of the mouth of this river is N.  $46^{\circ} 52' 2''$

None of its courses exceed  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile, and in few instances 70 rods. It is 160 yards wide at its mouth and continues about the same width 9 miles up. In no place that I saw it do I think it less than 90. The Indian who acted as guide told us he would point out a small piece of copper on the banks of the river near the lake. In about 150 yds of the camp he jumped on shore and said he would go alone a short distance & get it. We then suspected him of not intending to show it, and he soon returned without it, saying the late freshets must have covered it with mud. However on reaching camp which we did about 11 o'clock for a few presents he was prevailed upon to find it—that is, bring it from his lodge where it had been all the time! It weighed about 3 lbs. It was virgin copper.

Few traders visit these Indians—the whiskey we gave them was the first they had had for a long period. It appeared to relish very well. I did not learn what are the animals of the country. The Indians spoke of hunting the beaver & bear as though they were in plenty. In returning we stopped at one of their traps and found a very large bear caught. They took him in one of the canoes to their lodge with the intention of making the grand bear feast of him. As soon as he was shot one of the Indians very politely stepped up & shook his paw, condoling in a very feeling manner with him for his misfortune! He kept a cautious distance however while he was alive.

The Indians we met at this place have in general a better appearance than any I have seen. They are large and fleshy, have a light copper colored skin, and generally good features. Their subsistence is sturgeon, large quantities of which they had hung up on poles in the sun to dry.

They began to be very free and sociable before our departure, and the evening before we left they gave us sev-

eral dances. At these they always expect a little tobacco and whiskey, and that is the sole object of one, called the begging dance.

One young fellow dressed himself up—that is painted and decorated his person with ornaments—went into the Govs. tent and made a long speech to him. He closed very unexpectedly by saying—“he did not know that he had spoken correctly or as he ought, he had spoken his thoughts. His father, he said, died when he was very young, and before he had taught him how to speak to his great Father. If any thing was badly said he hoped it would be forgiven.” His countenance, his address, his whole appearance was so modest and unassuming that there were none present who did not admire and respect him. A flag and a medal were given to him, with which he appeared much pleased, and pledged his friendship for our country by giving us about 2 fathoms of wampum.

FRIDAY, June 30.

Killed a great number of pigeons this morning. Strong wind ahead all day.

SATURDAY, July 1.

Early this morning we embarked, the wind ahead though not very strong. In 15 miles we came to Iron river a stream of good size being about 4 rods wide at its mouth. It empties at the bottom of a bay 4 miles deep and 15 across. The next stream of size we passed was Carp river 15 miles farther, not as large as the Iron. It is particularly noted for passing over the porcupine mountains. This range of mountains is from 900 to 1000 feet high as computed by Capt. Douglass, and extended the whole of this days travel. We saw them from the portage at Ke-weenaunigh. Six miles from this is Presque Isle river. This stream appears to have formerly emptied by 2 mouths with a small Island in the middle, one of which appears to have been obstructed and almost joined the Island to the main land. On the left side the water still makes up a considerable distance. In passing the channel a fall of

about 8 feet is seen a short distance up. The river is about 3 rods wide.

From this it is six miles to Black river larger than Presque Isle, and of a dark muddy color. We went 8 miles beyond this river and encamped. The banks at the bottom of the bays we passed to day have been sandy, but the banks chiefly have been red sand stone dipping to the N. W. in different angles of from 30 to 60, covered with a red clay mixed with sand. In landing we took shelter behind a large rock which protected our canoes from the waves. Much of the timber to day has been young white birch and poplar—the other white and yellow pine. Still the timber a few miles from the shore is the same as on the 'Ntenagon.

Granite is almost the only rock found on the tops of the mountains, while they are based with red sand stone.

Passed several small streams today.

At 7 A. M. merc. stood at  $54^{\circ}$  in air & water—at 1 P. M. at  $80^{\circ}$  the air. The temperature of the water thus far has been from 54 to 60—average for the mo. of June  $59 \frac{1}{8}$ —the air 69.

SUNDAY, July 2.

At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 A. M. we embarked steering S. 65 W. to a point, from which, S. W. to the Montreal river, 13 miles from our encampment, where we breakfasted. The course from the point below the river to point Chegoiamagon is S. 80 W. This stream is generally very rapid, and at its mouth where we landed a beautiful fall is seen of about 70 ft.—the banks are 100.<sup>1</sup> From the fall the banks widen, forming a fine bottom through which the river meanders  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile, in the middle of which the Indians have erected a wier for the purpose of taking white fish and sturgeon. Almost unlimited numbers of pigeons came flying over the banks into the gulf, from whence they ascended to the opposite. They flew so low that 30 or 40 were killed by our men with clubs & sticks thrown into the flocks as they

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<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 103): "It throws itself from a high precipice of the vertical sand-rock, within sight of the lake, creating quite a picturesque view." — Ed.

passed. A little above the river on the lake shore there are several lodges of Indians on a piece of level ground bounded on 3 sides by mountains, through which a small creek runs.

From the river our course was N. 70 W. to a point, thence the same course to the lower end of point Chegoiamegon. In a bay below this Mauvais or bad river enters, 12 miles from Montreal river, from which to the end of the point is 6 miles. This point is scarcely 600 yards over. It forms a bay 15 miles deep & from 3 to 5 wide. We crossed over 3 miles to the lower end of St. Michaels Island and landed a short time near Mr. Cadottes Establishment.<sup>1</sup> We met several Indians here who informed [us] that many years since a young Indian had found about 3 miles from this on the Island a large piece of pure copper—that they had never been to the place nor had they heard from him or others whether there was any more there. He carried away the piece. Also that about 60 years since an English gentleman with several attendants came up and he must be informed of all the mines in the country. The Indian who told this said he was then so small he did not go with them but that he recollects they crossed over to one of 2 creeks on the main nearly opposite the Island, and which he does not know, where they found a silver mine. The Gent. left the Island saying he should come back the next spring and work both the silver and copper he had found, but he died on his passage home. Since that time the Indian had heard nothing of them. The Gov. did not deem this information sufficient to warrant a search and we proceeded on.

The land through which those streams mentioned run is high and mountainous, and in many respects would favor the assertion frequently made by the Indians that they contain silver.

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<sup>1</sup>The fur trade station of Michel Cadotte, on what is now Madelaine Island. See "The Story of Chequamegon Bay," *post*. Schoolcraft gives (p. 105) an excellent map of Chequamegon Bay; he styles the Apostle Islands the "Federation Group," and names the several islands after each State then in the Union,—but his nomenclature was not adopted by any subsequent geographer.—ED.

This Island appears to be large—I should say not less than 10 miles long. Mr. Cadot was absent from his establishment below. He has a horse in the Island which he brought from the Saut in a batteau.

We steered a north course 6 miles to a sandy point<sup>1</sup> on which we encamped opposite to the "Isle au d'esprit" (Island of the Holy Ghost). The Islands, called by Charlevoix "the 12 Apostles,"<sup>2</sup> extend about 20 miles from point Chegoiamegon.

MONDAY, July 3.

We rose early & embarked, wind ahead, steering N. 33 E. to a point beyond raspberry river which empties at the foot of a sandy bay 9 miles from our encampment. Our course was then N. 40 W. a short distance, then N. 70 W. & then S. 70 W. to the point below sandy river, from which to the opposite point is S. 80 W.—that to the mouth of the river is S. 50 W. The sand stone passed to day seems to have regained its level & the mountains have disappeared. Timber rather more pine to day than yesterday. At this river, 6 miles from raspberry river, we stopt and breakfasted, when a very severe storm of rain rising we were compelled to encamp. It rained until the middle of the afternoon when the wind was so high it was impracticable to put out. Distance this day 15 miles.

TUESDAY, July 4.

Rose at sun rise—wind still ahead—at 7 A. M. air at 57 water at 58. In the afternoon the wind abating we struck our tents and embarked, steering N. 75 W. 2 miles out of the bay. From the point, off which lay a large Island the course to the most distant point seen is S. 70 W. Our course was S. 58 W. touching the points in the bay. The deepest part of this bay is directly around the upper point, and is about 7 miles deep. It is bounded by mountains. It is 12 miles across. We went about 18 miles farther & encamped at the mouth of a stream 5 rods over. Banks to

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<sup>1</sup> Point Chequamegon, now an island.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> So called by Jonathan Carver in the map to his *Travels*.—Ed.

day sand stone in regular strata—timber principally birch & popular of a young growth.

From our encampment could see the opposite shore in a westerly direction.

WEDNESDAY, July 5.

We embarked at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before 3 this morn, and with the aid of a little fair wind we reached the Fond Du Lac river<sup>1</sup> at 12 o'clock, 48 miles from the river Brulé or Burnt wood which we passed yesterday. The mouth of the river is S. 60 W. a short distance. We steered N. 70 W. 2 miles, in which it widens from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 1 mile. We came to an Indian village of 7 lodges where Indians were obtained to assist us in conveying our things over the portage. This river is very crooked, and is enclosed on both sides by mountains. About 5 miles up we passed an old establishment of the N. W. Co's which they deserted during the late war. We reached the S. W. Co's establishment an hour before sunset where we are encamped, 21 miles from the m. of the river, and making 63 miles travel this day. In ascending the river the wind was frequently fair.

This place was first occupied 3 years since, during which several buildings have been erected. It is pleasantly situated on the brow of a high hill and at the head of several small Islands formed in the river. A spot of land of 3 or 4 acres from which the timber had been cut for fires, is tilled, and is now bearing very fine potatoes. The soil is a rich black mould. The Co. with great difficulty have transported to this place 3 horses, 3 cows, one yoke of oxen and 4 bulls. They also have the implements of husbandry. It was a great treat to obtain milk at this distance in the wilderness.

A young crane about 3 ft. high had been *tamed* and was running around here.

Mr. Cotes<sup>2</sup> had charge of the establishment. He in-

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<sup>1</sup> Named St. Louis River, on modern maps.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In Warren's "History of the Ojibways" (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 381-383), the name is spelled "Cotte."—Ed.



formed me that Fort William at which the S. W. Co. have a house lies 78 leagues from this within  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile of Lake Superior, and at the junction of three rivers. These rivers rise in a high range of mountains which extend along the whole western shore of the Lake. Vessels may go up with safety to the Fort.

Notwithstanding the river Brulé is a rapid stream it is frequently used in gaining the water of the Mississippi. It is ascended until it interlocks with the St. Croix river where a portage is made to a branch of that river. On both sides portages are made around the rapids.<sup>1</sup> God-

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<sup>1</sup>The Bois Brulé is now famous as a trout stream. Du l'Hut and other French fur traders were wont to ascend it and then portage over to the headwaters of the St. Croix, by the latter waterway reaching the Mississippi. The present writer made this trip in a canoe during the summer of 1890. For ten miles up from Lake Superior, the Bois Brulé is deep and quiet, but at the present Northern Pacific railway town of Brulé are the first falls and rapids, and these continue at frequent intervals for about twenty miles; there is an abundance of water, but the work of poling up the picturesque little cataracts is one involving great labor. The Bois Brulé and the St. Croix have their origin in the same swamp; doubtless the uppermost waters are a common pool, but the former stream becomes at last so overgrown with the brush of the willow-herb that it is impossible to push a canoe farther than within two miles of Upper St. Croix Lake, which is the nominal head of St. Croix river: a more popular portage path commences somewhat lower on the Brulé than that to which the writer penetrated, but it involves a carry of four miles. The intervening country on the upper portage is quite rugged. Upper St. Croix Lake, on which is now situated the railway village of White Birch, is a beautiful pine-locked sheet of water. Rapids and falls commence not far below, and continue all the way to St. Croix Falls, where a portage is necessary; a skillful canoeist can, in a good stage of water, "shoot" all those above that, save where dammed for logging purposes. The Upper St. Croix, above the mouth of the Namakagon (a much larger stream), is the victim of drouth in summer, and canoes must then be lightened to successfully "make" many of the shallow rapids. This was a favorite old-time fur-trade route between Lake Superior and the Mississippi river, but could have little about it to attract the trader save its wild picturesqueness. Either in going up the St. Croix or the Brulé, whichever way the route lay, the passage must always have been slow and laborious, in painful contrast to the easy Fox-Wisconsin route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.—Ed.

dards river lies between the river Brulé and The Fond du Lac, as Mr. Cotes stated to me.

There is scarcely any current perceptible in this river until you arrive at this place.

THURSDAY, July 6.

Early this morning we embarked and proceeded up the river against a strong rapid for 2 miles when the gent. of the party landed, the rapid becoming more difficult, and crossed over by land. The path lay over very rugged hills, 1 mile. This is called the "women portage," because the women are generally set on shore here to lighten the canoes. Here the "grand portage" commences. It has 19 *pauses* and is estimated at 9 miles. A *pause* is the voyageurs resting place and is generally computed  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile, though they all fall short of this. They seem to be calculated from the labor of carrying from one to another and not with any relation to the actual distance, as one that is hilly or marshy is not half the distance of one on level smooth ground. The first pause was at the top of the bank, and about 200 feet above the level of the river. I carried my own baggage weighing 80 or 85 lbs. Some of the gent. who had said much of their intention of performing this feat were careful to leave most of their effects to be brought by the men. At the end of the second pause the bank of the river was a strata of breccia. It lay in an acute angle shelving towards the river. To this 5 of the smallest canoes came up by water. Our 2 largest were left, to be taken back by the Indians who assisted us to the Establishment. We crowded on very hard to the end of 7 pauses where we encamped before sun set much fatigued. There were frequent wind falls across the path which made the portage much more difficult. The frenchmen stated there was a great hurricane through this country this last spring. They represent its effects to have been terrible in some parts. Nothing but swamp water to drink at this place. This is called the "maple

pause." Nearly opposite this is the highest fall in the river—supposed to be about 30 feet.<sup>1</sup>

Weather fair.

FRIDAY, July 7.

Rained all day. Voyageurs and Indians complained bitterly. They were all astonished at the determination to proceed to day, they never having been accustomed to move in such weather.

The 12th pause is called "the grave," from a Frenchman named Machone having buried his wife there. A cross is standing at the head of her grave. Four pauses beyond this we encamped on the bank of a stream called Six pause river about 2 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  rods over which empties into the river Fond du Lac. It has a rocky bottom, rises in pike lake, 7 or 8 leagues from its entrance. A level path this day but wet and marshy.

SATURDAY, July 8.

By 4 o'clock we had every thing across the portage, for all which we were blessing our stars over a piece of ham & a good dish of chocolate. This is considered a difficult portage and it is reckoned fortunate to pass it in 3 days. We had 20 Indians to assist us—a long *talk* was held with them this afternoon and many valuable presents made, with which they appeared highly pleased.

Weather clear all day & intensely hot. Within a short distance of the head of port. crossed a small stream of good water 1 rod over.

SUNDAY, July 9.

The rapids in the river continuing strong the gent. and surplus of Soldiers over the number requisite to man the canoes walked across a point of land 1 mile made by a bend

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<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 111): "We now found ourselves, at every step, advancing into a wild and rugged region. Everything around us wore the aspect of remoteness. Dark forests, swampy grounds, rock precipices, and the distant roaring of the river, as it leapt from rock to rock, would have sufficiently impressed the mind with the presence of the wilderness, without heavy rains, miry paths, and the train of wild and picturesque Indians, who constituted a part of our carriers."—Ed.

in the river. At the point [where] we reached the river is a shoot or sudden fall of about 3 ft. When the canoes came up this, the bows were entirely out of water while the men in the stern were not visible. It requires great exertion to raise a canoe up there. The river presents a beautiful prospect, greatly heightened by a number of small islands singularly formed by large high rocks at their head on the lower side of which a soil seems to have gathered by the eddies, and are now covered with large handsom trees. We embarked and proceeded up against a strong current, 2 m. when we again landed and walked 1 mile to the portage du Coteau.<sup>1</sup> At the foot of this portage is a very singular island of rocks in the middle of the river about 100 ft. high on which a few pine trees and bushes scarcely find soil sufficient to support them. It is said this heap of rocks is lime stone. I could not get across to examine them.

This portage was represented to be the worst on the river, but it was found the easiest. It is called *the knife* portage because of its being entire ledges of stone lying nearly on an angle of 90°. They are sharp and pointed and pierce the feet at almost every step. It was 3 pauses and is about 1 mile long. I walked it in less than an hour with my baggage. At the head of the portage is a fall of about 12 ft. mostly perpendicular, and extending nearly across the river. I think it presents one of the finest views I have seen on the tour.

The ledges of slate stone commence  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile below the head of the Grand portage, and extend to the head of the Coteau. They lie in the same range with, and shelving from, the mountains which run through here and I suppose are connected with the Chippewa mountains.

W. fair.

SANDY LAKE, Thursday, July 13, 1820.

Early on the morning of the 10th Mr. S., Lt. M., Mr. C., Mr. T., and myself<sup>2</sup> with a party of the soldiers and two

<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 111): "Portage aux Coteaux, so called from the carrying path lying over a surface of vertical argillite."—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Schoolcraft, Mackay, Chase, Trowbridge, and Doty.—ED.

Indian guides left the portage to cross the country on foot to Sandy Lake while the residue of the party accompanied and managed the canoes. This measure was adopted, on the representation of the frenchmen, of the great difficulty and labor in ascending the Fond du Lac river, to lighten the canoes, which they said was absolutely necessary, or we should be compelled to walk on the banks of the river. Though I was well satisfied the walk we undertook would be very tedious and laborious, at the earnest request of the Gov. we consented, I feeling well satisfied with the walks I had already had.

For the first 2 miles we steered west, and nearly the course of the river, until we gained a path leading from Plain Island to the interior, some particular hunting ground of these Indians. We continued on this path until our last course this day. We next steered N. 70 W. 1 mile, S. 20 E. 2 miles to a small pond or lake, the lower part of which we waded through,—the waters being high it was impossible to follow the path; and probably in a common season there is little or no water here. We then went S. 70 W. 1 mile to a lake of considerable size. Thus far the land has been low,—timber birch, maple, bass wood, and elm. Next we steered S. 20 west 6 miles over a ridge one half (the first covered chiefly with pine the residue the sugar maple). The Indians had a large establishment in this wood, this last spring where from every appearance they must have made great quantities of sugar. We stopt and dined on raw ham and sea biscuits, the only provisions we had brought with us. Each man carried his own provisions and blanket. A short distance from where we rested, perhaps 1 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles and course S. 30 W. we came upon the banks of a lake about 3 miles long and two broad, of pure water, and containing 4 Islands. I think I never beheld a Lake more beautiful. In walking on its beach some of the finest corneilians and agates were found which had been picked up on our voyage. They must have been abundant for in half an hour we obtained a great quantity. From this circumstance we named this

water "cornelian Lake." We passed on towards the head of the lake steering S. 20 W. 4 miles, and arrived on the bank of another small lake near its outlet which was not a step over. We took a portage path made by the Indians across  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile to a Lake apparently 5 or 6 miles long and 2 broad. Its water was muddy and warm. Our guides killed a large green turtle on which they feasted at night. They boiled it and gave us one of the fore legs—it was very sweet and delicious. Here our troubles and severest toils commenced. They stated this was the end of the path, and requested we should not be angry with them if we found the road bad after leaving this lake. They must either have intended to take us a more direct course, or they were unacquainted with the country. I have since learned, that had we passed around the head of the lake to opposite side to where we left the path our course would have been over a country high and dry and by which we might have gained the lake a day sooner. Far different from such a country was that we crossed. We steered N. 20 W. 6 miles along the bank of this lake nearly to its head where we encamped a little before sunset, some of us much fatigued. We had not proceeded a mile on this course before we were led into swamps and morasses which one would think impenetrable were he not led on by an Indian. We seldom found footing before we had sunk to our knees in mud, and frequently to our hips. We encamped on a slight rise of ground, but it was with great difficulty water was procured at all palatable. Rain with thunder and lightening during the night. Whole distance 24 m.

TUESDAY, July 11.

Early in the morning we rose shouldered our packs and commenced our rout,<sup>1</sup> which the whole of this day laid over

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<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 113): "[This] morning, as we were about to depart, we observed near the camp-fire of our guides a pole leaning in the direction we were to go, with a birch-bark inscription inserted in the top of the pole. This was too curious an object not to excite marked attention, and we took it down to examine the hieroglyphics, or symbols, which

wind-falls and through cranberry and tamerack Swamps. It is impossible to describe the fatigues of this days march, and I believe there are even few *savages* who would for any consideration encounter them. We steered W. S. W. 2 miles, then N. 20 W. 5 miles, N. 40 W. 3 miles, W. 5 miles — whole distance 15 miles. We encamped at sunset.

WEDNESDAY, July 12.

In our journey to day we had not all the difficulties to encounter we had yesterday—still they were not relaxed in any very sensible degree. We were animated during the day with the hopes of arriving at this place, so that we walked more rapid than any day, making in the whole distance 26 m. Our courses were N. W. 3 miles, N. 70 W. 3 miles to a small and beautiful lake. Then W. 10 miles to a branch of Kettle river about 1 rod over, which empties into the Mississippi. It ran nearly south. Then S. W. 4 miles W. 3 miles, and S. W. 3 miles. In the afternoon there were frequent showers, and between them the sun was intensely hot. About 4 P. M. we came upon an old Indian trail, which one of the guides recognized, having been on it the last season. It was a source of great rejoicing with us, because it ensured good walking for the residue of the distance. We soon came to an Indian encampment by the side of a stream where we thought of encamping, but the guides stating we should pass four more only be-

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had been inscribed with charcoal on the bark scroll. We found the party minutely depicted by symbols. The figures of eight muskets denoted that there were eight soldiers in the party. The usual figure for a man, namely, a closed cross with a head, and one hand holding a sword, told the tale that they were commanded by an officer. Mr. Doty was drawn with a book, they having understood that he was a lawyer. I was depicted with a hammer, to denote a mineralogist. Mr. Trowbridge and Mr. Chase, and the interpreter, were also depicted. Chamees [one of the Indian guides] and his companion were drawn by a fire apart, and the figure of the tortoise and the prairie hen denoted the day's hunt. There were three hacks on the pole, which leaned to the N. W., denoting our course of travel. Having examined this unique memorial, it was carefully replaced in its former position, when we again set forward."— Ed.

fore we would reach the lake, and that the next was in a short distance we proceeded on, and arrived at it, at dusk. It is on the same stream above mentioned which at this place is considerably enlarged. This river rises in wild rice lake and empties into Sandy Lake. Here we found a spring of better water than I have tasted since leaving Detroit.

THURSDAY (above).

Before sunrise we commenced our march though some were complaining of lame knees, & others of blistered feet. One of my own was blistered from the toes to the heel, notwithstanding which I kept my pace with the rest of the party. We steered west 10 miles to a small lake, the borders of which was covered with wild rice. We passed along on the borders of this about 1 mile when we struck upon another small one, or perhaps nothing more than a pond, which was nearly divided in the middle by a sand bank. From thence on our course was N. W. 4 miles to Sandy Lake where we arrived at 12 o'clock. We struck the Lake about 50 rods below the mouth of the little Savannah. We fired several guns to bring some one from the Establishment on the opposite side of the Lake. In about an hour and a half the 2 gent. who have the care of the Est. Mr Ashmen<sup>1</sup> & Mr Fairbanks came over in a canoe, in which they were polite enough to take us across.

It is 4 miles to the Establishment, which is the length of the lake. Its average breadth may be 2 miles. Thus our journey instead of being light and easy and capable of being performed in less than 2 days had proved one of the most fatiguing marches I ever underwent, and even far beyond any idea I ever entertained, and had also redoubled the proof of the little faith and reliance which may be placed on the generality of Indian guides. I here learn that the path on which we started continued the whole distance & went entirely over dry land. Perhaps the guides thought to take us by a shorter rout!

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Ashmun, one of John Jacob Astor's fur-trade agents.— Ed.



FRIDAY, July 14.

This morning Mr. S. Lt. M. & Mr. C.<sup>1</sup> left for the portage to meet the residue of the party. I was well enough pleased to remain in a house among half civilized beings and gain a little rest.

SATURDAY, July 15.

The Gov. arrived this afternoon. He appeared nearly overcome with heat and fatigue.

SUNDAY, July 16.

Spent in reading and walking. Found several old curious works in the small library kept at this Est. These young gent. have had no communication with the civilized world for more than a year, and the narration of the events which have occurred during this period, while it pleased, seemed to astonish them. I very much doubt whether the desire to accumulate wealth could ever so strongly predominate in me as to induce me to forsake the pleasures, the comforts, and elegancies of civilized life for a residence in this dreary wilderness where men generally suffer their passions to go at large so totally unrestrained that they fall far below the savages with whom they associate. There are certainly few situations which fortune could compel me to endure, more dreadful than this. Starvation has few horrors which are not at some season or other felt in a greater or less degree by the resident here. Even at this season these people are living on dried buffalo meat and Labrador tea! without bread or vegetables. They have a few potatoes growing which if the soil were not very rich would not yield a bushel to the acre. And even of these the Indians take much the larger share.

This lake is surrounded by hills of sand and gravel in which I found great numbers of cornelians, agates and jaspers. Many deep bays make out from the lake between the hills.<sup>2</sup> There are 6 or 8 small lakes or ponds adjacent to this. From a hill back of the Estb. 4 may be seen within 2 miles. •

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Schoolcraft, Lieut. Mackay, and Mr. Chase.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolcraft gives a good sketch of Sandy Lake (*Narrative*, p. 116.)—Ed.

The timber is chiefly white and yellow pine, interspersed in the vallies with a little maple, oak and ash.

The Mississippi runs within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile of the lake.

This morning the Gov. with some of the party & 3 canoes left here for the sources of the Mississippi. The difficulty of navigation precluded the residue from accompanying him.

During his absence I occupied myself in surveying the lake and acquiring information relative to the country— (See ad. Journal.)<sup>1</sup>

MONDAY, July 24.

This day the Gov. & gent. returned quite exhausted<sup>2</sup> while those who remained were greatly recruited. They did not go to the extreme source of the river, only to red cedar Lake the highest navigable water at this season, and 350 miles from Sandy lake. The whole of the country is low & marshy, and much of it covered with wild rice. The river above Sandy Lake becomes very crooked—so much so that the river in one instance in the short distance of 1 mile would cross a straight line 15 times. Frequently by making a portage of the length of the canoe 3 or 4 miles was saved.

ST. PETERS, CAMP COLD WATER, SATURDAY, July 31.

In the afternoon of this day we arrived at this post, having left Sandy Lake about 10 o'clock of the 25th inst. One &  $\frac{1}{2}$  of these days was spent in hunting buffalo on the scrub oak prairies. Four buffalo 1 Elk & 1 deer were killed. These were very grateful this being the first fresh [meat] we have obtained on the tour. The buffalo meat is rather inferior to that of the bear—the deer and elk are nearly equal. We saw many large herds feeding on the prairies. Until we arrived at these prairies the banks of the river

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<sup>1</sup> The information then acquired by Doty was in September following written out in detail in a letter addressed to Gov. Cass. It will be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., pp. 195 *et seq.*—ED.

<sup>2</sup> They had been as far as the sources of the Mississippi, and had suffered much from mosquitoes and fatigue.—ED.

were generally low bottoms covered with a stout growth of timber principally elm. These were occasionally intercepted by sand ridges approaching to the river covered with pine, both white and yellow. One of them afforded us a fine encamping ground the second night after leaving the lake. It was at the foot of a rapid on the left shore. These prairies commence about 300 miles above St. Peters and continue much the same the whole way. Some are elevated to a considerable height; and there is a gradual rise discernible after the first 100 miles.—They are frequently from 1 to 200 feet above the river. This may be owing however to the descent of the river, which is very rapid, and can never, with but great difficulty, labor and expense be ascended. For miles it is but a continued succession of rapids, and if the waters had not been at more than their usual height, we could not have run them as easily and with the security we did, nor have went from 140 to 150 miles in a day with birch canoes. The only timber growing on the prairies is oak, and this but a mere shrubbery. When a prairie extends to the river, the opposite side is generally a bottom thickly covered with elm, maple, beech birch and some large oak. Wherever the banks were sandy or gravelly we found cornelians and agates in abundance. On one of these Mr. S. found a piece of agateised wood.

In this distance the river receives seven tributary streams. The river de Corbeau (Crow) is a large stream navigable for boats and canoes. It is sometimes used as a channel of communication with the Red river of the North. The Pine, Elk and St. Francois rivers are also of good size. A short distance above the falls of St. Anthony a river empties in, which *Carver* calls Rum river. The Indians say it is the residence of good and bad *spirits*. *Carver* not understanding them must have entirely mistaken their meaning; and instead of its waters being filled with aerial things he has made the waters *real old Jamaica!*

A short distance above the falls of St. Anthony is a large Island: We had passed some way down on the right hand side, and were rapidly approaching them, before we ascer-

tained the falls were near. We soon gained the other side of the Island and descended to the first break in the river where we landed on the rocks. Here white sand stone overlaid with secondary limestone appears for the first time since leaving L. Superior. The water falling over this rock must rapidly wear it away. The Falls are about 30 ft. perpendicular. There are 3 Islands at about equal distance, at the foot of the perpendicular fall. The river below is 171 yards wide.

Few Cataracts present as pleasing a view as this. The scenery is grand and beautiful; the green groves which cover the Islands and the west bank, a verdant prairie rising on the east, and the broken rapid below the fall, add greatly to the view.

It is 9 miles by water and 7 by land from St. Peters to the Fall. The encampment of the 5th Regt. Infy. wintered last season in log huts which they flung up on their arrival on the lower bank of the St. Peters.<sup>1</sup> It is on a rich bottom which produces luxuriantly. The prairie rises gradually in the rear to the usual height of the country, and has strongly the appearance of well cultivated farms. During the last winter the troops were taken with the scurvy, with which 40 out of 100 men died, before the least relief was found. It was at length arrested and cured by making strong decoctions of hemlock boughs. The troops subsisted entirely on salted provisions, without any vegetables, which is supposed to have caused their ill health. Not certain however but the situation of the encampment and the waters of the St. Peters which they were compelled to use, might also, in part, originate the sickness, early in the Spring Col. Leavenworth discovered the fountain of water where the troops now are, & to which they moved as soon as the ice would permit. It is a healthy situation, about 200 feet above the river, and the

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<sup>1</sup>The troops, under Col. Leavenworth, left Detroit in the spring of 1819, and proceeding by the way of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, where garrisons were left, ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Peters, reaching there just in time to erect huts for the winter.—Ed.

water gushing out of a lime stone rock is excellent. It is called "Camp Cold Water." Preparations are making to erect a Fort on a high bluff at the junction of the Mississippi and St. Peters.<sup>1</sup> Its latitude  $44^{\circ} 54'$  as calculated by Capt. Douglass, & Lieut. Talcott Engineer to the Yellow Stone Expedition. He had arrived at this post a few days before we did, having been 2 weeks from the Council Bluffs. His object was to ascertain the practicability of making a road from the Bluffs to the St. Peters, distance about 300 miles. He states the whole country to be almost an entire prairie.

The Sioux, who inhabit the country around the falls, had been up the Mississippi before our descent, to negotiate a peace with the Chippeways. They made 23 camps from the falls to the place where they stopt. They advanced a short distance into the country claimed by the Chippeways—it might have been 300 miles. Here they left a *letter* for the Chippeways, informing of their readiness to cease hostilities. It was a piece of birch bark, on which was marked with the point of a knife the rivers Miss. & St. Peters, the American Camp, the journey of the Sioux, their numbers, a few Chippeways and the leaders of the 2 bands shaking hands. It showed also the Chiefs present, and where those absent, who were willing to join had gone. The Gov. preserved the letter. The Chief at Sandy Lake and several other Indians came down with us. A treaty of peace was entered into between them and the Sioux that could be collected around the fort, about 300. In such a treaty those particular tribes or bands unrepresented in the Council are not considered bound by it. It is to be hoped these wretched creatures will no longer war with each other for causes unknown to the present generation, but cease their deadly hostilities. The country inhabited by either is sufficient to supply all their necessities and wants.

The River St. Peters, at its mouth, is a sluggish stream, about  $\frac{2}{3}$  the size of the Mississippi. Its waters are of a yellowish colour, apparently filled with alluvial soil. It

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Snelling.—ED.

risers near the tributaries of the Red & Missouri rivers, and altho' in many parts rapid, is ascended by the traders 600 miles in batteaux. It is used also as a principal channel of communication with the Red river. It runs through a fertile country well watered and generally well timbered. The woodland is bounded by prairies of vast extent. 600 miles from its mouth are 3 trading houses in opposition— one is owned by the S. W. Co.

A fort is to be erected on the N. bank of the St. Peters at its junction with the Mis. on a very high and elevated bluff. It will command both rivers.

WEDNESDAY, August 2d.

Before 9 this morning we bade the gentlemen of the garrison farewell, and embarked. They had been very polite and attentive to us during our stay. At the mouth of the St. Peters is a large island of alluvial soil, heavily timbered and very fertile. Immediately below it are many very beautiful islands. These and the banks afford a pleasing view. It is 4 &  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles to a cave generally called "the new Stone house." Several of us entered it 350 yds. with great difficulty, being compelled to creep the whole distance on our knees, and brace up on each side to avoid falling into a stream of water which runs on its bottom, and by which the cave appears to have been formed. In some places its depth could not be ascertained. Some entered the cave 403 yds. and did not find its extremity. About 100 yds. from its mouth it expands into an opening of near 15 by 20 feet, and has the appearance of an arched room. Nearly on a level with where the bed of the stream once was, and between the strata of white sand stone *is a strata of alluvial soil* in which are still found roots of trees. It can scarcely be supposed a deposit, for it has every appearance of having been placed here regularly with the sand stone. Three &  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles farther is another cave similar to this, and is called the Stone house. At the mouth of the first cave it is said *Carvers* name can be traced on the rock and the year in which he visited it.

Nothing of this could we find.<sup>1</sup> Two miles farther is the Little Crow's Village. It has 12 lodges, 10 of them substantially built. The little Crow was absent, but a *talk* was held with the Chiefs found here, and some presents made. They gave us great quantities of green corn in return. We proceeded on and encamped on the right bank of the Mis. at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6. — Weather clear & warm.

THURSDAY, August 3d.

Embarked at 5. Having descended 3 miles we came to the mouth of the St. Croix river, off which is an island. This river is very wide for 12 miles from the Mississippi, and is sometimes called a Lake. Six miles farther we came to an Indian village of 4 fixed lodges, immediately below which rises a very high promontory where rattlesnakes were found in abundance. At the head of Lake Pepin, 3 miles, are a great number of Islands, forming different channels some of which are very circuitous & and almost impassable. It is therefore very difficult to ascertain which are the correct ones. This Lake is 21 miles long and its average breadth is about 2 miles. Its waters are very shallow. We landed on a point, 3 miles, while an Indian was endeavoring to spear a fish of a singular kind which is found here, called the shovel nose Sturgeon, but he obtained none. Found large pieces of cornelian and agate. Two miles farther is a high promontory which projects into the lake. It is told that many years since a young and beautiful Sioux girl was much attached to a young indian of the same band, and who would have married her but for the interference of her relatives. They insisted upon her marrying another one whom she despised, and she contrived to avoid the connexion for near a year. At length her relations, having sent away the young man she loved, on this point they compelled her to marry the one they wished. It was evening, and she had

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<sup>1</sup>The party found, later, that the cave wherein Jonathan Carver claimed to have held a council with the Indians was four miles below, on the same side of the river, "but obstructed by fallen rocks and debris."—ED.

not been united more than an hour, before they missed her from the lodge. Nothing could be found of her until morning, when they discovered her at the foot of this precipice, down which she had probably precipitated herself.<sup>1</sup>

Sandy point, which is eight miles from the promontory, is very long, and extends farther into the lake than any other point. It is low & in its middle is a pond of considerable size. A short distance below a stream empties into the lake. We went 4 miles farther and encamped on a gravelly point on the north shore. Clear and very warm during the day. In the night a severe thunder storm arose, and it rained very hard all night.

FRIDAY, August 4.

Embarked at 5. Weather cold & cloudy. Proceeded on 3 miles to the foot of the Lake, where the Chippeway or Sauteur river empties in. Stopt a short time at *The Wings*<sup>2</sup> village. It has eight lodges, and is situated on a very large prairie which is bounded in the rear by the bluffs which appear to conduct the Mississippi in its course, and at this place they present a beautiful and pleasing prospect. Although now they are a considerable distance from the river, it is not perhaps too much to presume that these waters once flowed at their base, while the prairie was entirely covered with water and forming a part of Lake Pepin.

The Wing is the Chief of all of the Sioux bands and is considered their *Emperor*. A party of Sacs and Foxes had a short time previous fallen upon a few of the Sioux and killed them. He stated the circumstances to us, and before he should proceed to revenge it, wished to have the advice of the Americans. "For myself," said he, "I wish

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<sup>1</sup> Now styled Maiden Rock. Schoolcraft says (*Narrative*, p. 164): "A tragical love tale, which . . . has been so differently told to travellers visiting this region, that nothing but the simple tradition appears worth reading. Olaita and Winona have been mentioned as the names of the Dacota Sappho."—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Doty refers to Red Wing (or Tarangamanai), but his village was above Lake Pepin, near the site of the present town of Red Wing, Minn. The village visited Aug. 4 was undoubtedly Wabasha's, and so Schoolcraft records it (*Narrative*, p. 165).—ED.



to have it amicably and speedily settled. I hope they will do justice to us. If they do not—I can command many men—I may do something for which I shall afterwards be sorry, and by which they will long remember me." The Gov. advised him, and he promised, to settle the difficulty without shedding any more blood.

We had not proceeded far before we ran upon several sand-bars in the middle of the river which we passed with some difficulty. These bars are continually rising in the middle of the river, and in some places putting almost across it, so as to throw the water against the banks on each side.

At 7 we encamped on the S. W. side of the river, and opposite the mouth of Black River. I ascended the hill which rose directly in rear of our tents, and it was 1000 paces from the waters edge to its summit. From this point I had a view of the country to the East. The bottom through which the Black River ran, appeared to be about 10 miles long, and 5 broad, and heavily timbered with hard wood. It appeared also as though two streams joined this river, one above the South and the other from the North, before its confluence with the Mississippi, and a short distance above its mouth. About 12 miles up this river is a saw mill, at which a considerable lumber is cut.<sup>1</sup>

Whole distance to day 72 miles.

SATURDAY, August 5.

At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 we embarked, as day was dawning.

Latitude of Prairie du Chien  $43^{\circ} 3' 20''$ .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft* (p. 166): "At the rapids of Black River, which enters opposite our encampment, a saw-mill, we were informed, had been erected by an inhabitant of Prairie du Chien. Thus the empire of the arts has begun to make its way into these regions, and proclaims the advance of a heavy civilization into a valley which has heretofore only resounded to the savage war-whoop"—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Doty's journal here ceases; further particulars are obtainable from *Schoolcraft's Narrative*. The party arrived at Prairie du Chien at 6 P. M. "The prairie," says *Schoolcraft* (p. 167), "is most eligibly situated along the margin of the stream, above whose floods it is elevated. It consists of a heavy stratum of diluvian pebbles and boulders, which is

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.<sup>1</sup>

FROM THOMAS H. BENTON.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 8th 1824.

DEAR SIR,—Our mutual friend, Gov. McNair enclosed to me a paper last winter upon the subject of erecting a

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picturesquely bounded by lofty cliffs of the silurian limestones, and their accompanying column of stratification. The village has the old and shabby look of all the antique French towns on the Mississippi, and in the great lake basins; the dwellings being constructed of logs and barks, and the courtyards picketed in, as if they were intended for defence. It is called Kipsisagee by the Chippewas and Algonquin tribes generally, meaning the place of the jet or outflow of the (Wisconsin) River. \* \* \* We found the garrison consist of a single company of infantry, under the command of Capt. J. Fowle, Jun., who received us courteously, and offered the salute due to the rank of His Excellency, Gov. Cass. The fort is a square stockade, with bastions at two angles. There was found on this part of the prairie, when it came to be occupied with a garrison by the Americans, in 1819, an ancient platform-mound, in an exactly square form, the shape and outlines of which were preserved with exactitude by the prairie sod. This earthwork, the probable evidence of a condition of ancient society, arts, and events of a race who are now reduced so low, was, with good taste, preserved by the military, when they erected this stockade. One of the officers built a dwelling-house upon it, thus converting it, to the use, and probably the only use, to which it was originally devoted. No measurements have been preserved of its original condition; but judging from present appearances, it must have squared seventy-five feet, and have had an elevation of eight feet."

From Prairie du Chien, Schoolcraft made a scientific expedition to the Dubuque lead mines, returning to the Prairie at daylight of Aug. 9. At 10:30 A. M. of that day, the entire party set out on the return trip via the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, arriving at Fort Howard on the 20th. Here, the 22d, the expedition divided; Trowbridge, Doty, and Chase, with Interpreter Riley, were sent to trace the western and northern shores of Green Bay, while Schoolcraft and the others were sent along the southern and eastern shore of the bay and up the west shore of Lake Michigan, and so on around to Mackinaw and Detroit, at which latter place they arrived Sept. 23. Governor Cass left this party at Chicago, and returned to Detroit by horseback.— Ed.

<sup>1</sup> The papers given below comprise the "Doty MSS." referred in to *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 463, note, and elsewhere in article, "The Boundaries of

North West Territory, west of Michigan and north of the State of Illinois, accompanied by a letter of his own recommending the measure. He has since arrived here himself, and has revived the subject, and induced the delegate from Michigan to submit a resolution. On consulting with me, we have both agreed that a request should come from the inhabitants in the form of a memorial, to be signed by the whole of them, in which they should state the inconveniences of their present situation, the advantages of a change, and the necessity of having a higher officer than an agent to superintend the Indian affairs of the Upper Mississippi. The topics will readily suggest themselves, and the Memorial could be prepared and signed this summer, and laid before the ensuing congress. If directed to me, I will undertake to present it, and to claim for it an attentive consideration.

I should be glad to have a letter from you, occasionally, and to be informed of all that you should think worth communicating from your remote region.

Very Respectfully, Sir,

Yr. obt. Servant,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

*Hon. Judge Doty.*

Addressed: "Hon. Judge Doty, Prairie du Chien."

Indorsed: "The Honbl. Thomas H. Benton, Washington. D. May 8, 1824. R. July 30, 1824. A. Dec. 1, 1824. sent Mem. of bill for new govt."

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PETITION OF TRANS-MICHIGAN INHABITANTS.<sup>1</sup>

The petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the County of Brown in the Territory of Michigan, respectfully sheweth.

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Wisconsin." They are of great value in a study of the origins of our Territorial organization, and serve to illustrate the article referred to. Doty at this time was United States circuit judge for the portion of Michigan Territory lying west of Lake Michigan. Benton was United States senator from Missouri, and a warm friend of all schemes for promoting Western interests.— Ed.

<sup>1</sup>This, apparently the original draft, is in Doty's handwriting.— Ed.

That the country which they inhabit, is situated north of the State of Illinois and west of Lake Michigan; and that they have been alternately subject to the Territorial Governments of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, without, in fact, participating, in any considerable degree, in the benefits of either.

Your petitioners respectfully solicit the attention of Congress to their remote situation. They believe nature has erected barriers which effectually preclude the possibility of uniting them with the people of Michigan by any legislative act; and that for all the purposes of Government or justice, they might as well be annexed to the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania or New York, as the Michigan Territory.

The distance from Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi to Green Bay is usually estimated to be 300 miles; from the Bay to Macinaw Two hundred miles; and it is suggested, whether this does not embrace a sufficient extent of country for any system of Territorial government, which can be adopted for the convenience or advantage of its citizens.

The seat of government of Michigan is fixed at Detroit, about six hundred miles from the county in which your petitioners reside, a place which is totally inaccessible to them during the winter season; and nearly so by land at all periods of the year. From the uncertainty of the present mode of communicating by the vessels of the Lakes, Detroit is to your pets. little more than the capital of a foreign govt.

By the act of Congress of the third of March 1823, allowing to this Territory<sup>1</sup> a Legislature, your pets. supposed they were greatly relieved, by their just right to a proportionate share of the representatives in that body, but in this they find themselves unhapily disappointed, the Legislature having determined to hold its sessions during the winter.

The members of the Legislature are elected by a *general ticket*, and although your pets. may, by the *courtesy* of the people residing on the Peninsula, be allowed a representa-

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning the Territory of Michigan.—ED.

tive, yet any political combination in that section might entirely exclude this, so that they have, in fact, no right to elect a member to that body, as it is a right which they cannot enforce.

They have also, heretofore, found it extremely difficult to forward their votes from this District for Delegate to Detroit, in time to be canvassed with those of the residue of the Territory.

For these reasons your pets. do not believe they enjoy, within the intention or means of Congress, the benefits of the representative part of a Territorial Govt.

They would farther respectfully shew, that the Gov. of the Territory appoints, by the Ordinance of 1787, all civil officers for Counties and Towns. A most serious evil results from the great distance at which they are placed from the appointing and removing power. The most important offices remain vacant for months before new appointments can be made, and if an officer is guilty of official misconduct it neither accords with the convenience or pecuniary interests of an accuser, to be compelled to visit Detroit to impeach him. Your pets. believe the responsibility of officers is too far removed to ensure the faithful discharge of their duties.

The situation of this District is essentially different from that of the residue of the Territory, and requires altogether a different system of Laws. It is considered the people of this Country ought, under no circumstances to be compelled to go to Detroit for justice; yet the Supreme Court of the Territory has *exclusive* jurisdiction over all cases arising in this District under the Revenue Laws of the United States, of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and, generally, of all cases in which the United States are plaintiffs. It has also *concurrent* jurisdiction with the circuit court, over all offenses committed within the Indian country. It is also a court of Error in all civil causes, and a court of Appeals in all suits in Chancery. These several jurisdictions vitally affect the interests of your pets., and they believe the insufficiency, and, in fact, injustice, of the present judiciary system is so apparent, that they

deem it sufficient to advert to it without comment. They presume it would be contrary to the first principles of jurisprudence and of government, to establish two independent judicial tribunals with equal powers, but acting under different laws, in the same state or Territory.

Your pets. inhabit a district of country which has at all times been considered of the greatest importance, politically, to the Government. In the event of a war, either with the Savages of the country or foreign nations, your pets. believe it highly essential to the safety of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, that this section of the country should be settled. Nothing could add so much to the safety and protection of your pets., as an increase of the present settlements. Against powerful enemies it is incontestible that your pets. are altogether unable to defend themselves. They consider the honor and faith of the United States are pledged to protect the lives and property of such as resided in this country in the year 1796, by the third Art. of Mr. Jays Treaty; and it is respectfully suggested, whether the pecuniary interests of the Nation will not be better served, and the terms of that Article more faithfully performed, by an increase of the settlements, than by the continuance of the military posts. While the latter are an expense to the nation, the former would add much to its revenues.

There are residing within this District of Country some of the most numerous and warlike nations of Indians within the limits of the United States. There may now be found inhabiting it the Chippewau, the Dahcoatah or Sioux, the Weanbaygo, and Munnominnee nations, besides several families of Ottawaуau's and Pootowotomie's; and from the unsettled state of some of these Nations, it is supposed the attention and presence of a Superintendent of Indian affairs would be of great service to the Indians, and of utility to the government.

Your Pets. would not be tedious, or they could advert to many other urgent reasons upon this subject; they rely, with the utmost confidence, upon the wisdom, liberality and justice of Congress.

Your pets. therefore humbly pray that the Michigan

Territory may be divided into two separate governments, and that such form of government may [be] provided for that section of the Territory in which they reside, as Congress in its wisdom may deem suitable and necessary; and the seat of govt. may be established, upon the Fox River in the said county of Brown, the settlement upon the said river being the only central settlement within the contemplated territory.

They would respectfully suggest the following boundaries for a new territory, if it should be thought expedient to erect one, that is to say, on the South, by the northern boundary line of the State of Illinois, &c.

Addressed: "Free. Thomas H. Benton

Hon. Judge Doty, Prairie du Chien. Upper Mppi."

Indorsed: "Remote from the seat of govt.

natural divisions.—

Inconvenience of present system politically and civilly.

Terms of Legislature.

Difficulties of making returns of Elections.

Judiciary — Terl. jurisdiction —

U. S. cases — revenue

Indian cases —

"The situation of the District is entirely different from that of the residue of the Territory, and requires altogether a different system of laws — Improprity of two different systems under the same govt.—"

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#### MEMORANDA UPON THE PETITION.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Chippewau Territory.*

Petition &c.—

N. W. Tery	.....in 1790....	36,691.
"	..... 1800....	45,365.
Indiana	..... 1800....	5,641.
	..... 1810....	24,520.
Illinois	..... 1810....	12,282.
Missippi Tery	.... 1800....	8,850.
"	.... 1810....	40,352.
Orleans	..... " ....	76,556.
Louisiana	..... " ....	20,845.
Michigan	..... 1810....	4,762.

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<sup>1</sup>These memoranda, also in Doty's handwriting, cover the filing of the

*Indiana Tery.* Separated from the N. W. May 7, 1800. Included Illinois—seat of govt. St. Vincennes—had 5,641 Inh. and of the *North West*—Chilicothe which embraced Michigan—had 45,365 Inh. 4 U. S. 3 v. 367 authorises to form Const. & state govt. April 19, 1816.—6 v. 66.

*Ohio*—admitted to be a state April 30, 1802, and *Michg.* attached to *Indiana*—3 v. 496.

*Michigan* separated from the *Indiana Territory*, Jan'y 11, 1805. Its west line—"drawn from the southerly bend of Lake Mich. to its northern extremity, thence north to the Northern boundary line of U. S."

*Orleans Ter.* created March 26, 1804, & residue of Louisiana to be called "district of Louisiana" made subject to the govt. of *Indiana*.—*Or.* authorized to form a const. Feby. 20, 1811.

*Missouri Ter.* created out of Tery. called Louisiana, June 4, 1812. Authorized to f. Con. March 6, 1820—6 v. 455. Slavery prohib. north of 36° 30' except Missouri.

*Misisip. Ty.* created April 7, 1798.—pop. in 1800 was only 8,850. An act to enable people of the Western part of the Misis. Tery. to form a Constn. &c. March 1, 1817—6 v. 175.

*Illinois* made a separate Terry. Feby. 3. 1809—eastern boundary a "line drawn from the Wabash River and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the U. S. & Canada"—author. to f. Const. & s. gov. April 18, 1818. Sec. 7. "All that part," &c.—6. v. 292.

*Alabama Tery*—created 3d, March 1817.—6. v. 209. act to enable to form Constn. March 2, 1819—6. v. 385.

*Arkansaw Tery.* March 2, 1819—6. v. 385.

*Florida*—Territorial Govt. established March 30, 1822—7. v. 10.

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draft of the petition, and doubtless were the data upon which the petition was based.—Ed.



## BILL FOR ORGANIZING CHIPPEWAW TERRITORY.

(Drawn in 1824.) *This was the first bill drawn to establish a govt. west of Lake Michigan.*<sup>1</sup>

An act to divide the Michigan Territory into two separate Governments.

The Chippewau Territory. { Sec. 1. Be it enacted &c. that from and after the first day of September next, all that part of the Michigan Territory included within the following boundaries, that is to say, on the south by the northern boundary line of the State of Illinois, crossing the Misissippi River at the head of Rock Island, and by the northern boundary line of the State of Missouri; on the west by the Missouri river; on the north by the northern boundary line of the United States; and on the east by the said boundary line of the United States to the Southern extremity of Drummonds Island at the mouth of the River St. Mary and thence by a line running from said Island to the Southern extremity of Bois Blanc Island in Lake Huron, thence by a line equally distant from the Island and Main land to the center of the Straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron, & thence up the middle of the said Straits and Lake Michigan to the North-eastern corner of the State of Illinois, shall for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate Territory, and be called Chippewau.

The Gov. { Sec. 2. That there shall be appointed a Governor for the said Chippewau Territory, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked, who shall perform the duties and receive the emoluments of Superintendent of Indian Affairs within the said Territory; and who shall reside within the said Territory. He shall have power to grant pardons for offences against the laws of the said Ty. and reprieves for those against the Laws of the U. S. until the decision of the President thereon shall

<sup>1</sup> This memorandum, as well as the entire bill itself, is in Doty's handwriting.—Ed.

be made known. He shall approve of all laws passed by the Legislature before the same shall take effect.

Secretary. { Sec. 3. That there shall be appointed a Secretary, whose commission shall continue in force four years, who shall reside in said Territory, and whose duty it shall be to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the Legislature, the public records of the Territory, and the proceedings of the Governor in his executive department. And in case of the death, removal, resignation, or necessary absence of the Governor from the seat of govt., the Secretary shall, and he is hereby authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during the vacancy occasioned by his death, removal, resignation or necessary absence.

Legislature. { Sec. 4. That there shall be a Legislature for the said Territory, of which the Governor shall be the President, which shall consist of five persons exclusive of the Governor, any three of whom shall form a quorum, who shall serve for the term of two years, and shall be appointed as follows, to wit: At an election to be held in each of the Towns within the said Territory on the first Monday of July next, the qualified electors shall choose by ballot, ten persons having the qualifications of electors; and such election shall be conducted, certified, and the result declared, agreeably to the present Territorial laws of Michigan, prescribing the mode of electing a delegate to Congress; but the time, place and manner of electing the members of the Legislature shall, after the first election, be prescribed by the said legislature; and the names of the ten persons having the greatest number of votes, shall be transmitted by the said governor, to the President of the United States, who shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint therefrom, the said Legislature; and vacancies occurring in the said Legislature shall be filled in the same manner from the list transmitted as aforesaid: The first Legislature shall be assembled at such time and place as the Gov-

ernor shall, by proclamation, designate; & the laws of Michigan shall continue in force in the said Territory until others are enacted by the said Legislature. No Session, in any one year, shall exceed the term of sixty days; nor shall any act passed by the Governor and Legislature be valid, after the same shall have been disapproved by Congress. All laws passed by the Ter. Leg. shall extend and be in force throughout the said Tery., as well where the Indian title has not been extinguished as where it has. The Gov. & Leg. shall appoint and commission all magistrates and other civil officers under the territorial laws, except as is herein otherwise provided, and all officers of the militia. Where vacancies occur during the recess of the Leg. the Govr. shall fill such vacancies, but the same shall be submitted to the Legis. at its next session for concurrence.

Right of suf-  
frage.

{ Sec. 5. That every free white male citizen of the United States, above the age of twenty one years, who shall have resided within the said Territory one year next preceding an election, and who shall have paid a Town, county or territorial tax, shall be entitled to vote at any election, and shall be eligible to any office, within the said Territory.

Judicial power.

{ Sec. 6. That the judicial power of the territory of Chippewau shall be vested in a Supreme Court, three District Courts and in courts of justices of the peace. The said Supreme Court, shall consist of one Chief Justice and two associate Justices, any two of whom shall be a quorum, and who shall hold a term of the said court, at the seat of government of said Territory, on the second Monday in August, annually; and the tenure of whose offices shall be limited to four years.

Judicial  
Districts.  
First District.

{ That there shall be three judicial districts within the said Territory, the first of which shall be composed of the country included within the boundaries of the County of Brown as the same are now established. The Chief Justice shall reside in the said District, and shall hold a court on the first Mondays in Decem-

Second District. { ber and May in each and every year at the seat of government of the said Territory. The second district shall be composed of such part of the County of Michillimacinaw as may be situated within the limits of the said Chippewau Territory. One of the Associate Justices shall reside within the said second District, and shall hold a court on the first Mondays in January and July in each & every year, at the Court house in the Third District. { said County. The third District shall be composed of the country now included within the boundaries of the county of Crawford, and of all that part of the said Chippu. Ty. lying west of the Mississippi river. One of the Associate Justices shall reside in the said third district, and shall hold a court therefor on the first Mondays in February and June in each and every year at the seat of Justice for said county. The said courts shall be styled "District courts," and shall

Style of courts. { be held by said justices within their respective districts at such other times and places as the Legislature may direct. The said district

Jurisdiction of the Dist. Courts. { courts within their respective limits herein described, shall have exclusive original jurisdiction in all criminal cases, and exclusive original jurisdiction of all real or possessory actions and of all civil cases, where the balance due, or damages, or sum demanded, shall exceed the sum of fifty dollars, and appellate jurisdiction over

Clerks. { the courts of justices of the peace. Each of the said justices shall appoint a clerk for his district, who shall reside, respectively, at the place where his said Court may be held, and shall keep the records there; and they shall be entitled to receive such fees as may be allowed them by law; and the clerk appointed by the Chief Justice for the first district shall be the clerk of the Supreme Court. And the said courts shall possess a Chancery as well as common law jurisdiction, and the said clerks shall be the Registers in Chancery.

Jurisd. of  
 the S. C.  
 of the  
 Tery.

{ And writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals in Chancery shall be allowed in all cases from the said District Courts to the Supreme Court in such manner, and under such regulations, as may be provided by law by the said legislature, but in no cause removed from the said District Courts shall a trial by jury be allowed in the Supreme Court. The said

And of S.  
 C. of U. S.

{ court may appoint its own clerk. And writs of error and appeals from the decisions of the said Supreme Court shall be allowed and made to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the Circuit Courts of the United States, where the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, shall exceed one thousand dollars. And

and of  
 the Dist.  
 Cos. under  
 the Laws  
 of the U. S.

{ each of the said District Courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the laws and Constitution of the United States as was vested in the Court of the Kentucky District by "An act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," approved the 24th day of Sept. 1789, and "An act in addition to the act entitled 'An act to establish the judicial courts of the United States,' " approved the 2d. of March 1793.—The first six days of each term of the said Courts, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the laws and Constitution of the United States. And writs of error and

and of  
 the S. C.  
 under the  
 Laws of  
 U. S.

{ appeals from the decisions of the said courts in all such cases, shall be made to the said Supreme Court of the Territory, in the same manner as is herein before provided in other cases. The said clerks shall receive, in

Clerks  
 fees.

{ all cases arising under the laws and constitution of the United States, the same fees which the clerks of the District Courts of the State of New York receive for similar services.

The said Territory shall be divided into three districts.

The Chief Justice shall be appointed to reside in that district in which the seat of government is established.

Each judge shall hold a District Court in the district in which he resides, at such times and places as may be provided by law.

District attorney. { Sec. 7. That there shall be appointed for each of the said courts, by the president, a person learned in the law, to act as Attorneys of the United States, as well as for the territory, whose commissions shall continue in force for the term of three years, each of whom shall receive the same fees, both in civil and criminal cases, as are received by the attorney of the U. S. for the Michigan Territory for similar services: and shall, moreover, receive, as a full compensation for all extra services, annually, the same salary as the said U. S. Attorney for Michigan, to be paid quarterly at the Marshalls. { Treasury of the United States. There

shall also be appointed by the President for each of the said Districts, a marshal, who shall execute all process[es] emanating from the sd. Sup. & Dist. courts in their respective districts, who shall also perform the same duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees, as the marshalls in the other districts of the United States; and shall in addition be paid the sum of Two hundred dollars, each annually, as a compensation for extra services; and shall, also, be subject to such regulations and penalties as the Legislature shall impose, while acting under, and in virtue of, the territorial laws.

Officers to be apptd. by the Presdt.

{ Sec. 8. That the said Governor, Secretary, Chief and Associate Justices, attorneys and Marshalls, shall be nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed, by the President of the United States.

Governors salary.

{ The said Governor shall receive an annual salary of one thousand dollars as

Governor and one thousand dollars as Superintendent of Secretaries Salary. { Indian Affairs. The said Secretary shall receive a salary of one thousand dollars.

Pay of the Legislature. { The members of the Legislature shall receive three dollars each, per day, during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and two dollars each for every twenty miles travel in going to and returning from the said sessions; and the

Judges salaries. { &c. The said Chief Justice and Associate Judges shall receive a salary of sixteen hundred dollars, each, annually, to be paid at the Treasury of the United States. There shall also be appropriated annually the sum of eight hundred dollars, to be drawn and expended by the said Legislature towards its incidental expenses, and in printing the Laws of the said Territory.

Printing Laws. {

Seat of Govt. { Sec. 9. That the seat of government of the said Territory shall be established at or near the village of Munnominnee (so called) on the east bank of the Fox River, three miles above Fort Howard. And the Legislature of the said Territory shall cause the public buildings to be erected at such point near the said village as they may deem most suitable; and five thousand acres of land, located by the Governor to be below the Grand Kaukaulau on said river, is hereby given to the said Legislature for the use of the Territory, the proceeds of which shall be applied to the erection of the said Territorial buildings.

Officers subject to Tert<sup>l</sup> laws. { Sec. 10. That all of the officers to be appointed by virtue of this act, shall be under the control of the said Legislature, Provided the said Legislature shall impose no duties upon them which shall be inconsistent with the nature of their offices respectively.

Rights under the Ordinance. { Sec. 11. That the Inhabitants of the said Chippewau Territory shall be entitled to, and enjoy, all and singular, the rights, privileges, and advantages, granted and secured to the people of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, by the Articles of Compact contained in the Ordinance for the

Govt. of the said Territory, passed on the 13th day of July, 1787.

Delegate. { Sec. 12.<sup>1</sup>

[Indorsed on back of the Bill.]

Project of a Govt. for the Terry. of Chippewau, forwarded to the Honbl. T. H. Benton, Washing. Nov. 1824.

Copy with alterations for Mr. Strong Decr. 28, 1827.—

Elections—uncertainty of returns—attendance of members of council—Appointments.

Judiciary—

appeal by writ of error civ. cases \$100

all revenue cases.

Joint jurisd<sup>d</sup> over Ind. country

additional Judge appointed & assigned to this dist. 1823

When Indiana was admitted did not Ill. & M. become separate Territories? Might as well have been united.

No. of Inhabitants. Those at the mines equal to 10,000 souls.

Places inhabited, & distances

Sault de Ste. Marie

Mackinaw Isländ

Pointe Ste. Ignace

Munnomonee River

Green Bay

Milwaukee

Grand Kaukaunah

Butte des Morts.

Portage

Prairie du Chien

Fever River. Galena

St. Peters.

Pembinau.

To these may be added the permanent trading Establishments in Lake Superior of The Bay, Montreal Island & the

<sup>1</sup>The draft ends here.



Fond du Lac, and of Lac du Flambeau, Lake St. Croix and Sandy Lake in the interior.

"No. of Indians. Chip. Some Sioux Winb. Munno. some Ot. & Pot. describe country of each.

[On a separate slip pinned to above.]

Governor .....	2.000
Secretary .....	1.000
Judges.....	4.800
Attorney.....	.250
Marshall .....	.200

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8.250

Legislature—

60 days.....900

Travel 3

Mem. 800

miles each..... 360

1.260

Contingent

expenses..... .800

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10.310

FROM BENTON.

SENATE CHAMBER, Feby. 26<sup>th</sup> 1825.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter and accompanying papers arrived in due time. I have also received two other memorials on the same subject, and had them all referred to a select committee, of which I was chairman. Nothing however can be done at this session. The same petitions, with as many others as may be sent, can be again presented at the next session. To keep me in mind, it would be best to write to me. The petitions here will be in the hands of the Sec. of the Senate.

A Bill concerning the copper mines of Lake Superior has passed the Senate.

Yours respectfully,

THOS. H. BENTON.

Addressed: "James Duane Doty Esq."

Endorsed: "Hon. Thomas H. Benton, Washington. D. Feby. 26, 1825.—A. Dec. 20, 1825."

TO BENTON.

MUNNOMONEE,

GREEN BAY, Township,

Dec. 20th, 1825.

SIR,—In your letter dated in March last, you suggest the propriety of submitting new Petitions by the Inhabitants of this region to Congress at its present session, upon the subject of a new Territory. I stated to the people the views which were entertained by you upon their case, for which they appeared to be very grateful, but they seemed to think that they could urge nothing more in support of their prayer. Of the Counter Memorial which we are informed was sent by the Legislative Council, we know but little, as it was never *published*, and all our attempts to obtain copies have proved ineffectual. We are therefore, from these singular circumstances, prevented from refuting what may have been alledged in that still more singular production. I may also add that the active exertions which have been, and are still, made by the Inhabitants of the Peninsula, against our Petitions, have greatly *disheartened* many in this quarter. They think the truth against such means can have no effect; especially as we cannot expect the aid of the delegate from Michigan.

Permit me to state further upon this subject, that the late Legislature adjourned twice during its term to meet upon days which they knew would exclude the member from this district: That at those sessions they adopted the memorial above alluded to; and by an act, divided the Territory into severel districts, to which they apportioned the members of the Council, and by that apportionment gave to some districts on the Peninsula which do not contain *one half* of the number of Inhabitants that this does, *two* members, while to this they gave but *one*.

That we are so far removed from the seat of Government of the Territory, that we do not *at this day* know who is elected our Delegate to Congress; and the laws which were passed by the Council in Jan'y. March & April last,

and to which immediate effect was given, were not received here until the month of *October* last.

I will also take the liberty of adding, that nearly as I can ascertain, there are now as many, if not more, inhabitants within the limits of the contemplated Territory, than there were on the Peninsula of Michigan at the time the Michigan Territory was created.

It has been said, this is a cold, inhospitable region, unfit for agricultural purposes. My residence in the country enables me to say, that the climate does not vary from the northern and western parts of the State of New York — nor is the soil in any way inferior, producing with but little labor, grain equal in quantity and quality to that region. Its health is far superior; and I have no doubt if the Govt. of the United States would purchase the lands in the vicinity of this place, and save *them* and *us* from the hands of the Speculating Indians of New York (who have already obtained more than 2,000 acres to every *soul* of their nation) the revenues of the country would be much increased.

Yours &c.

J. D. DOTY.

Addressed: "Hon. T. H. Benton, Senator."

Indorsed: "Copy Letter to Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri — Washington — Decr 20. 1825."

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ARGUMENT BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHG. Dec. 24, 1827.

*Hon. James Strong Chm. of Comt. on Terris.*

SIR,—The following condensed view of the present & former Territories of the U. S. I take the liberty of presenting to you in answer to your inquiries upon that subject. It is necessarily imperfect as to the population at several periods, from the great difficulty of obtaining any information upon that point at this place.

The Ordinance for the government of "*the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio*," was passed on the 13th. of July 1787. This Territory was bounded by

the boundary line between the United States and Canada, by the State of Pennsylvania, the Ohio River and the Misissipi River. Its population amounted in 1790 to 36,691 souls—and in 1800 to 45,365; in which latter year Chillicothe was made the seat of its Govt.

*Indiana* was made a Separate Territory by an act of Congress passed on the 7th. of May 1800, the boundary between which and the *North Western Territory* from which it was divided was a line drawn from the Ohio, opposite the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it intersected the territorial line between the United States and Canada. It then contained within its limits a population of 5,641 souls. It embraced Illinois and all the country to the north as far as the Lake of the Woods; and the seat of government was fixed at *St. Vincennes*. In 1804, by the act of Congress of March 26, an addition was made to the territory of all that district of country embraced in the Louisiana purchase lying west of the Misissipi and north of the 33° of latitude. The population of Indiana as appears by the census of 1810 was 24,520. On the 30th of April 1802 *Michigan* or that part of the Eastern division of the N. W. Terry. which remained after Ohio was set off, was also added to the Territory of *Indiana*. *Ohio* then became a state; and the name of "*the North Western Territory*" was no longer applied by Congress to designate any part of this country. (L. U. S. 3 v. 496.) Its inhabitants were authorised to form a constitution and a state government by an act of Congress passed April 19th, 1816. L. U. S. 6 v. 66.

1800—4,875

1810—24,520

1820—147,178.

*Michigan* was separated from the *Indiana Territory* on the 11th of January 1805. It was bounded on the south by Ohio and Indiana, west by a line drawn from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan to its northern extremity, thence north to the northern boundary line of the U. States, and on the north and east by the said boundary

line. Its population in 1800 was 551; in 1810, 4.762 and in 1820 it was 8.896.—By the 7th Sec. of the act of the 18th. April 1818, to enable the people of Illinois to form a constitution and state government, it is enacted, "That all that part of the Territory of the United States lying north of the State of Indiana, and which was included in the former Indiana Territory, together with that part of the Illinois Territory which is situated north of, and not included within, the boundaries prescribed by this act to, the State thereby authorized to be formed, shall be and hereby is, attached to, and made a part of the Michigan Territory from and after the formation of the said State; subject nevertheless, to be hereafter disposed of by Congress, according to the right reserved in the fifth article of the Ordinance aforesaid (of July 13, 1787); and the inhabitants therein shall be entitled to the same privileges and immunities, and subject to the same rules and regulations, in all respects, with the other citizens of the Michigan Territory." L. U. S. 6 v. 272.

Inhabitants 1800— .551

1810—4.762

1820—8.896

*Illinois* was severed from *Indiana* and became a separate Territory on the 3d. of February 1809. It was formed of all that part of the Indiana Territory lying west of the Wabash river, and a line drawn from the said river and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada. By the census taken in 1810 the population of the Territory appears to be 12,282, and when admitted as a State under the act of Congress to enable the people of Illinois to form a constitution and state government, passed April 18, 1818, her population was ..... The following are the boundaries of this State: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river; thence up the same and with the line of Indiana to the north east corner of the said state; thence *east* with the line of the same state, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said Lake, to north latitude forty two de-

grees and thirty minutes; thence, west, to the middle of the Misissippi river; and thence along the middle of that river, to the confluence with the Ohio river; and thence, up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning.

1800 — .215

1810 — 12.282

1820 — 55.212

*Missouri* Territory was created out of that part of the territory called Louisiana situated north of the 33° of latitude, on the 4th of June 1812, while Illinois, within whose limits it had been included in 1809, was yet a Territory. Two years before the separation took place it had 19,783 Inhabitants and in 1820 66,586. By this division the numbers in Illinois were greatly diminished. On the 6th. March 1820 her people were authorized to form a constitution, and provision was made for her admission. Slavery was prohibited, except within her limits, north of latitude 36° 30'. L. U. S. 6. v. 455.

The *Territory of Orleans* was formed out of the Louisiana purchase on the 26th. of March 1804. In the year 1810 her population was 76,556, and on the 20th. of Feby 1811 an act was passed to admit her as a state, and she took the name of *Louisiana*.

The *Arkansaw Territory*, situated between Missouri & Louisiana, was detached from Missouri, & became a separate Territory, on the 2nd. of March 1819. 6 L. U. S. 385. Her population was then

1810 — 1.062

1820 — 14.273.

*Alabama* was made a Territory on the 3d. of March 1817, (6 L. U. S. 209) her population amounting to 31. . . . .; and the act to provide for her admission as a State was passed on the 2d. of March 1819 (*ib.* 380). She was but two years a separate territory ere she became an independent state.

The *Misissippi Territory* was created by the act of Congress passed April the 7th. 1798, and although Alabama was then included within her limits, the number of her

inhabitants in 1800 amounted only to 8,850, and in 1810 to 40,352 (Seybert; 31,502, Vance). On the 1st of March 1817 an act was passed to enable the people of the western part of this Territory to form a constitution and state government.—(6 L. U. S. 175).

Florida received a Territorial Govt. from Congress on the 30th of March 1822. (7 v. L. U. S. 10.) It had then a population of ..... souls.

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WASHINGTON,

Decr. 25, 1827.

*The Honorable James Strong, Ch<sup>r</sup>. of the Com<sup>t</sup>. on Territories.*

SIR,—I take pleasure in communicating to you such facts as have come to my knowledge, and which now occur to me, concerning that part of the Michigan Territory which lies to the north and west of Lakes Huron and Michigan, and respecting which you desired to be informed by me. A few remarks upon the state of the Savages in that region will not I hope be deemed irrelevant or improper.

*Indians.*

The most turbulent and powerful nations of Indians are within the limits of the projected Territory.

According to the statement made at the Office of Indian Affairs, on the 10th. of January 1825, the number of Indians within the Michigan Territory was estimated at 28,316 (Treaties 463).<sup>1</sup> There were there then about 24,000 Indians residing between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi and north of Illinois, & belonging to the Chippewau, Munnomonee, Winnebago, Ottawa and Pootowotomee Tribes. (Ind. Tr. 461.) The number of Dahcotah's (Sioux) east of the Mississippi was not given, although they occupied the country from Black River to Lower Red Cedar Lake. In the country situated between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and extending north of the 49° of lati-

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<sup>1</sup>Reference is here made to a government publication, *Indian Treaties, and Laws and Regulations Relating to Indian Affairs*; published October, 1825, by order of the Department of War.—Ed.

tude, there are, I should presume, more than 20,000 Indians of the Dahcotah and Cree Nations. If the 3,500 (Ind. Treaties 461.) Indians on the Peninsula of Michigan and in the adjoining states require the attention of a Superintendent, it will not be deemed necessary I hope that any argument should be offered to show that the 48,000 within this country are also entitled to one. Their complaints for some years passed, together with the condition of the Indian Trade, if they could now be exhibited to the public, would illustrate this fact in a striking manner. The unsettled state of these Indians imperiously demands the presence of such an officer. It should be a primary object with the government, whether the tranquility of the Inds. or the interests of the Indian Trade is consulted, to prevail upon them to remain within their country throughout the year. The long voyages which they make to the British Agencies in Canada, and to Detroit and St. Louis are productive of great and increasing evils without any corresponding benefit to them or to the Govt.

#### *Settlements.*

Although the settlements are scattered over this territory, yet it may be observed they were all commenced, (excepting two) while the country was under the dominion of France. Many were doubtless made by the Indian Traders, who soon found that the provisions required for their men while employed in the interior could only be obtained from these places. Thus many of the voyageurs, when the term for which they were bound by their engagements had expired, became farmers. Settlements therefore should have been encouraged, as their products would have greatly diminished the expenses of a Trade.

*Parwayteeg*, or the Sault de Ste. Marie, is situated north of Detroit which is the seat of government of Michigan, and the distance between them is 400 miles.

*Mackinaw Island* is 90 miles from the Sault.

*Pointe St. Ignace*, the site of the Jesuits Establishment in 1678 is 3 miles from Mackinaw.



*Mouth of the Munnomonee River* is 180 miles from la Pointe St. Ignace (Maca.)

*Green Bay Settlement*, at the mouth of the Fox River, is 60 miles from Munnomonee River, and 600 from Detroit.

This settlement is six miles square.

*Milwaukee River*—is 90 miles from Green Bay.

*Grand Kaukaunah*, is 18 miles from Green Bay.

*La Butte des Morts* is 70 miles from Green Bay.

*Portage* from the Fox River to the Wiskonsin River is 220 miles from Green Bay. This is a portage [of] *one mile and a quarter*.

*Prairie du Chien*, or *Mindoty*, on the Misissippi near the mouth of the Wiskonsin, is 180 from the Portage—400 from Green Bay and 940 from Detroit. It is the seat of justice for Crawford County. It is 9 miles long and 2 broad. By a cession made to Genl. Pike in 1805, the U. S. have a right to claim 9 or 10 miles square at the mouth of the Wiskonsin.

*Galena*, on Fever River, is 90 miles from Prairie du Chien.

*St. Peters*, is 300 miles above Prairie du Chien and 7 below the Falls of St. Anthony.

*Pembinau*, is on the Red River near the 49° of latitude.

(See Major Longs Ex.) 350 souls.

To these may be added the permanent Trading Establishments on Lake Superior of The Bay, Montreal Island and Fond du Lac; and of Lac du Flambeau, Lake St. Croix, Sandy Lake and Leech Lake, in the interior.

The population within these settlements may be justly estimated at between six & seven thousand souls. I think it exceeds the latter number.

If the Govt. would permit the settlements already commenced to increase in their numbers and extend their limits the defense of this frontier would be permanently secured. There are few, if any, of the military posts in this country which could be sustained for a length of time against a spirited & judicious attack by any nation of Indians in their vicinity. If the inhabitants should seek

protection within the works they would increase the confusion of the Garrison instead of its strength. The supplies and all means of intelligence being cut off, a capitulation would soon become unavoidable. During the existence of the war between the Winnebagoes and the United States last summer, the Commanding Officer at Green Bay doubted whether he should weaken his Garrison, which is the strongest but one on the Indian frontier, by sending a detachment to the Wiskonsin Portage, although the hostilities had commenced on the Misissippi four hundred miles from this post.

By the 2nd. Article of a Treaty made by *Genl. Harrison* with the Sac and Fox tribes on the 3d. day of Novr. 1804, (Indian Treaties 230) those tribes ceded, in absolute terms, all country which lies south of the Wiskonsin river and a line drawn from a point 36 miles in a direct line up the same to *Sakaegan Lake* which is supposed to be 30 or 40 miles only from the shore of Lake Michigan, and continued from thence to a branch of the Illinois river then down that river to the Misis. If this treaty gave the U. S. the right to the Lead Mines on Fever River, I cannot discover why we did not take possession of the whole country by the same title previous to the year 1816. I am induced to believe from various circumstances, however, that the *Winnebagoes* and not the *Sacs* and *Foxes* have occupied this district of country excepting that part which lies south of Rock River, since the government of the U. S. has existed. The U. S. ceded all this country to the Ots. Chips. & Pots. Augt. 24, 1816, lying north of a line from the southern extremity of Lake Mich. to the Misis. reserving 3 leagues square at the mouth of the Wiskonsin and such other tracts as the Prest. may direct on or near the Wiskonsin & Misis. rivers, not exceeding 5 leagues square. Indian Treaties, 84.—It would seem from the 10th Article of the Treaty made at Prairie du Chien August 19th. 1825, by Genl. Clark & Govr. Cass with certain Tribes, that the 5 leagues square were located by the President neither on the Wiskonsin or Misissippi River, but on *Fever River*. By

the 9th article all the country bordering on the Mississippi from the Wiskonsin to Rock river was secured to the Ottawau's, Chippeways, and Pootowotomees of the *Illinois country*. The Lead Mines which have been worked are chiefly in this district. This was the first treaty to which the *Winnb.* were parties which related to the cession of this territory. *Indian Treaties*, p. 363.<sup>1</sup>

The soil of the lands lying between Grand Bay & Lake Michigan is of a superior quality. That country is also known to be fertile which borders upon the (Neenah) Fox River and Winnebago Lake and extends east to Lake Michigan and south to the state of Illinois. The corn which is raised by the Winnebagoes in this and the country near the Portage is sold in considerable quantities to the merchants at that place and at Green Bay. The climate at the latter place is pleasant and its health is undoubted. All the land on the upper branches of Rock River is represented to me to be exceedingly rich & productive. On the Wiskonsin and Mississippi River the soil is not so universally good. Hills which are steep and occasionally precipitous with vallies of no width render some parts of the country almost impassable. When these hills are ascended their tops appear to be nearly on the same level, and when they are passed from either of these streams the country opens into Prairies which continue until they are intersected by other rivers. The lowlands and the sides of a few hills only are well timbered. The *fires* which annually run over this country have doubtless destroyed many of its forests. The discoveries of lead which are daily making in the region south of the Wiskonsin render this more interesting and valuable at present than any other part of the Territory.

The exports from this Territory have been usually estimated to consist annually of Furs and Peltries, valued at 300.000 \$—White Fish 800 to 1000 barrels.—Sugar 200.000 lbs. and Lead 10.000.000 lbs.

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<sup>1</sup> In the MS. the word "altered" is written at the beginning and at the end of this paragraph.— Ed.

The commerce upon the upper Lakes has increased rapidly within a few years. At Green Bay vessels arrive and depart almost weekly during the spring summer and autumn. On the Missis. three or four trips are made every spring during the high water with a steam boat to Prairie du Chien & St. Peters. It is probable if the rapids could be passed they could navigate the river to the Prairie at any season except winter. Much of the business is still done in keel boats whose passages are long, tedious & expensive.

The residue of the information desired by you will be found I presume, in the Petition for a new Territory which was circulated among the Inhabitants in this District for signatures during the last season, a copy of which I take the liberty of adding to this communication.

Indorsed: "Historical abstract of the U. S. Territories.

View of the Territory north and west of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

Washington Decr. 24. 25. 1827."

## THE TERRITORIAL CENSUS FOR 1836.

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BY THE EDITOR.

In the act of Congress approved April 20, 1836, establishing the Territorial government of Wisconsin, it was provided (sec. 4) that "Previously to the first election, the governor of the Territory shall cause the census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the several counties in the territory to be taken or made by the sheriffs of said counties, respectively, and returns thereof made by the said sheriffs, to the governor." Upon the basis of this census, the governor was to make an apportionment "as nearly equal as practicable among the several counties, for the election of the council and representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its population, Indians excepted, as near as may be."

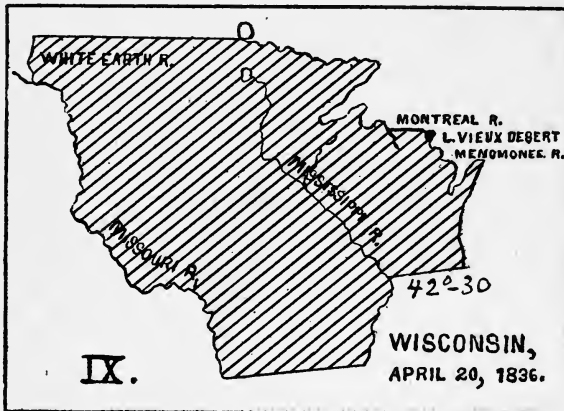
The returns of this first Wisconsin census, taken in July, 1836, are preserved in the office of the secretary of state. No printed blanks were furnished; the sheriffs were instructed simply to report, in writing, the names of heads of white families, with the number of persons in each family, divided into the usual four groups:

- I. No. of males under 21 years.
- II. " " females " " "
- III. " " males over " " "
- IV. " " females " " "

The returns made to the governor were in tabular form, and for the most part on ordinary foolscap paper. In the case of Crawford County, the enterprising sheriff exceeded

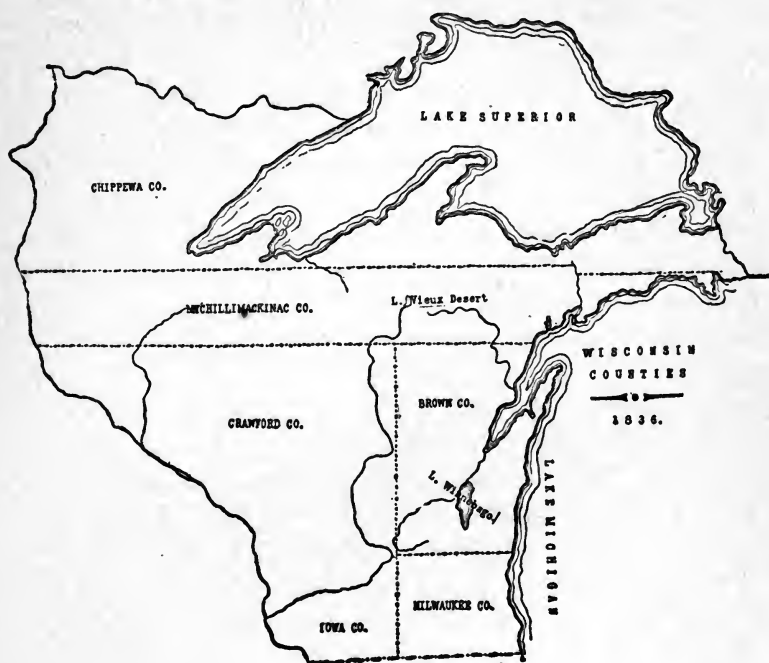
his instructions by returning an elaborate broadside, dividing the population into numerous groups according to their ages; he also re-grouped those of his people who were deaf and dumb, or blind, and included tables of aliens and "slaves and coloured."

Wisconsin Territory was, at the time of its creation, of much larger dimensions than the present State. It embraced all of the present Iowa and Minnesota, and the country still farther westward to about the site of Bismarck, N. D. See article "The Boundaries of Wisconsin," in Vol. XI. of these *Collections*, from which the following map is reproduced:



The census ordered by Governor Dodge, however, covered only those counties in Iowa and the present Wisconsin in which there was considerable settlement, it being understood that the greater part of the trans-Mississippi country was but temporarily attached to Wisconsin, for administrative purposes. The Wisconsin counties in what is now Iowa were Des Moines and Dubuque, both of which were well populated (Des Moines 6,257, Dubuque 4,274), but these do not now concern us. It will also be seen by the following map, that much of the Territory east of the river was still, owing to the confused state of the public surveys, in-

cluded in the Upper Michigan counties of Michilimackinac and Chippewa, but no census appears to have been taken in those counties.



The census revealed to Governor Dodge that in the four principal counties lying east of the Mississippi—Brown, Crawford, Iowa, and Milwaukee—the number of inhabitants was 11,683, and on the 9th of September he proclaimed the following apportionment for the counties named:

<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Popu- lation.</i>	<i>Coun- cilors.</i>	<i>Repre- sentatives.</i>
Brown.....	2,706	2	3
Crawford.....	850	0	2
Iowa.....	5,234	3	6
Milwaukee.....	2,893	2	3
	<hr/> 11,683	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 14

The following list of "heads of families," with the size of each family, is taken directly from the manuscript re-

turns. The spelling of the names is an exact transcript of the original; it is needless to say that the enumerators in this respect frequently made ludicrous mistakes, which the editor has not attempted to rectify, preferring that the returns should stand on their own merits, as other historical documents in these *Collections*. Where errors are apt to be misleading, explanatory foot-notes have been given, although most of the phonetic renderings explain themselves.

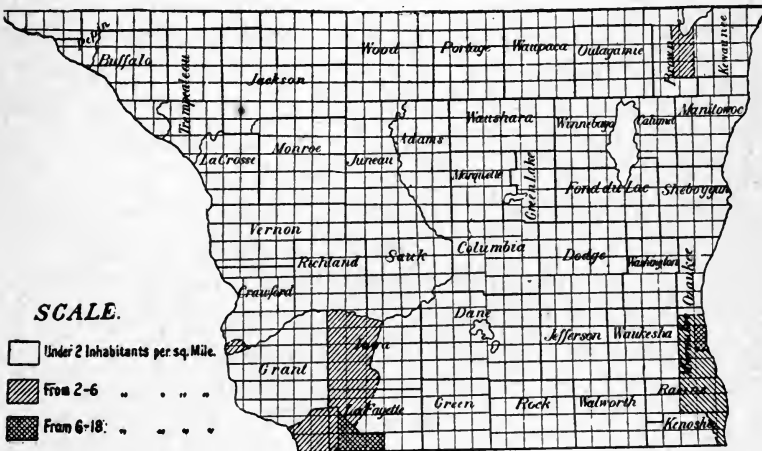
It will be noticed that the size of some of the "families" is phenomenal. This is doubtless due to several causes: (1) A man like John P. Arndt, of Brown County, who had extensive fur-trade connections, doubtless included in his "family" of 74, all his wandering crews of clerks and *voyageurs*; (2) Daniel Whitney, of Brown, for instance, is credited with a "family" of 49,—these no doubt including his far-scattered workmen in frontier sawmills, lumber camps, and at the Helena shot-tower; (3) to Capt. Low, also of Brown, is assigned a "family" of 114, no doubt his entire military household at Fort Howard; (4) here and there is recorded a man with an enormous "family," which probably represents a newly-arrived colony, perhaps a boat-load, of agricultural settlers; for in 1836 there poured into Wisconsin a steady stream of such, in that year being laid the foundations of several of our cities; and (5) it is probable, especially in Milwaukee, that some of the large "families" represent the census of a boarding-house, for in no other way can we account for the absence from the returns of several prominent men,—I. A. Lapham, for instance,—who are known to have been in the county at the time the census was taken.

The alphabetical arrangement is an editorial device, for convenience of reference,—in the original returns, there is no attempt at this; had there been, the enumerators would have avoided frequent duplication in the accounting, to which reference will be made in the foot-notes.

The following map, showing the density of population in July, 1836, as ascertained from this census, was pre-



pared for the illustration of a succeeding paper, on the early lead-trade of Wisconsin; but it is repeated here, for more ready consultation. It should be noted, however, that only for Iowa county do the returns define the several census districts, thus enabling a localization of the inhabitants; elsewhere, the population has been approximately assigned.



Southern Wisconsin: showing density of population in 1836. For convenience of comparison, the county divisions given are those of 1895.

## BROWN COUNTY.

**Sheriff**—Ebenezer Childs.

**White population**—*Males*: over 45 years, 76; over 21, and under 45, 1,333; under 21, 493. *Females*: over 21, 402; under 21, 500. *Total*, 2,706.

**Heads of families, with number in each family.**—  
 A. Adams, 5; S. Allard, 7; P. Allia, 21; A. Allor, 13;  
 C. Amlen, 6; J. Ammo, 4; G. S. Armstrong, 1; J. P. Arndt,  
 74; F. Atcher, 52; H. Baird, 2; H. S. Baird, 8; W. Bajiro, 6;  
 W. Baker, 2; E. W. Bancroft, 3; L. Barnok, 7; G. Bartley, 2;

S. W. Beall, 19; D. Blish, 3; P. Bolio, 10; F. Boardway, 8; L. Boprea,<sup>1</sup> 2; F. Bovee, 10; Col. Boyd, 13; J. Boyvont, 2; W. E. Bradley, 6; P. Brady, 6; W. Bronson, 2; Geo. M. Brook, 69; D. Brown, 82; J. Brown, 5; R. Brown, 3; W. H. Bruce, 9; C. Brunet, 8; D. Brunet, 21; P. Brunet, 6; C. Brush, 7; B. Bursho, 8; J. Bushell, 5; M. Casane, 4; C. Chapman, 6; W. Chapman, 2; S. Chapow,<sup>2</sup> 6; P. Chellifoux, 10; E. Childs, 29; — Chorrette, 7; J. Claffin, 8; J. Clark, 4; R. E. Clary, 8; C. Cleboard, 9; M. Cole, 8; J. Colier, 14; M. Collins, 7; J. Colwell, 1; H. Commins, 5; J. W. Conroe, 32; M. Conry, 2; J. Corbell, 9; S. Crolney, 5; P. Crowell, 3; P. Cummins, 3; S. Davis, 3; L. Debay, 21; A. Degurnder, 2; E. Dejerden, 3; — De Lerond, 4; — Deperie, 8; P. De Sham,<sup>3</sup> 2; D. Dickenson, 4; C. Dickerson, 7; J. Dickerson, 5; W. Dickerson, 168; J. O. Donnel, 2; B. Downing, 2; J. Doxtater, 13; L. Doxtater, 3; M. Doxtater, 3; B. Druxey, 2; P. DuSharm, 6; G. Dusheguet, 5; A. G. Dye, 5; R. M. Eberets, 17; J. Elexander, 4; A. G. Ellis, 9; W. Ely, 2; R. Erwin, 2; D. Evins, 8; M. Farmin, 3; Wm. Farnsworth, 37; J. Ferson, 5; M. Ferson, 4; L. Fezant, 4; R. Fidler, 5; J. Finney, 6; J. Fisk, 6; G. Follet, 3; Dr. Foot, 3; A. Foresythe, 5; R. Forfa, 8; J. Franks, 12; L. Frechey, 8; E. Gardipie, 3; P. Gardipie, 6; J. Gardner, 2; A. Garret, 4; G. Gebo, 4; J. Gebo, 3; J. B. Gebo, 2; M. Gerutia, 4; J. Gerdem, 3; D. Gidens, 6; W. Gilbert, 2; J. Glass, 2; J. Gleeson, 8; L. Goravell, 4; G. Grant, 5; Major Green, 8; T. Green, 31; P. Gregnor,<sup>4</sup> 6; B. Gregory, 7; C. Grigno, 30; A. Grignon, 11; C. Grignon, 6; G. Grignon, 4; L. Grignon, 15; P. Grignon, 2; P. Grignon, 10; D. Habberd, 8; J. Hagadone, 4; L. Hagadone, 19; John Hagaty, 13; M. Hardwick, 12; E. Harness, 4; W. Harrison, 6; J. Hart, 3; E. Hart, 10; H. Hart, 11; L. Hendricks, 4; Lieut. Hooe, 4; G. Hooper, 4; J. Ingham, 2; J. Irwin, 13; J. Jakson, 3;

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<sup>1</sup> Beaupré.

<sup>2</sup> Stanislaus Chappue.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Paul Ducharme; although he is re-counted below.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Pierre Grignon, although the same name reappears twice below.

J. Jarie, 3; M. Javis, 6; D. Jhonson, 1; D. Jones, 13; J. Jones, 5; M. Johnson, 5; R. Johnson, 6; C. Johnston, 10; W. Jordan, 3; E. Judin, 4; J. Juno,<sup>1</sup> 6; J. Jurden,<sup>2</sup> 11; H. B. Kelso, 6; A. King, 4; E. Labord, 4; L. Lacy, 4; R. Langrage, 4; F. Lavature, 9; G. Law, 4; J. Law, 25; E. Lawsels, 10; B. Laygere, 5; J. Laygere, 7; C. Lear, 3; J. Lebord, 9; L. Lebue, 2; O. Lefave, 4; P. Leframbo, 8; J. Lemare, 13; B. Leplant, 5; J. Leplont, 5; M. Leplant, 7; H. Leroy, 12; P. Levene, 11; D. Levere, 4; O. Longave, 8; Capt. Low, 114; M. Lund, 2; J. Lynde, 4; M. Maby, 9; A. McAbee, 10; John McAbee, 4; J. McCarty, 12; O. McCarvy, 6; H. McDonnell, 3; D. McDoogle, 4; G. McFarlin, 3; J. McGee, 7; J. McGuire, 14; — McKinney, 3; Lieut. McKissad, 1; — McNish, 2; — McRulin, 2; J. Maggs, 8; M. Man, 3; R. B. Marcy, 4; J. Marson, 4; R. Marshall, 10; F. Martar, 3; C. Marther, 2; M. L. Martin, 2; H. Mathews, 15; J. Mayhon, 3; J. Mead, 2; F. Melit, 5; H. Merrill, 3; M. E. Merrill, 2; G. Mikel, 11; J. Mills, 4; N. H. Mine, 5; H. Mineus, 14; W. Mitchel, 9; H. Moon, 5; J. Nare Con, 8; M. Nash, 5; J. Olds, 12; V. Onsay, 5; P. Palie, 7; S. Parmer, 6; R. Pelleger, 6; P. Pendleton, 6; P. Pero,<sup>3</sup> 7; W. Perry, 4; — Pervincel, 1; T. Perrygo, 6; — Pier, 4; C. Pier, 3; G. B. Plumb, 5; J. Poket, 20; P. Poket,<sup>4</sup> 12; J. Polier, 17; J. Post, 5; J. Powell, 9; P. Powell, 2; J. B. Portis, 7; P. Price, 10; R. Priest, 7; A. Qinney, 3; G. Reed, 7; Lt. Reed, 1; J. Redline, 8; S. Rees, 5; Mrs. Robene, 3; G. Rontico, 1; R. Rose, 8; S. Rowley, 8; L. Rowse, 15; Dr. Ruggles, 1; M. Runey, 2; M. Ruso,<sup>5</sup> 12; S. Ryan, 8; W. Sailor, 5; M. Sampeo, 5; J. Sattle, 3; M. Scott, 74; J. Seely, 4; Mrs. Sewart, 4; J. Shambo, 5; V. Shambo,<sup>6</sup> 6; J. Shaw, 7; H. O. Sholes, 6; L. Shommo,<sup>6</sup> 6; M. Shompo,<sup>6</sup> 5; C. C. Sibley, 6; M. Sincere,<sup>7</sup> 4; J. Singleton, 2; W. B. Slaughter, 7; J. Smith, 6;

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<sup>1</sup> Juneau.

<sup>2</sup> Jourdain.

<sup>3</sup> Perrot.

<sup>4</sup> Paquette.

<sup>5</sup> Rousseau.

<sup>6</sup> Jambeau, one of the nicknames for the Vieaus; see *post*, p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> St. Cyr.

M. W. Smith, 4; W. Sollimans, 2; S. Spalding, 5; W. Stanley, 9; C. Stedman, 10; E. W. Stevens, 6; W. Stevens, 2; Mr. Stewart, 11; W. Strong, 15; S. Susaw, 15; R. S. Satterlee, 5; J. V. Surdam,<sup>1</sup> 3; W. Syvester, 9; O. Tailor, 2; T. Tailor, 4; A. Tebo,<sup>2</sup> 4; L. Thompson, 16; M. Thornton, 8; H. Tiebout,<sup>2</sup> 5; L. VanCleeef, 3; J. Vanderbrook, 4; — Veder, 2; S. Wadkins, 10; R. Wainwright, 1; Dr. Ward, 3; M. Wauna, 1; J. Wheelock, 7; G. White, 13; J. White, 2; W. White, 2; — Whitney, 5; D. Whitney, 49; W. Wibrew, 3; J. Wilber, 7; F. Wilcox, 6; H. Wilkins, 3; E. Williams, 15; G. Williams, 6; S. Williams, 2; S. F. Wood, 2; W. J. Wood, 22; Dr. Wright, 1; H. P. Wright, 8; P. (surname blank), 10.

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### CRAWFORD COUNTY.

**Sheriff**—William W. Wilson.

**Population** (White and Negro) — *Males*: under 5 years, 43; 5 and under 10, 38; 10 and under 15, 34; 15 and under 20, 33; 20 and under 30, 82; 30 and under 40, 68; 40 and under 50, 28; 50 and under 60, 6; 60 and under 70, 3; 70 and under 80, 2 — none older. *Females*: under 5, 47; 5 and under 10, 32; 10 and under 15, 23; 15 and under 20, 26; 20 and under 30, 34; 30 and under 40, 24; 40 and under 50, 6; 50 and under 60, 3; 60 and under 70, 1 — none older. *Total*, 850.

**Slaves** (previously included) — *Male*: 24 and under 36, 1 (in family of T. H. Lockwood). *Female*: 10 and under 24, 1 (in family of Thomas Street). This is exclusive of the slaves in Fort Crawford.

**Free colored** (previously included) — *Male*: 24 and under 36, 1 (in family of John Bruny). *Female*: 24 and under 36, 1 (Maria Fostnot).

**Stationed at Fort Crawford** (previously included) — Total number of officers and men, 260; women, 13; children, 23; slaves of both sexes, 17. This left but 573 in the county, beside the 313 persons in the fort.

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<sup>1</sup> Suydam.

<sup>2</sup> Thibaut.

**Miscellaneous** (previously included) — *Blind*: (1 in family of Michael Brisbois). "*Forinors not Naturalised*," 48.

**Heads of families, with number in each family** — P. Allard, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); H. S. Allen, 4; Charles Antoine, 12; Christofer Antoyer, 1; Whiteside Argus, 1; Louis Barette, 5; Pierre Barette, 7; S. Barthe, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Tunis Bell, 2; Jos. Benson, 1; Jos. Billard, *alias* E. Lanitor, 2 (inc. 1 "forinor not naturalised"); J. Borfseau, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Jos. Bouseau, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Benj. Braudrick, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); M. L. Brine, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Barnard W. Brisbroise, 4 (inc. 1 "forinor not naturalised"); George Brisbroise, 4; Joseph Brisbroise, 8 (inc. 1 "forinor not naturalised"); Michael Brisbroise, 6 (inc. 1 "who is blind"); Exivier<sup>1</sup> Brisset, 2; Elisa Brown, 1; J. B. Brown, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Charles Bruce, 1; A. Brunett, 1; John Bruny, 5; Agustin Buisson, 2; Thomas Burnet, 1; D. Cambell, 1; John Cambell, 1; Margaret Cambell, 7; L. Cardinal, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Henry Certes, 1; Jos. Champigne, 1; Oliver Cherier, 11; H. Colbert, 1; John Colton, 4; Dennis Courtes, 7; Richard Curtis, 9 (inc. 3 "forinors not naturalised"); Alexis Cuvchirer, 2; J. B. Dallam, 2; Margaret Davis, 4; J. B. Demerer, 7; L. Demerer, 8; Joseph Dernerier, 9; J. Dourille, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); H. L. Dousman, 16 (inc. 6 "forinors not naturalised"); Joseph Duneau, 3; John Dunlap, 1; Alex. Dupine, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Alex. Famboust, 1 (forinor not naturalised"); P. Felix, 1; J. Dourille Fillion, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); John Finley, 1; George Fisher, 6; M. Fitzpatrick, 1; Maria Fostnot, 1; D. Frost, 1; Limis Frost, 3; Francis Galino, 7; Alix Gardupie, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); G. M. Gaulin, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Baptiste Gauthier, 2; Isack P. Gentil, 3; James Gilbert, 3; Samuel Gilbert, 13; Joseph Godfry, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Arcange Grenio, 6; Ellen Grenio,<sup>2</sup> 2; S. Griffin, 1; Peter Grimard, 6;

<sup>1</sup> Xavier.

<sup>2</sup> Grignon.

G. Gruthery, 1; A. Hagon, 1; Jettedier P. Hall, 4; Silas Halloway, 1; Isack Harrison, 1; Richard Hartwell, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Betsey Hawkins, 2; Wm. Hayley, 1; H. Hermaringer, 5; J. Hidy, 1; Allen Hill, 5; Wm. Holloway, 1; Thomas Hore, 5; S. Hudson, 3; Edward Hughes, 2 ("forinors not naturalised"); Alonzo Jefford, 1; Joseph Labat, 7; Antoine Lachapelle, 7; Piere Lachapelle, 5; Samuel Lamb, 3; Oliver Landrick, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); H. Lane, 1; Charles Lapoint, 3; Francis Lapoint, 6; Hyacinth Lapoint, 3; Maria Lapoint, 4; Baptiste Larivier, 3; Julen Larivier, 8; Pierre Larivier, 4; Rabatise Lavurell, 8; A. Lemmons, 1; L. Lhurenx, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); John Limery, 6; L. Lisabell, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); T. H. Lockwood, 6; William Lockwood, 1; Jos. Lord, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Peter Loumbare, 1; J. Maccintire, 1; Joseph McDaniels, 1; C. McNillage, 1; Nathaniel Manning, 1; B. Marshal, 2; A. Martin, 1; Joseph Martin, 6; Louis Martin, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Charles Menard, Sr., 6; John Miller, 9; John Miller, 9; Joseph P. Mills, 1; Charles Minare, 8; John Molston, 4; Isaac Monrow, 4; J. Moore, 4; Jos. Mouquin, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Jos. Moussette, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); C. Noble, 1; J. B. Novo, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); William Parsons, 1; John Penell, 1; J. Pitt, 1; Strang Powers, 8; Francoist Provost, 4; Era Putman, 1; Louise Querie, 1; Jeremier Quin, 3; Antwine Rabonad, 1; James Reed, 6; Louiser Revoir, 3; Joseph Rolett, 14 (inc. 3 "forinors not naturalized"); Joseph Ruso,<sup>1</sup> 2; Francis St. John, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); J. Serley, 1; Francis Sherivier, 2; Francis Shinvier, 9; Wm. Shuster, 1; H. H. Sibley, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Jos. Sinair, 1 ("forinor not naturalised"); Joant Sinsiere,<sup>2</sup> 11; S. Skimmerhorne,<sup>3</sup> 1; Jules Sleephack, 5; Fredrick Stramb, 9 (inc. 4 "forinors not naturalised"); Thomas Street, 4; Ezical<sup>4</sup> Tainter, 8;

<sup>1</sup> Rousseau.

<sup>2</sup> St. Cyr.

<sup>3</sup> Schermerhorn.

<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel.

Joseph Thomas, 6; J. Thompson, 1; Abraham Trepagnier, 3; John Vale, 2; J. Vanakin, 1; William Wilson, 2; George (surname illegible), 5; Thomas (surname illegible), 1.

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### IOWA COUNTY.

**Sheriff**—Justus De Seelhorst.

**Enumerators**—Dist. No. 1, Orris McCartney; 2, William B. Vineyard; 3, David I. Seely; 4, James Irwin; 5, William B. Jenkins; 6, Armstead W. Floyd; 7, Justus De Seelhorst.<sup>1</sup>

**White population**—*Males*: Under 21, 1,134; over 21, 2,317. *Females*: Under 21, 1,092; over 21, 691. *Total*, 5,234.

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<sup>1</sup>This is the only county in whose returns the several enumerators are named and their districts outlined:

“District No. 1 includes all of Grant Township. Election precincts: James B. Estes, Cassville; Isaac Whitaker, Van Beuren Digings.

“District No. 2 includes all of Platte Township lying North and West of the following line, to wit: from the mouth of Platte to the mouth of Little Platte, from thence to the mouth of Hugill's Branch up said Branch to the head and then due East untill you strike the Ridge Road leading from Platte Moundsto Galena. Election precincts: Blundell's, Platteville; Detandebartz, Paris; C. Salmon's, Boyce's Prarie.

“District No. 3 commences at the point where the last district touches Ridge Road and follows said Ridge to the Road leading from Alexander Willards Intersects said Road then along said Road to Fever River down said River to State line along said line to the Mississippi River and up said River to the Mouth of Platte River. Election precincts: Hamilton Gilmore, Menomine Diggings; Frederick Hollman's, Elk Grove.

“District No. 4 commences on the East side of Fever River on State line following State line to the divideing Ridge between the waters of Pickatolic [Pecatonica] and Apple River and on said Ridge to the Road leading from A. Willards then along said Road to Fever River down said River to the place of beginning. Election precincts: John Edward's, Hardscrabble; James Nagles, New Diggings; Wm. C. Bryant, White Oak Springs; Fortunatus Berry, Gratiot's Grove.

“District No. 5 includes all of Wisconsin Township and all of Blue Mound Township laying North of a line running East and West between Towns 3 and 4 North. Election precincts: House of John D. Parish on

**Heads of families, with number in each family —**

A. Ackerson, 5; Ezra Adams, 10; Harrison Adams, 2; Jeremiah Addams, 4; Abner Adkins, 8; Matthew Alexander, 9; John Alston, 6; Joseph Amerman, 4; James Andrews, 11; Jacob Andrick, 5; John Armstrong, 8; Stephen Armstrong, 3; Solomon Arthur, 3; George Ashworth, 2; George W. Atchison, 5; Roben Aubury, 11; Alson Austin, 4; Julius Austin, 3; J. J. Bacy, 12; Joseph Bailey, 7; Joshua Bailey, 14; Jack. A. Bair, 8; William Baldwin, 11; William Ball, 4; John Bane, 5; Daniel Banfill, 15; Alexis Barker, 1; William Barnhouse, 1; John Barnsbank, 2; William Barow, 8; Wallice Barstow, 7; John Bawl, 5; Ahab Bean, 16; C. Bebee, 3; Chancy Beebe,<sup>1</sup> 3; Joseph Bell, 7; John Belwood, 2; William Bennitt, 8; Pascall B. Bequette, 18; Berra & Neel,<sup>2</sup> 6; Dorson Berry, 3; F. Berry, 15; Willis Berry, 2; John Bevans, 8; Lorenzo Bevens, 10; Milton Bevins, 6; Isaac Bieglow, 2; James Biggs, 4; Francis Bivvin, 3; J. W. Blackston, 9; Christopher Blagrove, 6; Page Blake, 12; Alexander Blare, 9; Phillip Blodgett, 1; Elias Blundle, 9; Wm. Blundle, 10; Charles Blunt, 9; John Blunt, 3; William Blunt, 9; James Boin, 9; Wm. Bomer, 7; Harvy Bonham, 9; James Bonham, 9; Joseph Bonham, 8; Martin Bonham, 1; Richard Bonsin, 8; Robert Bonson, 13; Horrace Booth, 2; John Boothe, 9; William S. Boothe, 7; Thomas S. Bowen, 5; William Bowen, 10;

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Blue [River]; house of Thomas Jenkins, Dodgeville; house of Dawson E. Parish, head of Blue River.

“District No. 6 includes all of Pickatolik Township laying North and West of the Old Road leading from Gratiot Grove to Dodge Ville passing by the Willow and Prarie Springs. Election precincts: James Gentry's, Belmont; P. B. Bequett's, Diamond Grove; A. Nickoll's, Mineral Point.

“District No. 7 includes all that portion of Iowa County laying East of the Road leading from Gratiot's Grove to Dodge Ville and South of a line Runing due East from said Road between Towns Three and Four North. Election precincts: Mathias Chilton, Hamilton's Settlement [afterwards known as Wiota]; Jacob Andrick's, New Mexico.”

<sup>1</sup> Apparently twice counted.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a business firm.



Aaron Boyce, 11; William Boyles, 12; Charles Bracken, 11; John Bracken, 4; Cuthbert Bradwell, 13; James Brady, 4; Richard H. Brant, 3; Michael Braver, 5; Wm. Bray, 7; John Brewster, 2; William C. Briant, 34; Washington Brice, 3; Antona Brickla, 11; J. Bridge, 8; Ebenezer Brigham, 8; J. Briniger, 1; E. E. Brock, 7; Tarlton Brock, 4; Stephen Brook, 2; Silas Brooks, 2; Amos Brown, 5; J. T. Brown, 3; James Brown, 2; John Brown, 3; Joshua G. Brown, 3; Uriah Brown, 5; William Brown, 4; Wm. Brownhill, 4; Albert Browning, 2; Joseph Brunehill, 5; Ira Brunson, 9; John Buckanan, 5; William Buritt, 9; — Burk, 4; \*William Burk, 1; John Burkholder, 1; Daniel Burla, 2; John Burns, 6; Henry Burns, 4; Martin V. Burriss, 3; Silas Burt, 4; Edward Bushard, 4; H. C. Bushnell, 6; Hardin Butler, 5; Amon Buttler, 1; Hue Cabell, 6; Jessee Caffer, 3; Jacob E. Cagill, 7; James Calvin, 5; John Calvin, 2; Robert Cambell, 4; James Campbell, 1; James Campbell, 14; Robert Campbell, 5; S. K. Campbell, 6; Robert Card, 13; Benjamin Carey, 2; Thomas Carlin, 11; Sidney Carman, 4; Wm. B. Carnes, 1; Kenith Carnvon, 8; George Caroll, 11; Joseph Carr, 7; Peter Carr, 4; Samuel Carr, 2; Lucinda Carrington, 5; James Carter, 8; Ralph Carver, 6; Aaron Case, 2; John Cathley, 3; Wm. Cauley, 3; Robert R. Champion, 14; Zenas Chandler, 1; Joseph Choudro, 7; James Chapman, 8; Robert Chapman, 10; Samuel Charles, 1; Augustus Chilton, 2; Duke Chilton, 4; Joshua Chilton, 6; Mathias Chilton, 15; Thomas Chilton, 1; James Chinkla, 13; W. S. Clanahan, 3; William Clarke, 9; David Clark, 11; Jacob Clark, 3; John Clark, 1; Wm. Clark, 2; Stephen Clarke, 4; Andrew Clarno, 3; B. Clifton, 7; Francis Clima, 10; Abner Coats, 5; Alner Coats, 3; Benjamin Coates, 9; George Coats, 4; Margaret Coats, 9; Wm. Coffee, 3; Francis Coil, 4; William Coleny, 3; Addam Collins, Henry Collins, 2; James Collins, 7; William Collins, 3; Edward Combs, 8; John K. Counce, 8; Absalom W. Cormack, 8; John Cormack, 4; H. R. Coulter, 10; Peter Covish, 3; James P. Cox, 5; Hugh M. Cracken, 2; Jeferson Crawford, 7; Daniel Crinshaw, 3; Samuel Crocker, 7; David

Crocket, 3; James Crofford, 9; John R. Croford, 2; Andrew Crow, 5; Henry Crow, 8; Thomas Crusin, 6; Nicholas Curry, 8; Horrace Curtiss, 2; Lewis Curtiss, 8; Linvill Daly, 4; Daniel Dance, 2; L. S. Daniels, 4; Noah Daves, 14; George Davidson, 2; Wm. Davidson, 2; Arthur Dawson, 1; John Day, 10; Robt. Dearley, 4; Mar. Detandebaratze, 10; Robert Delap, 9; Cornelius De Long, 8; John W. Denison, 6; Benjamin Denson, 4; Joseph Denson, 6; Joseph N. Denson, 9; Thomas Denson, 4; Justus De Seelhorst, 4; Edmund Dilaho, 3; A. C. Dodge, 12; H. L. Dodge, 3; J. E. Dodge, 3; Patrick Doile, 1; F. Doling, 6; Frederick Doph, 2; John Dougherty, 9; Brazella<sup>1</sup> Dralett, 4; Robert Drumon, 11; John Dudgeon, 8; C. Duston, 4; William Duvie, 3; John Ealier, 7; Robert Earwin, 2; Moses Eastman, 9; William Eastman, 5; John Edwards, 9; John Edwards, 10; Mathew Edwards, 6; Thomas Elit, 9; Caleb Ellis, 5; John Emel, 6; Enoch Enbow, 7; James Eneix, 5; Joseph Enix, 1; Henry Eva, 4; — Erol, 7; John Estabrook, 11; Christopher Eversol, 7; Wm. Fagon, 1; B. A. Farmer, 4; P. R. Farnsworth, 12; Garret D. Farris, 9; Nancy Ferrel, 4; R. J. Ferry, 4; Nicholas Fine, 2; C. Finla, 4; Coleby Finley, 2; Joseph Finley, 7; Matthew G. Fitch, 5; John Floyd, 2; Mrs. Floyd, 7; Daniel Folya, 7; William Fooler, 5; Charles Forbs, 4; B. F. Forbes, 5; S. Fretwell, 3; Nelson Fuey, 1; Benjamin Funk, 7; Thomas Furnish, 6; Jonas Gallahan, 9; Charles Galoway, 15; Robert Garet, 10; William Garrison, 6; William Garlin, 3; James Garrison, 2; Wm. Garry, 10; Charles Gear, 13; James H. Gentry, 50;<sup>2</sup> E. George, 5; James George, 5; Benjamin Green, 2; Richard Gibball, 8; Levi Gilbert, 8; Joseph Gilbreath,<sup>3</sup> 7; Wm. Gilham, 7; John Gill, 3; Lemuel Gillem, 6; Benon R. Gillet, 12; Charles Gillum, 10; Iraa Gillum, 6; John Gillum, 7; Hamilton Gilmore, 10; James Gilmore, 5; George Gilpatrick, 6; Ralph Goldsworthy, 8; William Goldsworthy, 11; George Goltthorp, 18; Richard Goode, 11; Thomas Goode, 3; David

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<sup>1</sup> Barzillai.

<sup>2</sup> Probably lead-mine employés.

<sup>3</sup> Galbraith.

Goodrick, 2; Elihu Goodsel, 2; George W. Goodwin, 4; Peter Gora, 2; Wm. Gordin, 1; Joseph Gota, 6; Alexander Graham, 11; Robert Gray, 10; Peter Green, 1; Robert Green, 3; Andrew Gregg, 8; Augustus Gregory, 17; Martha Gregory, 11; Sylvester Gridley, 3; John W. Griffith, 9; James Groshong, 2; Jeramiah Groshon, 10; Calvin Hale, 9; John Hale, 4; Nicholas Hale, 5; Stephen Hale, 7; William W. Hale, 9; Elizebeth Hall, 3; Jeremiah Hall, 3; Joseph Hall, 2; Juda Hall, 6; Wm. Hall, 4; Samuel Hambley, 2; Jemison Hamilton, 11; William S. Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> 16; Bennet Haney, 1; James Hanlon, 2; Daniel Harcourt, 8; Sirus Hardin, 2; John Hare, 2; Amos Harris, 2; Charles Harris, 2; Matthew Harris, 5; Nimrod Harrison, 6; A. V. Hastings, 9; Josiah Hatzel, 2; Joseph Hawks, 8; Daniel Hawley, 2; Daniel Hawley,<sup>2</sup> 2; James Hawthorn, 2; John Hays, 10; Elisha Haywood, 14; William Heathcock, 5; Berry Heeney,<sup>3</sup> 5; George Helms, 4; Jonathan Helms, 4; John Helms, 6; Susan Helms, 4; Sirus Hendrix, 4; Joseph Henry, 4; William Henry, 14; Robert Henwood, 1; John Herl, 2; William Herd, 2; Siras Heringdon, 7; Zenas Herrington, 9; Equreis Hewling, 14; Joseph Hewling, 8; Benjamin Hews, 13; Moses Hicklin, 8; G. W. Hickcox, 6; Alexander Higinbottom, 7; Ezra Hildreth, 3; Thomas Himer, 4; James Hitchens, 7; Robert C. Hoard, 5; Harvey W. Hoges, 9; William H. Holenback, 3; Thomas Holms, 10; Frederick Hollman, 12; John Hood, 8; Ambroise Hooser, 7; Jacob Hooser, 6; Charles Hope, 6; William Hopson, 9; Elijah Hopwood, 2; P. S. Horner, 7; Isaac Howel, 6; David Hudson, 11; A. E. Huff, 11; Peter Hughges, 1; Andrew Hughs, 4; Andrew Hughs,<sup>4</sup> 4; Felix Hughs, 3; John Hughs, 6; Edward Hugill, 5; Thomas Hugill, 6; John Huggle, 1; George F. Hull, 1; Peluck<sup>5</sup> Hull, 6; William Hull, 2; Clement Humphrey, 1; Henry Hunter, 1; Joseph B. Hunter,

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<sup>1</sup> Probably his lead-mine employés.

<sup>2</sup> Twice counted in returns.

<sup>3</sup> Haney.

<sup>4</sup> Twice counted in returns.

<sup>5</sup> Peleg.

3; Richard Huntington, 2; Samuel Huntington, 2; Alexander Inman, 6; James Irwin, 1; Philip Jackson, 3; David James, 9; John James, 3; Joseph James, 6; Joseph R. James, 5; Thomas James, 1; Addam Jamison, 3; John D. Jamison, 4; Joseph Jamison, 5; Samuel Jamison, 3; Samuel L. Jamison, 3; Reuben Jarrett, 2; Jacob Jenkins, 3; James Jenkins, 8; John Jenkins, 4; John G. Jenkins, 3; Thomas Jenkins, 9; Richard Johns, 2; Esau Johnson, 16; Farnum Johnson, 3; Henry Johnson, 8; Samuel Johnson, 3; Warren Johnson, 4; William Johnson, 4; Andrew Jones, 5; Edward Jones, 8; George W. Jones, 10; James Jones, 5; Gordon Judd, 7; James Keath, 3; Francis Keenan, 3; Samuel B. Keene, 9; Charles Keibler, 2; John C. Kellogg, 4; O. E. Kellogg, 6; Joseph Kelly, 7; John Kendall, 4; Alfred Kibbe, 6; John Kennedy, 2; A. E. Kilbe, 5; Caswell Kilbe, 7; Benjamin Kilburn, 8; James Kindall, 7; William Kindall, 9; Benjamin King, 9; George Y. King, 8; William King, 4; Willis King, 10; Francis Kirkpatrick, 10; James Kirkpatrick, 8; J. F. Kirkpatrick, 15; J. G. Kirkpatrick, 8; William Kirkpatrick, 7; Lewis Knox, 7; Wm. Knox, 3; Ephraim Labaugh, 3; A. R. T. Lacy, 11; C. A. Lagrave, 4; Ezra Lamb, 7; Gases Lamora, 6; Joseph Lan, 7; P. C. Lander, 2; Bethley Landin, 2; Benjamin Langhrih, 1; Thomas Lathrop, 9; Frederick Lavy, 3; Edward Leslie, 8; Peter LeStrang, 4; John Linch, 3; John Lindsey, 5; George Little, 7; Stephen Loan, 7; Joseph Logston, 5; John Loofborough, 4; John Loona, 6; A. Loonea, 14; Thomas Louis, 3; Thomas Lucas, 2; Jeremiah Lycan, 6; John Lyons, 6; J. F. Lytle, 5; Michael Maal, 3; Mary McArthur, 11; John McBride, 6; James McCade, 3; Orris McCartney, 10; Wm. McCawley, 6; Joshua McChan, 15; Phillip McConield, 7; Charles McCoy, 3; Mrs. McCumber, 4; Isaac McDaniel, 7; John McDoniel, 6; Hugh McFarlan, 4; Robert McGee, 4; Robert N. McGee, 4; William McGee, 1; P. H. McGoon,<sup>1</sup> 7; John McKee, 12; Charles McKenny, 3; John Mckenny, 5; Wm. Mckenny, 13; Patrick McLaughrin, 9; Robert McMillin,<sup>2</sup> 8; George McMullin, 1;

<sup>1</sup> Magoon.

<sup>2</sup> Counted twice in the returns.

George Mcmurtry, 3; S. W. Mcmurtry, 1; Anthony McNight, 4; James McNight, 4; Joseph McNight, 5; Miles McNight, 6; Thomas McNight, 5; John McNulty, 18; Hugh Mcrundler, 12; Isaac W. Mcrunnels, 4; John McVeae, 2; Andrew McWilliams, 2; Wm. J. Maddin, 21; John Maginis, 6; Thomas Manchester, 2; Bates Marhand, 6; Isaac Martin, 7; Richard Martin, 6; Richard Martin, 7; Thomas Martin, 13; Randolph Marton, 2; Daniel May, 8; Elija Mayfield, 8; Stephen Mayhood, 6; Wm. Mayfield, 6; John Medcalf, 3; Alonzo Meechum, 3; Addam Meek, 5; Jonathan B. Meeker, 6; Peter Mellener, 7; James Melvin, 9; T. R. Meradith, 6; Abner Merrill, 5; John Messersmith, 13; David J. Metcalf, 5; R. H. Miars, 4; Abraham Miller, 7; Anthony Miller, 3; Jesse Miller, 7; Wm. Miller, 2; Benjamin Million, 8; Cardots Mires, 9; Robert Mires, 3; Henry Mitchael, 2; Samuel Mitchel, 12; Alexander Moore, 7; Daniel Moore, 9; John Moore, 12; Henry Mooring, 1; Andrew P. Morey, 2; George Morgan, 6; Samuel Morrice, 3; David Morris, 1; James Morrison, 11; Wm. Morrison, 5; Doct. Morrow, 2; Edward Mud, 5; Frederick Mundon, 7; Daniel Murdik, 2; Dennis Murphy, 6; James Murphy, 19; John W. Murphy, 4; Patrick Murphy, 1; John Murra, 2; Karn Murray, 5; Paskell Mury, 4; John Musgrove, 3; Wm. Muslow, 2; James Nagle, 7; Francis Nason, 3; Robert Neil, 2; John A. Newell, 1; Franswa Nicholass, 6; R. B. Nicholass, 8; Abner Nichols, 46; Isaac Noel, 4; Solomon Noel, 8; John Noman, 10; Joseph Norris, 4; John Odonla, 3; Ephraim F. Ogden, 2; John Oharo,<sup>1</sup> 10; Irvin Oharra, 4; John Z. Oliver, 5; R. R. Oliver, 6; Samuel Oliver, 7; Dennis Oneil, 9; Patrick Oneil, 2; John F. Oneill, 9; Alexander Oram, 4; E. M. Orn, 10; Thomas Oskins, 7; William Owens, 3; Henry Packer, 7; Wm. Pafford, 12; J. Palandar, 8; Hendrix Palmer, 7; Richard Palmer, 8; Joseph Pane, 7; Dawson E. Parish, 16; John G. Parish, 4; Levi L. D. Parish, 8; Thomas J. Parish, 20; Green Parke, 3; Daniel M. Parkinson, 3; Peter Parkinson, 4; Peter Parkinson, 7; S. Par-

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<sup>1</sup> O'Hara.

mer, 10; James Pascoe, 4; Parius P. Paterson, 2; Robert Paul, 7; Robert Paxton, 4; Milton B. Pearsons, 3; Stephen Pennington, 5; John Perkle, 1; Peter Perry, 9; James Petty, 6; Wm. Philips, 3; Henry Phillips, 6; John Phillips, 7; Thomas Phillips, 8; William Pigg, 5; Elias Pilin, 16; Harvey Piper, 7; Christopher Pitzen, 12; Christian Plunk, 4; John Porter, 11; Thomas Potts, 7; William Predicks,<sup>1</sup> 2; Othniel Preston, 12; Sylvester B. Preston, 16; G. M. Price, 11; Thomas Price, 5; Zacariah Price, 6; John Priddox,<sup>1</sup> 3; Stephen Pridicks,<sup>1</sup> 5; Mrs. Primer, 9; John Prior, 6; Thomas Prisk, 6; James Pritaudx,<sup>1</sup> 6; James Rablin, 3; John Ragin, 3; Foster Ramey, 3; Alexander Ramsey, 4; Robert Ramsey, 3; Nathaniel Ran, 4; Richard Range, 4; Abel Rasdall, 2; John Ray, 9; Richard Ray, 9; John Reed, 2; R. R. Reed, 11; John Reid, 4; Michael Reel, 4; Thomas Render, 5; Andrew Remfoy, 4; Herman Renshaw, 1; John Rich, 7; Daniel Richards, 7; Wm. F. Richards, 9; James Right, 3; Wm. Riley, 8; John Rine, 3; James Roach, 10; Jonathan Roberts, 3; Hezekiah Robey, 2; Enock Robinson, 2; John Robinson, 5; William Roblin, 4; Frederick Rodolf, 8; John Roger, 4; John Roland, 2; Ashford Rollins, 5; George W. Rollins, 4; George A. Rosemeir, 4; Jervis Rotton, 1; J. H. Rountree, 5; Wallace Rowan, 9; B. B. Rule, 10; George Rule, 4; John Rule, 5; Hiram Rust, 2; Solomon Ryse, 4; Jessa Said, 5; Nathan Said, 4; Benjamin Sally, 3; Michell St. Cyr, 6; Andrew St. John, 5; Cutter Salmar, 7; Benjamin Salter, 5; William Sames, 7; William Sampson, 7; Robert Saucer, 6; James Scantlin, 3; Washington Scot, 2; Andrew Scott, 4; Rowtha Scott, 10; Samuel Scott, 3; Samuel Scott, 5; D. J. Seeley, 7; Jacob Senior, 3; Andrew Shapel,<sup>2</sup> 4; George C. Shattuck, 11; Thos. B. Shaunce, 2; Peter Shaver, 8; Francis Shaw, 5; T. L. Shaw, 2; John P. Sheldon, 14; William Shelton, 9; John Shipley, 4; Elias Shuck, 6; Jesse W. Shull, 11; Wm. Shull, 2; John R. Shultz, 5; Joseph J. Silvester, 4; Alexander Simpson, 4; Robert Simpson, 3; George Skillinger, 7; John Skinner, 8; Robert Slater, 2;

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<sup>1</sup> Prideaux.

<sup>2</sup> Chapelle.

Jonas Smeltser, 6; Addison Smith, 2; George F. Smith, 17; Hardin S. Smith, 2; John Smith, 4; John Smith,<sup>1</sup> 4; Marke Smith, 6; Mary Smith, 5; Hinry Snoden, 7; Robert Snoden, 8; John Snowden, 3; Robert Snowden, 7; John Southerd, 3; Daniel Southerland, 9; Richard Soward, 10; Wm. Spencer, 6; David Springer, 6; Addam Starr, 8; Jacob Starr, 7; Matthew Steel, 12; Robert Steel, 8; Phillip Stephens, 2; Samuel Stephens, 2; William T. Sterling, 3; Charles Stevenson, 4; William Steward, 7; Charles Stineover, 5; James Stout, 8; J. H. D. Street, 6; Nelson Strong, 3; Thomas Strong, 8; Job L. Struther, 4; P. K. Sullivan, 11; Jacob Swarts, 11; Seth Taft, 6; James Tailor, 3; John Tailor, 8; John Taylor, 2; John Taylor, 8; Umfra Taylor, 23; Joseph Tegaske, 10; Robert Templeton, 1; Mark Terrell, 5; Stephen Terrill, 41; J. B. Terry, 7; John Tersell, 7; Job L. Thather, 4; Arthur Thomas, 6; J. W. Thomas, 5; John Thomas, 6; Joseph Thomas, 5; Richard Thomas, 2; Samuel Thomas, 4; John Thompson, 6; Joseph Thompson, 2; Peter Thrailfull, 3; Stephen B. Thrasher, 11; Robert Threadgold, 2; E. Thurlston, 7; Wm. Tindall, 8; James Toller, 5; Lewis B. Tompkins, 1; Absalom Tomson, 3; Isaac S. Tower, 4; Warren Town, 2; Mrs. Townsend, 11; James Travaline,<sup>2</sup> 4; Abraham Travis, 3; Steel Trehorn, 2; Gabriel Trimbball, 1; Nicholas Trine, 2; Peter Tronke, 4; Thomas Tunmore, 4; Albert Turner, 3; Ephraim Turner, 4; Robert Twine, 1; Asa Tyve, 9; Jacob Tyry, 3; Horatio E. Umphres,<sup>3</sup> 1; P. Underwood, 1; John Van Meeter, 7; Paler Vaughn, 7; — Veruice, 2; James R. Vineyard, 6; M. M. Vineyard, 3; Wm. B. Vineyard, 9; Joseph Vlee, 4; Frederick Wachtal, 12; T. S. Waddle, 8; John J. Waddell, 8; Daniel Walker, 14; Richard Waller, 10; Isaac Walls, 4; John Wallis, 8; Richard Walton, 5; Richard Walton,<sup>4</sup> 5; Wm. B. Wainscot, 6; Jacob Waggoner, 6; John C. Ward, 7; John S. Ward, 6; Sylvester Warfield, 5; Francis Washburn, 3; James Wasley, 11; Hiram

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<sup>1</sup>Probably a recount of the preceding.

<sup>2</sup>Probably Trevelyan.

<sup>3</sup>Humphreys.

<sup>4</sup>Counted twice in returns.

Weatherby, 7; B. L. Webb, 3; Michael Welch, 2; Nicholas Welch, 3; Robert Welch, 3; Thomas Welch, 2; Matthew Wells, 11; Peter Wells, 3; William Wells, 4; Abner Westrope, 10; Bt. White, 2; John White, 6; Nathan White, 1; Isaac Z. Whitker, 6; David B. Whitney, 10; John Wiley, 2; A. H. Willard, 2; Alexander Willard, 19; Austin J. Willard, 4; Bethuel Williams, 1; John Williams, 1; John Williams, 7; Nathaniel Williams, 6; Thomas Williams, 2; Thomas Williams, 5; Thomas Willson, 5; Thomas Willson, 8; Bela C. Willson, 3; Louis Willson, 6; John Wise, 5; John Wislow, 1; Charles Wister, 2; James Wiswall, 11; Christopher Witford, 2; Henry Wood, 3; Jeremiah Wood, 17; Wm. Wood, 2; James Woodcock, 5; William Woodell, 5; James L. Woodruff, 1; James Woods, 4; John Woode, 5; John Woods, 7; Samuel Woodworth, 6; James C. Wright, 9.

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### MILWAUKEE COUNTY.

**Sheriff**—Henry M. Hubbard.

**White population**—*Males*: Under 21, 526; over 21, 1,406. *Females*: Under 21, 523; over 21, 438. *Total*, 2,893.

**Heads of families, with number in each family**—D. Adams, 5; Joseph Adams, 8; George Adams, 3; Owen Aldrich, 55; John Allen, 5; N. Allen, 7; W. Allen, 7; William Allen, 7; I. H. Alexander, 17; Suell Andress,<sup>1</sup> 1; Anthony Awlmett, 9; H. Bacon, 6; P. Bacon, 7; N. Bacon, 6; John Baldwin, 2; H. Ball, 7; John Ball, 5; Abel L. Barber, 5; E. Barbie, 4; A. Bardsley, 2; B. Barker, 6; A. Barlow, 3; A. Barlow, 10; — Barnam, 7; A. Barnell, 6; O.W. Barnes, 2; R. B. Barnes, 3; Samuel Barnes, 1; P. Barney, 11; W. I. Barry, 1; Elam Beardsley, 4; Ezra Beardsley, 6; O. Beardsley, 5; Hiram Bennet, 7; Nelson Bently, 3; Niles Bently, 4; D. W. Bickey, 3; Ebenezer Bidwell, 9; D. Bigalow, 11; Isaac Bigalow, 13; — Bird, 8; John Bird, 7; Luther Bishop, 1; C. H. Blake, 11; John Blake, 3; Lucius Blake, 2; Jos.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Sewall Andreas.



Blanchard, 1; Caleb Blogell, 7; Thos. Bolf, 5; A. Balsler, 4; G. Bouton, 7; M. Boyle, 5; C. Brazleton, 4; Dr. Brinkroff, 1; D. Brown, 14; J. J. Brown, 3; S. Brown, 22; H. S. Bryman, 5; Jas. Buckner, 21; A. Bullin, 8; — Burbank, 2; Paul Burdic, 32; B. Burgit, 10; — Burlingham,<sup>1</sup> 12; Timothy Burnham, 1; J. M. Burrows, 6; — Burtis, 2; Isaac Butler, 8; Symmes Butler, 5; Thomas Butler, 1; D. W. Butts, 1; — Cady, 2; J. F. Cady, 3; I. Caldwell, 14; T. Caldwell, 10; Joseph Call, 3; H. H. Camp, 3; William H. Carter, 2; B. B. Cary, 8; Quartus G. Casey, 3; — Cawker,<sup>2</sup> 3; — Chase,<sup>3</sup> 8; Dr. Chase,<sup>4</sup> 6; B. Chase, 7; Rufus Cheney, 5; Clark Cheyson, 4; Oliver Cheyson, 6; John Childs, 7; — Chraig, 6; — Church,<sup>5</sup> 15; Elias Churchill, 1; L. Churchill, 1; Thos. Clencey, 6; H. I. Cleveland, 13; John Clymons, 6; John Coats, 1; Newton Coller, 3; Madison W. Conwell, 2; James Cook, 5; Walter Cooly, 5; Thos. Coopley, 1; Jas. Corby,<sup>6</sup> 6; Chas. Corks, 4; R. Cornell, 6; H. F. Cox, 4; D. Crossit, 9; W. Crows,<sup>7</sup> 14; D. Curtis,<sup>8</sup> 3; Alonzo Cutler, 4; — Daily, 3; Lucien R. Darling, 5; Saml. Dasey, 4; Curtis Davis, 2; John Davis, 12; Tristram Davis, 5; Isham Day, 4; S. S. Derbissier,<sup>9</sup> 7; C. Derbyshire, 7; A. O. Dell, 1; A. W. Dermick, 4; — Dennis,<sup>10</sup> 3; — Dibbly, 7; S. Doolittle, 7; Calvin Douglas, 6; John Douglass, 11; G. D. Dousman, 14; — Drake, 3; E. Drake, 8; — Dubois, 6; S. Du Cas, 1; S. W. Dunbar, 16; Geo. E. Duncan, 2; C. Durkey, 3; John Dyle, 3; Justin Eastman, 6; Jesse Eggleston, 6; A. C. Ellis, 1; — Elms, 4; Moses Emerson, 2; Arthur Erwin, 7; — Farmin,<sup>11</sup> 28; B. Fick, 13; Asa Filer, 3; B. W. Finch, 8; Lucerne Finch, 3; Nathaniel Finch, 11; Eliseh Fish, 10;

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<sup>1</sup> Miles and Lyman Burlingame.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Cawker and brother.

<sup>3</sup> Horace Chase.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Enoch Chase.

<sup>5</sup> Harvey Church.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Corbin.

<sup>7</sup> William Cross.

<sup>8</sup> Probably David Curtin.

<sup>9</sup> Derbyshire.

<sup>10</sup> William N. Dennis.

<sup>11</sup> Hiram Farmin.

Ephraim Fisk, 1; John Fisk, 2; John Flin, 6; Silas Floyd, 9; J. Foul, 12; — Forsythe, 5; A. Foster, Jr., 6; D. Foster, 10; Benjamin Fowler, 11; A. Fox, 6; J. Fox, 6; A. M. Frazier, 3; John Furlong, 8; Jas. Galloway, 20; P. Gardner, 4; Fred A. Garritt, 1; — Gilman,<sup>1</sup> 4; Levi Godfrey, 10; M. C. Godfrey, 5; G. J. Goodhue, 1; Greenman Graves, 3; John Green, 3; Delonson Griffith, 3; D. P. Griffith, 4; A. Grotton, 6; G. Guild, 4; B. Guran,<sup>2</sup> 8; John Hacket, 2; John Hague, 3; W. Hague, 4; Calvin Hall, 4; Isaac Hamerson, 1; Isaac Hamstin, 3; Levi Hanks, 5; Richard Hardell, 8; M. Harp, 5; Emery Harris, 5; Allen Harrington, 5; W. Harrison, 2; — Hartell, 9; J. Harvey, 5; A. W. Hatch, 8; Ira Hathaway, 6; J. Hathaway, 4; William Hawkins, 1; Jas. H. Heath, 2; Gilman Henry, 1; Jas. Henry, 1; — Hemingway, 3; E. Higgins, 28; F. A. Higgins, 7; Isaac Hoissleton, 5; A. Holmes, 1; David Holmes, 10; John D. Holmes, 2; Thos. Holmes, 4; William Holmes, 8; E. Horner, 8; Joel Horner, 3; Alonzo Horton, 1; H. Hosmer, 59; J. W. Howard, 12; T. Howlan, 9; G. H. Hoyt, 2; Thos. Hoyt, 7; H. M. Hubbard, 13; Ira Hubbard, 11; W. Hudson, 2; Alfred Huff, 3; David Hurlburt, 6; Jas. Hurlburt, 2; Lucius Hurlburt, 3; Charles Jackson, 1; Henry F. Janes, 11; Edwin James, 2; O. Jerome, 12; I. Johnson, 3; Louis Jombo,<sup>3</sup> 3; Jas. Jones, 3; W. Jones, 7; Orsamus Joy, 8; Orsamus Joy,<sup>4</sup> 8; Isaac Judson, 4; John Juneau, 2; Silas Juneau, 7; Solomon Juneau, 13; Ira Junps, 4; C. Kanous, 5; O. Kellogg, 8; — Kerkendoll, 1; Saml. Kerr, 4; Byron Kilborn, 10; Ira Kimberly, 3; Paul Kingston, 10; Gilbert Knapp, 9; William Lacia, 1; Saml. Lane, 4; Gideon Langdon, 1; J. Lathrop, 4; N. Lay, 3; William Lee, 21; — Leland, 13; Jno. B. Letondre,<sup>5</sup> 1; — Lomis,<sup>6</sup> 7; W. R. Longstreet, 6; H. Long-

<sup>1</sup>Probably W. W. Gilman.

<sup>2</sup>Byron Guerin.

<sup>3</sup>Jambeau, a nickname for the Vieaus. It is a corruption of "Jean Vieau," which the older Jacques Vieau was frequently called. Louis was one of Jacques's sons, and a half-brother of Mrs. Solomon Juneau.

<sup>4</sup>Twice counted.

<sup>5</sup>Jean Baptiste Le Tendre.

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Hubbell Loomis.

well, 4; W. Love, 7; — Lowrey,<sup>1</sup> 3; D. Lucas, 7; W. Luce, 2; Henry Luther, 1; O. Lynch, 10; Isaac S. Lyon, 3; H. McCling, 85; T. McDonald, 3; — McDonald, 2; W. B. McEven, 4; Robert McKitrick, 5; — McKittenick, 3; Benj. McMullin, 3; — McNeal,<sup>2</sup> 2; John Mantiville,<sup>3</sup> 1; Saml. Mars, 7; Ebenezer Marstew, 1; Jesse Meacham, 7; — Merrick, 5; Patrick Milarky, 4; H. Miller,<sup>4</sup> 2; H. Miller, 6; J. V. Miller, 5; R. Miller, 7; T. H. Moore, 1; — Montague, 9; J. Montgomery, 11; — Morgan, 7; C. Morgan, 5; John Morgan, 3; A. W. Muggatt, 6; John M. Myers, 28; Horatio Nelson, 6; Jas. Nelson, 4; Alvah Newman, 11; Zadoc Newman, 9; Danl. Newton, 4; Decreas Nicholas, 2; Addison Nicols, 1; Andrew Nicols,<sup>5</sup> 4; R. Nims, 5; Jas. Nixon, 8; Elias Ogden, 1; John Ogden, 2; — Olin,<sup>6</sup> 24; Elmer Orcort, 3; A. Orendorff, 6; Jos. Osmer,<sup>7</sup> 2; William Ostrander, 30; D. Packard, 11; Isaac Pangburn, 5; Luther Parker, 9; Samos Parsons,<sup>8</sup> 7; Joseph Pasco, 9; Osmer Pasco, 2; — Peak,<sup>9</sup> 3; Silas S. Peck, 2; Jos. Pendleton, 5; — Perkins, 6; A. Perkins, 8; Allen Perkins, 7; Jas. Pettibone, 4; A. Phenix, 4; S. F. Phenix, 3; S. T. Phenix, 3; C. Pierce, 2; J. Pierce, 10; Benjamin Piper, 6; S. Pittebone, 22; E. Pixley, 3; A. T. Place, 9; — Poff, 30; Joel Pomerlee,<sup>10</sup> 8; Anson Pope, 2; — Porter,<sup>11</sup> 12; John Porter, 2; L. Powers, 5; D. Pratt, 8; J. Pratt, 3; David Read, 16; A. Ressegue, 14; Alvin Reymond, 4; E. Reymond, 8; Herman Rice, 7; Jackson Rice, 1; Chas. Richmond, 1; Morris Riply, 7; George Robinson, 4; Jas. Rogan, 8; Jacob Rogers, 17; Jas. H. Rogers, 7; Joel Rogers, 3;

<sup>1</sup> Joseph K. Lowry.

<sup>2</sup> Probably James McNeil.

<sup>3</sup> Manderville.

<sup>4</sup> Counted twice in the returns.

<sup>5</sup> Nickell.

<sup>6</sup> Several related families, named Olin, came to Wisconsin in the spring of 1836, and are probably included in this enumeration.

<sup>7</sup> Hosmer.

<sup>8</sup> Sampson Parsons.

<sup>9</sup> Chancy H. Peak.

<sup>10</sup> Parmalee.

<sup>11</sup> Israel Porter.

Nehemiah Rogers, 3; John Rose, 4; Jos. W. Rosmand, 1; Hiram J. Ross, 5; S. W. St. John, 7; Joel Sage, 3; — Samson, 8; S. Sanburn, 14; J. Sanders, 6; Jos. S. Sanders, 4; Jas. Sanderson, 8; J. Sanson, 5; P. Scholl, 1; D. H. Seargent, 1; — Sevyer,<sup>1</sup> 3; Mrs. Shaft, 8; James Shintofter, 6; D. D. Sibberly,<sup>2</sup> 2; — Skinner,<sup>3</sup> 5; — Sloan, 2; Isaac Smart, 3; Jos. Smart, 4; — Smith, 2; — Smith, 9; — Smith, 6; Aaron Smith, 8; Benjamin Smith, 3; Daniel Smith, 4; David Smith, 2; E. Smith, 2; Eldad Smith, 5; Joel Smith, 1; John C. Smith, 1; Moses Smith, 7; U. B. Smith, 5; Trenton Snalley, 2; T. Spencer, 5; Dolphus Spoor, 6; Amaziah Stebbins, 8; — Stevens, 4; D. Stevens, 10; O. Stevens, 7; — Steward, 9; Ira Stewart, 3; — Stricland, 6; O. Stitson, 3; Danl. Stone, 1; Robert Stone, 1; Jas. Strong, 6; Thos. Sugden, 2; A. Sweet, 15; B. Symons, 3; E. Talcot, 11; Luke Taylor, 3; Lyman Taylor, 3; Joseph Tebeau, 1; Enoch Thompson, 9; Thos. Thompson, 1; M. Toby, 19; W. Towsly, 6; — Tuttle, 5; R. Tuttle, 4; William Tuttle, 7; — Underwood,<sup>4</sup> 10; — Van Shiek,<sup>5</sup> 6; A. Vieau, 1; Jacque Vieau, 5; Eleazer Voice, 1; — Wade, 4; E. Wales, 4; Samuel Wales, 7; John Walker, 1; Nelson A. Walker, 2; — Walton,<sup>6</sup> 13; Seth Warner, 6; E. Waterman, 1; J. Webber, 3; H. Wedge, 31; C. Weed, 9; E. Weld, 10; A. Wells, 2; Arad Wells, 9; — Wentworth,<sup>7</sup> 2; G. S. West, 4; Aaron Wheeler, 7; — Whitcomb, 4; — Whitman, 9; N. Wichester, 3; E. Willard, 8; Jacob Wilcox, 4; — Williams,<sup>8</sup> 5; J. Williams, 7; Joseph Williams, 3; G. S. Willis, 8; H. C. Winsor, 4; H. A. Woodbridge, 3; H. M. Woodbridge, 8; T. Woodbridge, 4; — Woods, 4; W. Woodward, 13; Danl. Wooster, 7; — Worthington, 5; U. Yates, 5; — Youles, 9; George Young, 1; (“Name in pencil, rubbed out”), 9.

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<sup>1</sup> Sivyer.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel D. Sibley.

<sup>3</sup> William H. Skinner.

<sup>4</sup> William O. Underwood.

<sup>5</sup> Van Schaick.

<sup>6</sup> Nathaniel Walton.

<sup>7</sup> George H. Wentworth.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Williams.

## NOTES ON EARLY LEAD MINING IN THE FEVER (OR GALENA) RIVER REGION.<sup>1</sup>

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BY THE EDITOR.

No evidence exists, nor is it probable, that the aboriginal inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi valley made any considerable use of lead previous to the appearance among them of French missionaries, explorers, and fur-traders. The French were continually on the search for beds of mineral, and questioned the Indians very closely regarding their probable whereabouts. The savages, although superstitious with regard to minerals, appear soon to have made known to the whites the deposits of lead in the tract which now embraces the counties of Grant, Iowa, and La Fayette, in Wisconsin; Jo Daviess and Carroll counties in Illinois; Dubuque county, in Iowa, and portions of eastern Missouri. Undoubtedly this is one of the richest lead-bearing regions in the world, and when once brought to the notice of the pioneers of New France its fame became widespread. The French introduced fire-arms among the Northwestern Indians, and induced them to hunt, on a large scale, fur-bearing animals; thus lead at once assumed a value in the eyes of the latter, both for use as bullets in their own weapons, and as an article of traffic with the traders.

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<sup>1</sup>Not presented as a formal treatise upon this interesting subject. I have but thrown together in outline, as useful material for those who may wish to develop it, these rough notes on early lead mining in the Fever (or Galena) River region, the result of a somewhat protracted investigation, which has not, however, been carried to its utmost possibilities. The field is an interesting one, and deserves to be fully worked, in an historical monograph. An abstract of these notes appeared in the *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1893.

The Wisconsin and Illinois Indians were visited in 1634 by Nicolet,<sup>1</sup> who doubtless was the first to teach them the use of gunpowder. Radisson and Groseilliers followed in 1658-59, and heard of lead mines among the Bœuf Sioux, apparently in the neighborhood of Dubuque.<sup>2</sup>

In 1673, Joliet and Marquette, when stopping with their voyageurs at the Indian town of Kaskaskia, on returning from the Lower Mississippi, must again have given the Illinois an example of the use of fire-arms and the utility of lead—if, indeed, this tribe had not already had some traffic in the ore with wandering traders and *coureurs des bois* operating at the head of the Mississippi River or of Lake Michigan, of whose presence in the region we catch faint glimpses in the earliest records of exploration.<sup>3</sup>

The journals of Marquette and La Hontan (1689) speak of the mineral wealth of the Upper Mississippi country; but they appear never to have seen the mines themselves, and, misunderstanding their informants, concluded that the deposits were of gold, silver, and copper. Hennepin's map of 1687<sup>4</sup> has a lead mine located in the neighborhood of where Galena now is, showing that he had definite information regarding it. Joutel, who was in the country as early as 1687, says<sup>5</sup> that "travelers who have been at the upper part of the Mississippi affirm that they have found mines of very good lead there."

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<sup>1</sup> See Butterfield's *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by Jean Nicolet, in 1634* (Cincinnati, 1881).

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> "There cannot be a doubt that many of the French voyageurs besides M. Perrot and the Du l'Huts had explored a large part of the country \* \* \* at a very early day, but of their adventures we have no account, because they were not sufficiently educated to record them. We have occasionally incidental allusions in public documents, in works on geography, and in memoirs, which prove this to have been the case."—Mills, *Report on the Boundaries of the Province of Ontario* (Ottawa, 1877), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Breese, *Early History of Illinois*; and Winchell, *Geological Survey of Minnesota, Final Report*.

<sup>5</sup> Joutel, *Journal* (1713).

It is alleged<sup>1</sup> that some French traders stationed in the vicinity of Peoria Lake, on the Illinois River, purchased a quantity of lead in 1690 from certain Indian mines on what afterwards came to be known as Fever or Galena River.

When in the Green Bay region in 1690, after having made an expedition up the Mississippi, Nicholas Perrot, on being presented by a Miami chief with a lump of lead ore, promised that within twenty days he would establish a post below the Wisconsin River. La Potherie says<sup>2</sup> that the chief gave Perrot information as to the locality of the mines, and the latter accordingly visited them. Perrot, we are told, found "the lead hard to work, because it lay between rocks and required blasting; it had very little dross, and was easily melted." Perrot's post, built at this time, was doubtless on the east side of the river, about opposite the Dubuque mines.

As early as 1693, Le Sueur was commandant at Chequamegon Bay, and appears to have made extended explorations throughout the Upper Mississippi valley, thereby "acquiring renown."<sup>3</sup> In 1695 he built a fort on a large island in the Mississippi River between Lake Pepin and the mouth of the St. Croix,<sup>4</sup> which became for the French, says Charlevoix, "the centre of commerce for the western parts." While occupying this position, it appears that he discovered "mines of lead, copper, blue and green earth," and went to France to solicit the court's permission to work them. After many delays, he set out from France, in 1699, in D'Iberville's second expedition to Louisiana, which arrived at its destination in December. He had been commissioned by the king to explore and work "the mines at the source of the Mississippi," and had thirty miners assigned to him. His reporter and companion,

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<sup>1</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, xviii., p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1753, ii., p. 251; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 301, 331.

<sup>3</sup> Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), pp. 89 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Neill, *History of Minnesota* (1882), p. 148; Thwaites, *Story of Wisconsin* (Boston, 1890), p. 79.

Pénicaut, after speaking of the rapids in the Mississippi at Rock Island, says: "We found both on the right and left bank the lead mines, called to this day the mines of Nicholas Perrot, the name of the discoverer. Twenty leagues [39 English miles, by U. S. land survey] from there on the right, was found the mouth of a large river, the Ouisconsin."<sup>1</sup> It was the 13th of August, 1700, when they arrived opposite Fever River, which Pénicaut calls "Rivière a la Mine." He reports that up this little river, a league and a half, there was "à lead mine in the prairie." They passed up the Mississippi, Pénicaut mentioning two streams which correspond to the Platte and Grant rivers, in Wisconsin, and says that Le Sueur "took notice of a lead mine at which he supplied himself,"—supposed to be what afterwards came to be known as "Snake diggings," near Potosi, Wisconsin. After making note of the Black, Buffalo, Chippewa, and St. Croix rivers, in Wisconsin, Le Sueur passed the winter on the Blue River, in what is now Minnesota. He does not, except for his immediate necessities, appear to have utilized the lead mines he had discovered. The following summer he abandoned his post, and returned to France.<sup>2</sup>

On William de l'Isle's chart of Louisiana, issued in 1703, in which he was assisted by the observations of Le Sueur, the Galena lead mines are plainly indicated, as are also the Dubuque mines, on the west side.<sup>3</sup>

September 14, 1712, Louis XIV. granted to Sieur Anthony Crozat, for a term of fifteen years, a monopoly of trade and mining privileges in Louisiana. The mines were granted in perpetuity, subject to a royalty, and to forfeiture if abandoned. While Crozat's men found none of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Margry*, v., p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> In this same year (1700), Father Gravier made a trip down the Mississippi, and wrote: "I do not know what our court will decide about the Mississippi, if no silver mines are found, for our government does not seek land to cultivate. They care little for mines of lead, which are very abundant near the Illinois."—Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston, 1894), p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> Neill, *Minnesota*, p. xlv.



precious metals, they appear to have discovered considerable lead deposits in what is now southeastern Missouri;<sup>1</sup> and no doubt the English traders, who seriously encroached on the French domain, and the wandering *coureurs des bois* had more or less traffic with the Indians for ore, to meet both present needs and home demand.

In 1715, La Mothe Cadillac, governor of Louisiana, and founder of Detroit, went up to the Illinois country in search of reputed silver mines, but carried back only lead ore "from the mines which were shown him fourteen miles west of the river."<sup>2</sup>

Crozat resigned his monopoly to John Law's Company of the West, chartered September 6, 1717; and two years later Louisiana—to which the Illinois country had now become attached—entered upon the brief period of "boom" which was inaugurated by that ill-timed enterprise.

In 1719 there arrived in the Illinois, Philippe François de Renault, newly appointed "director-general of the mines of the Royal India Company in Illinois."<sup>3</sup> He dispatched prospecting parties to various points on both sides of the Mississippi River; and during the four years he spent in the district, discovered lead mines on the Meramec River and north of what is now Potosi, in Missouri; while M. de la Motte found paying leads on the St. François River, also in Missouri. July 21, 1722, one Le Gardeur de l'Isle writes from Fort Chartres, near Kaskaskia, that he was in command of a detachment of twelve soldiers to accompany M. de Renault to the Illinois River, to look after some alleged copper and coal mines, and found what he claimed to be silver and gold.<sup>4</sup> No doubt these deposits were but lead and coal, for the French explorers were prone to deceive

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule* (Cincinnati, 1893), pp. 239, 240

<sup>2</sup> Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.*, v., p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> The term Illinois then applied to a large district, lying on the Mississippi and centering at the mouth of the Illinois River: practically all of the present state of that name, and the eastern half of Missouri and Iowa.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of E. B. Washburne to Chicago Hist. Soc., in *Chicago Times*, Dec. 18, 1880.

their patrons as to the value of their mineral discoveries. Charlevoix refers to alleged silver discoveries by Cadillac, but doubtingly. Shea, in a note on this reference (*Charlevoix*, vi., p. 25), says that De Renault "extracted silver from Illinois lead ore in 1722." Silver is certainly combined with the lead, in this district, but is not present in quantity sufficient to be profitably worked. In June, 1723, De Renault was granted a square league of territory in the northwestern part of what is now Monroe county, Illinois, and also a tract at Peoria containing about 14,000 acres. Upon the former estate he planted a small village, "St. Philippe," but by 1765 the place was deserted, the French residents having removed to the west bank of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup>

The next reference we find to the lead mines is in 1743, when a M. le Guis gives an account<sup>2</sup> of the methods of "eighteen or twenty" miners then operating in the Fever River region—a fast lot, he says, every man working for himself at surface operations, and only getting out enough to earn him a bare existence for the rest of the year. Le-Guis makes the following report of wasteful smelting methods employed by these miners, which were strikingly similar to those in vogue among American miners of later days until the introduction of the Drummond blast furnace,<sup>3</sup> about 1836: "They cut down two or three big trees and divide them in logs five feet long; then they dig a small basin in the ground and pile three or four of these logs on top of each other over this basin: then they cover it with the same wood, and put three more logs, shorter than the first, on top, and one at each end crossways. This makes a kind of box, in which they put the mineral, then they pile as much wood as they can on top and around it. When this is done, they set fire to it from under; the logs burn up and partly melt the mineral. They are sometimes obliged to repeat the same operation three times in order to

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Wallace*, pp. 274, 275.

<sup>3</sup> Invented by Robert A. Drummond, of Jo Daviess County, Ill.

extract all the matter. This matter, falling into the basin, forms a lump, which they afterward melt over again into bars weighing from sixty to eighty pounds, in order to facilitate the transportation to Kaskaskia. This is done with horses, who are quite vigorous in the country. One horse carries generally four or five of these bars. It is worthy of remark, gentlemen, that in spite of the bad system these men have to work, there has been taken out of the La Motte mine 2,500 of these bars in 1741, 2,228 in 1742, and these men work only four or five months in the year at most."

Up to November 3, 1762, France held possession of both sides of the Mississippi, but she then ceded the eastern half of the valley to Great Britain, who did not, however, take possession until April 21, 1764. In the same year of the cession to Great Britain, France made a secret treaty with Spain, by which the country west of the river was handed over to the latter power, which, however, allowed six years to elapse before she assumed charge.

In 1763, Francis Benton made finds of lead near Potosi, Missouri, and had, for a time, extensive workings there.

The map made by Jonathan Carver, as a result of his Northwestern travels in 1766, places lead mines at Blue Mounds, just south of the Wisconsin River. He found ore in the streets of "the Great Town of the Saukies," about the site of the present Prairie du Sac, and appears to have ascended the principal mound, which he says "abounded in lead."<sup>1</sup>

In Capt. Henry Gordon's *Journal*, written the same year (1766),<sup>2</sup> occurs the following passage, showing that there was at that time a considerable lead industry in progress among the French on the west side of the Mississippi: "The French have large boats of 20 tons, rowed with 20 oars, which will go in *seventy odd days* from New Orleans to the Illinois. These boats go to the Illinois twice a year, and are not half loaded on their return; was there any

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<sup>1</sup> Carver, *Travels* (London, 1778), pp. 47, 48.

<sup>2</sup> In Pownall, *Topographical Description of North America* (London, 1776).

produce worth sending to market, they could carry it at no great expence. They, however, carry lead, the produce of a mine on the French side of the river, which yields but a small quantity, as they have not hands to work it. These boats, in times of the floods, which happen only in May and June, go down to New Orleans from the Illinois in 14 and 16 days."

In 1769 was made the first application for a concession of lead-mine land in the valley of the Upper Mississippi. The petitioner was Martin Miloney Duralde, who signed his application at St. Louis, July 5, 1769. The day following, the grant was issued, being signed by Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, captain-commandant of the Illinois, and Joseph Labuxière, "attorney of the attorney general, judge, etc., of the royal jurisdiction of the Illinois, for the French." This grant embraced a tract of land "three arpents in front, by the ordinary depth,"<sup>1</sup> on Le Sueur's River of the Mines (Fever River), "160 leagues, more or less, above" St. Louis. From the tone of his petition, Duralde appears to have been a ne'er-do-well, and there is no record extant to show that he ever settled upon his grant or opened any mines, although the Spaniards confirmed all French land grants.

Capt. Philip Pittman, writing in 1770 of Ste. Genevieve,<sup>2</sup> which had become a notable market for lead, says: "A lead mine about fifteen leagues distant, supplies the whole country with shot." It appears that at this time lead was, next to peltries, the most important and valuable export

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<sup>1</sup> French claims in Michigan were usually forty arpents in depth; these claims at Green Bay were merely possessory, and allowed by the government to extend eighty arpents from front to rear. The old Spanish common-field lots, in and around St. Louis, were from one to four arpents wide on the river, by forty in depth. This appears to have been "the usual depth" of grants, during this period, although in special cases they were much more extensive. The Spanish and French grants in Upper Louisiana are fully discussed in Scharf's *St. Louis*, chap. xiii. The arpent is equal to 192 feet, 6 inches, English measure.

<sup>2</sup> *Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi* (London, 1770).

of the country, and served as currency. This lead trade was afterwards transferred to St. Louis, when that town began to control the commerce of the region.<sup>1</sup> One of the largest lead dealers of the day was Joseph A. Sire, one of the associates of Chouteau & Sarp's fur company. Under the Spanish *régime*, which now ensued, we are told by Stoddard,<sup>2</sup> a careful annalist, that lead miners working for themselves often took out "thirty dollars per day, for weeks together,"—a profitable employment, indeed. The traders who dealt in the material also made large profits, the returns being "cent per cent for the capital invested."<sup>3</sup>

Julien Dubuque was the next character of note, upon the scene. He was a man of remarkable energy, and singularly popular among the Indians. In 1788 he obtained from a full council of the Sac and Fox Indians, held at Prairie du Chien, formal permit "to work lead mines tranquilly and without any prejudice to his labors." He had previously made rich discoveries of lead on the west bank of the Mississippi, in the bluffs and ravines adjoining the site of the present Iowa town which bears his name. In the immediate neighborhood of his mines, if not one of

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<sup>1</sup> In Ogden, *Letters from the West* (New Bedford, Mass., 1823), p. 58, is this entry, showing that Ste. Genevieve was still flourishing in his time: "St. Genevieve, in particular, is a fine flourishing town. Here, back of the river, lead ore is found in great abundance, which has become a traffic of great profit to the inhabitants."

<sup>2</sup> Major Amos Stoddard, *Sketches Hist. and Descrip. of Louisiana* (Phila., 1812).

<sup>3</sup> Scharf, *St. Louis*, p. 308; *Mich. Pion. Colls.*, ix., p. 543. In his notes to Forman's *Narrative* (Cinn., 1888), L. C. Draper says: "About the first of June, 1790, Colonel Vigo, an enterprising trader of the Illinois country, consigned to him [Michael Lacassangue, a Louisville trader], 4,000 pounds of lead, brought by Major Doughty [who built the fort at Cincinnati] from Kaskaskia."

In 1796, John James Dufour, afterwards founder of the Swiss colony at Vevay, Ind., came to America, and made his start here by buying lead at Kaskaskia, St. Louis, etc., and taking it up the Ohio River to Pittsburg, where he disposed of the cargo at a profit. With the proceeds he bought 630 acres of land, for a vineyard, at the big bend of Kentucky River.

them, was a rich lead discovered in 1780 by the squaw of Peosta, a Fox warrior.<sup>1</sup> Tradition has it that when he made his first location near Dubuque, a man named Du Bois was living at a mine on the eastern bank, nearly opposite,—probably just south of the present village of Dunleith. Dubuque, in honor of the Spanish possessors of the soil, styled his diggings "The Spanish Mines." Some Spaniards, also, undoubtedly had before his time conducted operations in the neighborhood, for when he went into the country he found substantial roads built for the transportation of ore; these, the Indians told him, had been made by Spaniards.<sup>2</sup> Dubuque does not appear to have restricted himself to the west side of the river. It is believed that his prospectors and miners, who all enjoyed the full sympathy and confidence of the Sacs and Foxes, roved about at will on both sides, and opened leads on Apple River, near the present village of Elizabeth; and as early as 1805 even operated the old Buck and Hog leads on Fever River.

It is a fair inference that the Indians had themselves operated the mines after a crude fashion, fully a century before Dubuque's time. But, as we have seen, this was doubtless only to get bullets for the guns which they had acquired through trade with the French, and to furnish the fur-traders with a commodity quite as desirable as peltries. It is presumable that the French first showed the natives

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, *Discovery of Sources of Mississippi River* (Phila., 1855), pp. 174, 175. Schoolcraft visited the Dubuque mines in 1820, and gives an entertaining account of them and the native manner of working them: *Ibid.*, pp. 169-173. He places the distance below Prairie du Chien at 60 miles, and the extent of the tract, "seven leagues in front [along the Mississippi] by three in depth." See also, Schoolcraft, *View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*, etc. (N. Y., 1819).

<sup>2</sup> In 1780, as appears from letters of Lieut. Gov. Patrick Sinclair to Gen. Frederick Haldimand (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., pp. 151, 152, 155, 156), the Sacs and Foxes, led by MM. Calve and Ducharme, were in active league with Spanish and American miners against British influences in the diggings. The Winnebagoes and Menomonees assisted the British in attacking the miners, and seventeen of the Americans and Spaniards were taken prisoners to Mackinaw.

how to mine and smelt the ore. There is no evidence that the American aborigines ever practiced the arts of smelting and casting, before the advent of the whites. The methods in vogue among the Indians were practically such as the whites are known to have employed in the earlier days of lead-mining, and are thus described by an eye-witness, writing in 1819: "A hole was dug in the face of a piece of sloping ground, about two feet deep and as wide at the top. This hole was shaped like a mill-hopper and lined with flat stones. At the bottom or point of the hopper, which was eight or nine inches square, narrow stones were laid across, gratewise. A trench was dug, from the sloping ground inward to the bottom of the hopper. This channel was a foot in width and height, and was filled with dry wood and brush. The hopper being filled with the ore and the fuel ignited, in a few minutes the molten lead fell through the stones at the bottom of the hopper, and thence was discharged, through the trench, over the earth. The fluid mass was then poured into an awkward mould, and as it cooled it was called a 'plat,' weighing about 70 lbs., very nearly the weight of the 'pig' of later days."

There is no doubt, however, that this method was an improvement over that in vogue among the savages in the time of early French domination; for we read that in Crozat's day the Indians reduced the mineral by throwing it on top of large fires. "Large logs would be placed on the ground and smaller pieces of wood piled around and the ore heaped on. The fire would be set in the evening and in the morning shapeless pieces of lead would be found in cakes, or in small holes scratched in the earth under the logs; or sometimes in shapeless masses. These pieces were sold to the traders."<sup>1</sup>

The Indians, we are told by another writer,<sup>2</sup> only skimmed the surface, as a rule; although occasionally they drifted into side-hills for some distance, and when they

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wis Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Jo Daviess Co., Ill.* (Chicago, 1878), p. 536.

reached "cap rock" would build a fire under it and then crack it by dashing cold water on the heated surface. Their tools, in the earliest times, were buck-horns, many of which were found in abandoned drifts by the early white settlers; but in Dubuque's time they obtained hoes, shovels, and crow-bars from the traders to whom they sold lead. The Indians loaded their ore at the bottom of the shaft into tough deer-skins, the bundle being hoisted to the surface or dragged up inclined planes by long thongs of hide.<sup>1</sup> Many of these Indian leads, abandoned by the aborigines when the work of developing them became too great for their simple tools, were afterwards taken possession of by whites, with improved appliances, and found to be among the best in the region. Early writers generally agree that the Indian mining was almost wholly conducted by old men and squaws, the bucks doing the smelting. However this may be, it is certain that in later days a good many bucks worked in these primitive mines, and many of them are known to have assisted Dubuque. The Sacs and Foxes were the owners of the lead-mine district during the eighteenth century, but by the treaty of 1804 they relinquished their lands east of the Mississippi, and the gypsy Winnebagoes then squatted in the district: although with them were mingled many Sacs and Foxes who had married into the Winnebago tribe, in addition to "the British band" of Sacs, around Rock Island, who were afterwards (1832) implicated in the Black Hawk disturbance.

Dubuque appears to have largely employed his Indian friends in prospecting for lead mines. When their discoveries were reported to him, he would send Canadians and half-breeds to prove the claims and sometimes to work them; although, in many cases, he was content with proving the claim and allowing the Indians to work it themselves, the product being brought to his large trading-house on the west side of the river. In this manner the entire region of the lead mines in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois became

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Grant Co.* (Chicago, 1881), p. 477.



more or less occupied by Dubuque's men before any permanent American settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Dubuque, who in order to conciliate the Spaniards had named his west-side plant "The Mines of Spain," deemed it advisable to seek a formal recognition from the government of Louisiana. He obtained, November 10, 1796, from Baron de Carondelet, Spanish intendant and governor-general of the province, the grant of a tract seven leagues in length, along the west bank of the Mississippi, by three leagues in depth: but with certain restrictions as to trade, to be prescribed by "the merchant Don Andrew Todd," who had a monopoly of the commerce of the upper valley. Don Andrew, however, does not seem to have been able to hamper Dubuque, and the latter's establishment grew with time. His friendship with the Indians, and their dislike of the Spanish, were a sufficient safeguard against interference from Don Andrew, although he appears to have met with no small opposition on the east side of the river from wandering representatives of the American Fur Company at Mackinaw, who are said to have obtained considerable supplies of lead from the crafty Foxes, and indeed to have themselves smelted some ore.

Dubuque waxed wealthy from his lead and peltries, which he shipped to St. Louis, making two trips a year in a pirogue. In a formal statement made to Maj. Z. M. Pike, September 1, 1805,<sup>2</sup> he claimed that his mines on the west side of the Mississippi extended over a tract of territory "twenty-eight or twenty-seven leagues long, and from one to three broad;" he said that he made from 20,000 to 40,000 pounds of lead per annum, all of it in pigs, although it is probable that this was an underestimate, for evidently he did not view with favor this evidence of American curiosity about his affairs.

In 1803, France unceremoniously assumed possession of

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<sup>1</sup> In 1826, at Ottawa (Allenwrath diggings), two miles from Galena, there was found, under the ashes of a primitive furnace, a heavy sledge hammer, undoubtedly left by Dubuque's miners.

<sup>2</sup> Pike, *Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1810), appendix to part i., p. 5.

Louisiana, and almost in the same breath sold it to the United States, which took formal possession March 9, 1804, at St. Louis.

In 1811, George E. Jackson, a Missouri miner, had a rude log furnace on an island — now washed away — towards the east side of the Mississippi, not far below Dunleith and nearly opposite the mouth of Catfish creek.<sup>1</sup> Jackson floated his lead to St. Louis by flat-boat, and had much trouble with the Indians, who had a thorough dislike for Englishmen and Americans. The reason for this aversion to the Anglo-Saxon race, which has been noticeable, with few exceptions, from our earliest intercourse with the red man, is a natural one. The volatile manners of the French have been more in sympathy with the character of the savages, with whom their pioneers have readily intermarried; the French settled among the Indians for the purposes of trade and sociability, and their interests, like those of the Indians, lay in the direction of keeping the fur preserves intact. The bearing of the Anglo-Saxon towards the savage has ever been of a domineering character; we are preëminently an agricultural and manufacturing people, and our plan of colonization aims at the reduction of nature, with the view to making the land support a large population. Our aims, our methods, our manner, are diametrically opposed to a state of savagery. We are a covetous people, and it did not take long for the Indian to understand that the English or American borderer was the herald of a relentless system of conquest.

In 1812-13, John S. Miller joined fortunes with Jackson, but soon afterwards they abandoned their island furnace and returned down the river. In 1818, Miller returned with two companions, traded a boat-load of goods at Dubuque's old mines, and is supposed to have penetrated to the site of Galena and spent some time in the lead region. Miller and Jackson again visited the place in 1823.

The manufacture of shot near St. Louis dates from

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.* (Chicago, 1881), p. 394. Cf. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 272.

Nov. 16, 1809, when J. Macklot ran his first cast through a tower which he had erected at Herculaneum, thirty miles distant from St. Louis, on the Joachim River. Indians brought lead in small quantities in their canoes, but the bulk of the ore was transported from the mines by Frenchmen.

In February, 1810, Nicholas Boilvin, then United States agent for the Winnebagoes, passed through on foot from Rock Island to Prairie du Chien, with Indians for guides, and by them was shown a lead mine near Fever River,—supposed to be what afterwards came to be known as the "Buck lead."<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the secretary of war, dated a year later,<sup>2</sup> Agent Boilvin reported that the Sacs and Foxes (on the eastern side of the river) and the Iowas (on the west side) had "mostly abandoned the chase, except to furnish themselves with meat, and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they procure from a mine about sixty miles below Prairie du Chien,"—undoubtedly the Fever River and Dubuque mines. He reports that in 1810 they manufactured 400,000 lbs. of the metal, which they exchanged for goods, mainly with Canadian traders, who were continually inciting them to opposition against Americans. Boilvin alludes to the fact that the Indians found lead mining more profitable than hunting, and that the government would be wise to introduce a blacksmith and improved tools among them. He thinks that by thus encouraging the Indian miners, "the Canadian trade would be extinguished."

In 1810, Henry Shreeve is said to have worked up the Mississippi as far as Fever River, and taken back from there a small cargo of Indian-smelted lead, to the towns on the lower Mississippi.

Between 1815 and 1820, Capt. John Shaw, afterwards a resident of Marquette county, Wisconsin, made eight trips with a trading boat between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien, and several times visited the Fever River mines.

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 252.

where he saw the Indians smelting lead in rude furnaces. At one time he bought seventy tons of metal from them, "and still left much at the furnace."<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Boilvin does not appear to have broken up the French-Canadian trade in the lead district, for we find that up to 1819 several American traders, who attempted to go among the Sac and Fox miners and run opposition to the Canadians, had been killed. One of these Americans is said to have thus lost his life in 1813, on Sinsiniwa creek.

In the immediate neighborhood of where Galena came to be planted, there were, in 1815, about twenty rude Indian furnaces, the product being bought almost entirely by French-Canadian traders, who are reported to have rated a peck of ore as worth a peck of corn. The same year, a crew of American boatmen attempted to go up Fever River by water, but the Indians prevented them, fearing the cupidity of the Americans, who might become excited by the richness of the mines, and attempt to dispossess the natives.

In 1816, Col. George Davenport, agent of the American Fur Company, and engaged in trade with the Sacs and Foxes, erected a trading post on the portage between the Mississippi and the Fever, near the mouth of the latter; but he left soon after, and went to Rock Island, where he settled. Davenport is credited with shipping to St. Louis, in 1816, the first flat-boat cargo of lead ever avowedly emanating from the Fever River mines; it was used in payment for Indian goods. Lead in those days was, like fur, quite as useful as currency in the financial operations of the country.

By a treaty concluded August 24, 1816, at St. Louis, all lands lying north of a line drawn due west of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, were granted to the Indians,<sup>2</sup> except a tract five leagues square

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 250. See Shaw's personal narrative in *Id.*, ii., pp. 197 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> To the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies. In a letter of Gov. Ninian Edwards, of Illinois, dated Belleville, Sept. 13, 1827 (Washburne,

on the Mississippi River, to be designated by the president. This reservation was intended to include the lead mines, the exact location of which was as yet undefined.

In 1819 there appears to have been a more general movement upon the lead regions. That year, Jesse W. Shull, the founder of Shullsburg, Wisconsin, was trading at the Dubuque mines for a Prairie du Chien firm. He was ordered to the Fever River country, across the Mississippi, but at first refused to go, from fear of the hostile Indians, who had lately murdered several American traders sent among them. Accordingly Col. James Johnson, U. S. A., summoned a Sac and Fox council at Prairie du Chien and, by promises and threats adroitly combined, induced them to promise not to molest Shull.<sup>1</sup> The latter thereupon went over, late in the summer, to the neighborhood of Galena, and erected a trading post there.<sup>2</sup> The same year, François Bouthillier, a French trader who had been at Prairie du Chien as early as 1812,<sup>3</sup> had a hut on the east side of Fever river. Dr. Samuel C. Muir was also trading in the district in 1819. A. P. Van Metre was at the time on the east side of the Fever, with a small smelting furnace. When Capt. D. G. Bates went, in the fall of that year, with a French boat crew, up to the site of Galena—which he reached November 13,—he found there Shull, Van Metre,

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*Edwards Papers*, pp. 304-306), and addressed to President Adams, it is pointed out that the Sacs and Foxes relinquished, by the treaty of 1804, all the lands between the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers; and that by the treaty of 1816 the United States gave the greater part of this tract, with the lead mine reservation, to the three tribes named. Thus the Sacs had no share in this gift to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomes; neither did the Winnebagoes have any claim in it, "unless some right has been recognized to them inadvertently by the U. S. since 1816, of which I know nothing, but which if it exists, was a clear and palpable violation of the treaty with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomes aforesaid, unless their consent was previously obtained, which I do [not] suppose was the case."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, pp. 53, 54.

and Muir, all of whom had taken Fox women for consorts.<sup>1</sup> The statement has also been made, but I can find no acceptable authority for it, that there was a trading-house, either French or American, near the mouth of the river,—at the portage to the Mississippi,—before any of these men were in the country.

Col. James Johnson of Kentucky<sup>2</sup> came to the lead mines of Fever River as early as 1819–20, and did some mining or smelting, and trading. A traveler on the Mississippi in 1821, speaks of meeting Johnson's flat-boats, loaded with lead.<sup>3</sup>

The largest discovery of lead ore up to Johnson's time was made in 1819 by the Sacs and Foxes operating a mine one mile above the site of Galena. Those Indians were members of a band led by "The Buck," who had long been encamped in the vicinity.<sup>4</sup> It is thought that the lead had been originally worked by Dubuque's men, but that after Dubuque's death (1810) the natives had taken possession, and continued operations with the crude furnace plant erected by the whites. It took the entire force of the band to raise the enormous nugget which they had discovered, and they were very proud of it. The Indians expressed a strong desire that the find should be forwarded as a present to their Big Father at Washington; but as it was never so forwarded, it is presumable that the traders secured it in piece-meal, in the course of traffic, the rate of exchange still being a peck of corn for a peck of ore. The whites afterwards called this mine "Buck's lead," in honor of the chief who operated it; and a neighboring lead was styled "Doe's," in remembrance of the Buck's favorite squaw. The estimate was made, about 1820, that up to that time several millions of pounds had been extracted from the Buck lead, by the Indians and Dubuque's people—more

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> A brother of Col. Richard M. Johnson, who was said to have slain Tecumseh.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Soulard, in *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 281.

than afterwards taken by the American miners, despite the fact that it was one of the richest mines in the region, and came to be worked in a scientific manner.

In June and July, 1819, Major Thomas Forsyth, United States Indian agent for the Sacs and Foxes, made a voyage from St. Louis to the falls of St. Anthony, and in his journal gives us,<sup>1</sup> upon good authority, "the number, situation, and quality of all the lead mines between Apple Creek and Prairie du Chien." The first he places about fifteen miles up Apple Creek, "a short mile" from the right bank; the next at Red Head's village, "six miles above the Grand Macoutely," on the west side of the Mississippi,—but this had been abandoned; the next, four miles up Fever Creek, on both sides of that stream, flat boats being able to approach within a mile and a half of the mine; the fourth, six miles above the mouth of Fever River on the east side of the Mississippi; the fifth, Dubuque's mines,— "too well known to require any description;" the sixth, fifteen miles above the Dubuque mines on the west bank of the Mississippi, six miles up the "Little Macoutely Creek;" the seventh, six miles above the Little Macoutely, but on the east side of the Mississippi; he adds that "There are many other lead mines on the Ouisconsin River, but my informant says he never was at any of them." Contractors for army and Indian supplies were at this time frequently passing the mines, on their way between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien, and Green Bay and Mississippi river points, and both Indian and white miners found ready customers for their lead.

In 1807 Congress had reserved the mineral lands from sale, and ordered that leases should be granted to individuals for terms of three and five years. But owing to Indian opposition and the intrigues of Canadians, operations under government leases were confined chiefly to Missouri. Elsewhere, men operated on their own account, and without system. The first lease in the Fever River

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 194.

country was granted, January 4, 1822, to T. D. Carneil and Benjamin Johnson, and Messrs. Suggett & Payne, all of Kentucky; Lieut. C. Burdine, U. S. A., was ordered to aid them in selecting 160 acres each in the lead region, and to protect them with an armed force.<sup>1</sup> But no result of the expedition, if it was ever undertaken, appears to have been published.

As early as April 12, following, a lease was granted to Col. James Johnson, who had for three years operated in the country without license. His lease was to run three years. He immediately took to the mines a number of workmen, including some negro slaves, and a supply of good tools; his party and appliances proceeded up the Mississippi and Fever rivers in keel-boats. Encamping where Galena now stands, and under strong military protection,<sup>2</sup> Johnson commenced operations on the most extensive scale yet known in the lead country. At the time, there were several French and Indian settlements on the Fever, the former being engaged in trade and the latter in mining and smelting. Amos Farrar, an agent of the American Fur Company, also had a trading post on the river.<sup>3</sup>

At once there flocked thither a horde of squatters and prospectors from Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee; while many came from Southern Illinois via Fort Clarke (Peoria) and the old Indian trail which was afterwards developed into a wagon road and styled "Kellogg's trail." For the most part, the new-comers paid little attention to congressional enactments. The lessees not being supported in their rights, protracted disputes ensued, many of them disastrous to all concerned. In 1822 there were, as we have seen, but four other lessees besides Johnson; and in 1823 but nine were added to the list;—among them Dr. Moses Meeker, who established a considerable mining

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 402.

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 272; viii., p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. La Fayette Co.*, p. 402.



colony, which gave great impetus to the region.<sup>1</sup> The unlicensed plants could, however, be numbered by the score. The leasing system was so unsatisfactory to all concerned, and yielded the government such scanty revenue, that, under act of Congress approved July 11, 1846, the lands were brought into the market and sold in 1847.

It appears from the report of Lieut. M. Thomas, U. S. A., superintendent of lead mines, made to Congress in 1826,<sup>2</sup> that there were in the Fever river diggings, July 1, 1825, about 100 persons engaged in mining; December 31, 1825, about 151; March 31, 1826, about 194; but by June 30 the number had leaped to 406, which was increased to 453 by August 31. The agent estimates that in Missouri, at the period of his report, there were 2,000 men thus engaged — "miners, teamsters and laborers of every kind (including slaves);" but some of these were farmers who, with their slaves, spent only their spare time in the mines.

In 1827 the name Galena was applied to the largest settlement on Fever River, six miles from its junction with the Mississippi.<sup>3</sup> The heaviest immigration set in in 1829, and from that time the history of the lead country is familiar.

What had particularly helped the later development of the Fever river region, after the Indians had been quieted, was the fact that on the west side of the Mississippi the mines were held to be private property, and prospectors were warned off. In 1832 the United States war department asserted the right of the general government to the tract granted by Spain to Dubuque, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis was sent from Fort Crawford with a detail of infantry to eject all settlers in "the Spanish mines" claiming title from Spain. There was much dispute as to the

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<sup>1</sup> In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 271, Dr. Meeker gives an interesting statement of early affairs in the mines, after his first visit, in 1822. Another valuable account is in *Hist. Jo Daviess Co., Ill.*, pp. 448 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *House Ex. Docs.*, 19th Cong., 2d sess., ii., No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The river is not now navigable, owing to heavy deposits of soil worked down from the limestone bluffs.

right of the government to so act, but Congress never passed on the claims of the settlers, and the lands being placed on the market were regularly sold. Many years after, the case came up in the United States supreme court, and the appellants—the heirs of Auguste Chouteau and John Mullamphy of St. Louis, who claimed to have bought a certain part of the tract, in 1804, of Dubuque—were defeated. In 1833 mining commenced upon an extended scale west of the river, the Spanish and the Indian titles now having been cleared.

In 1829, R. W. Chandler, of Galena, published in Cincinnati a map of the lead region on the east side of the Mississippi River, with the location of all the diggings, trails, and Indian villages of that time.<sup>1</sup> It is now exceedingly rare, and of great value to historians treating of Southern and Southwestern Wisconsin. A fac-simile of this interesting chart is given in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xi., p. 400.

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 250, note.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEAD AND SHOT TRADE IN  
EARLY WISCONSIN HISTORY.

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BY ORIN GRANT LIBBY, PH. D.

"Wisconsin is a young buffalo; and though in a minority, he roams over his beautiful prairies and reclines in his pleasant groves, with all the buoyant feelings of an American freeman. He slakes his thirst at the purest fountains that gush from the adamantine base of his lovely soil, and bathes at pleasure in his limpid lakes, paved with agates and sapphires. He paws up lead with his hoofs; he plows up iron and zinc with his horns; and cultivates the richest soil the green earth affords. When John Bull talks of war, he stretches his muscular form on his elevated plains, and shaking his head, looks at the North East Boundary; then casting his eye at the Oregon, he bellows in thunder, his eyes flash in lightning; he whisks his tail in the whirlwind, shakes his mane in the tornado, and like the war-horse, snorts vengeance at the minions who would dare to desecrate the soil of freemen."<sup>1</sup>

The earliest routes of the lead trade of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri were fixed, naturally enough, by the obvious facts of physical geography. Of these routes the Mississippi is the most important; moreover, it offers a most striking example of that transference of routes from South to North, which it is the purpose of the present paper to discuss in some detail.

In 1836, Lieutenant Albert M. Lea of the United States dragoons, whose duties took him through the West and Northwest, expressed it as his opinion that "the Mississippi is and must continue to be the main avenue of trade for this country."<sup>2</sup> The *New York Annual Register* for the

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<sup>1</sup>This remarkable specimen of rhetoric is quoted in *Life in the West: Backwoods Leaves and Prairie Flowers* (London, 1842), p. 233, as from *Milwaukee Journal*.

<sup>2</sup>Lea, *Notes on Wisconsin Territory* (Phila., 1836), p. 16.

same year also admits the commercial supremacy of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup>

For ten years this condition remained unchanged. Commerce increased steadily. The receipts of lead at New Orleans rose from 295,000 pigs in 1836 to 785,000 in 1846.<sup>2</sup> At St. Louis they were at about the same maximum in 1847.<sup>3</sup> But from this time forward there was a steady decline. At New Orleans the receipts of lead sank to 256,000 pigs in 1852,<sup>4</sup> in 1854 to 74,000,<sup>5</sup> and in 1857 to 18,000<sup>6</sup> (round numbers), and thereafter they were never more than a tenth of the receipts of 1847; so that by 1857, in ten years, the lead trade was practically extinct in that city. For St. Louis the loss was not proportionately so large, but it was none the less decided; in 1855 the shipments were less than a half of those in 1847.<sup>7</sup>

The explanations offered for this great falling off in trade were many and diverse. The discovery of gold in California, which attracted the miners from the lead region; the working out of the surface or shallow diggings, necessitating a considerable outlay of capital to make the mines again profitable; and the lack of scientific knowledge of the geology of the mining regions, these were all urged as the chief causes of the phenomenon.<sup>8</sup> Without doubt these, especially the two last, were factors of considerable importance. Lead mining had at this time progressed beyond the experimental stage, and scientific knowledge and large expenditures of capital were necessary in order to overcome the increased difficulties in getting at and raising the mineral. The tariff of 1846 also played a part in reducing its value and thus lessening its production. The new act served to depress the Eastern

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, *New York Annual Register* (N. Y., 1836), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, xvi., pp. 96, 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, xxvi., p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, xxix., p. 572.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xxxi., p. 476.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, xxxvii., p. 604.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, xxxiv., p. 361.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, xxvii., pp. 431-432; xxviii., p. 426.

market by causing British manufactures of lead to enter into competition with the American.<sup>1</sup>

But these causes for lessened trade are inadequate to explain what had taken place in the shipment of lead on the Mississippi, because they proceed upon the supposition of a greatly lessened production. An examination of the tables of yearly production of lead in the Upper Mississippi mines reveals the fact that, while the product had fallen off from 1847 to 1857, its rate of decrease was much less than the per cent of loss to St. Louis and New Orleans in their lead shipments. The amount of lead received by these cities in 1854 was 306,000 pigs,<sup>2</sup> while the actual production for that year was 423,000.<sup>3</sup> In 1856 the shipments of lead were 219,000,<sup>4</sup> while the lead produced was 435,000,<sup>5</sup> and in 1857 the shipments had fallen to 200,000,<sup>6</sup> though the production was 485,000.<sup>7</sup> These figures for the lead production are all the more decisive from the fact that they include the product of the Upper Mississippi mines alone. It was, after all, not a question of

<sup>1</sup> *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* (Galena, Ill.), Aug. 14, 1846: "*The Lead Trade and the Tariff*.—While Pennsylvania deplores the ruin of her Coal and Iron Trade, Massachusetts her Manufactures, \* \* \* our locality has been severely taxed as a first offering for the 'incidental protection' of the McKay bill. But thirty days ago, Lead was worth, in the City of New York, \$4.25 per 100 lbs. It is now neglected at \$3.50. Here it was worth \$3.05 to \$3.10; now it is worth \$2.50. Mineral was worth \$18, yes \$20 — now it is worth \$14 to \$15 per 100 lbs."

Also, from the same, Aug. 21, 1846: "*The Lead Trade and the Tariff*.—Within the last thirty days no fewer than sixteen furnaces on this side of the Mississippi and two on the other, in all eighteen furnaces, running twenty hearths, have ceased operations; and this is not all, several of the smelters speak of stopping. To all appearances, there will be a greatly diminished product of Lead this fall in comparison with that of last fall."

<sup>2</sup> *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, xli., p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, xl., p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, xli., p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xl., p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, xli., p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, xl., p. 244.

production but of transportation, and the real cause lay in the lack of sufficient facilities for shipment afforded by the Mississippi River, and the opening of other routes to the New York markets.

As early as 1842 the New Orleans *Picayune*, in characteristic fashion, had called the attention of its readers to the fact that the transportation facilities of the Mississippi were extremely unsatisfactory: "Our conceptions are every day awakening more fully to the important and intimate connection of trading interests between New Orleans and the towering city of St. Louis, a bond of union already vibrating with loud pulsations from one place to another. \* \* \* The Upper Mississippi, in its present condition, is the greatest wet blanket upon the spirit and enterprise of the West that may be conceived, or could possibly exist. The cry for relief is already swelling in the West, and shall we not lend our echoes to promulgate the sound? Yes, and let our united voices commingle in a roar, loud as the surge of the broad-spread Mexico, that shall, even like the singing sea-shell, buzz in the ears of Congress until proper action is taken upon a subject of such magnitude. \* \* \* Illinois, alone, can victual the whole United States! Beef, bread, beans, potatoes, and a vast amount of the surplus produce of this prolific and fertile state is driven to Chicago and so across the lakes. The trade from Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa flies our market by the same route."<sup>1</sup>

To the same effect was a memorial to Congress from the Galena chamber of commerce, February 6, 1840.<sup>2</sup> At the Memphis convention of 1845,<sup>3</sup> the question of improvement of the Western rivers was discussed, and a report was read

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *N. W. Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, Jan. 29, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> *Exec. Docs.*, No. 68, 26th Cong., 1st sess., vol. iii.

<sup>3</sup> This was a convention of delegates from Tennessee, Missouri, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Iowa Territory, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Ohio, met to consider internal improvements and the general industrial condition of the West, South and Southwest. See *De Bow's Review*, i., p. 7 (Jan. and June, 1846).

by the committee appointed to investigate the subject. In this report the need of improving the Mississippi is considered in detail and the importance of immediate action emphasized.<sup>1</sup>

The burden of the complaint from the Southern organs of popular opinion during this period was, that the Mississippi must be improved or the importance of New Orleans and St. Louis as shipping ports for the raw produce of the West would suffer severely in the near future; and

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<sup>1</sup> *Jour. of Proc. Southwestern Conv., begun at Memphis, Nov. 12, 1845* (Memphis, 1845), p. 63:—"The rapids in the Mississippi at the mouth of the Des Moines, and again, at the head of Rock Island, about seventy miles from each other, urgently require the attention of the general government. At these rapids, the river spreads out to a greater breadth than at other points above or below, making the water shallow; and the descent being great, the channel crooked, and the current rapid, boats, drawing more than two feet water, are liable to strike on the rocks, by which they are either totally wrecked or greatly injured. The Rapids are formed by chains of rocks running from shore to shore. Between these chains and above and below the Rapids the water is sufficiently deep. \* \* \* The imports and exports to and from Iowa, and the Northern part of Illinois; the lead and other articles from Galena and Wisconsin; lumber from St. Croix and the head waters of the Mississippi; the supplies for the Indians and United States forts on the Mississippi, have to cross these rapids—are subject to the dangers they create, and the increased charges and freights imposed by them. Steamboats, when ascending or descending with freights, are compelled to discharge their cargoes into flat-boats, of light draught, in which they are conveyed over the rapids. In ascending, the flat-boat is towed up by horses or oxen, a distance of about twelve miles, at each rapid. In descending they are floated down by the current. \* \* \* By a comparison of tables of freight and charges made when the water was too low, it has been ascertained that the increased charges are about one hundred and fifty per cent. When the extent of the lead trade of Galena, Wisconsin, and Iowa is considered (about seven hundred thousand pigs in 1845), the largest portion of which has to be exported when the waters are low, the amount of agricultural and other products, and the imports of necessary articles from other parts of the Union, and from foreign countries, amounting to several millions of dollars annually, all of which is subjected to this increase of freight and charges, \* \* \* some idea may be formed of the amount of injury which the community sustains, over and above the loss from the detention and injury to boats and cargoes."

the lake route through Chicago was pointed out as the probable rival of the Southern route.

We have already seen, from statistics given, that the predictions regarding loss of trade for the Southern ports were after 1846 literally fulfilled. The thriving cities on Lake Michigan were the chief gainers by this change in trade routes. And it is sufficient in this connection to indicate very briefly when and how Chicago appropriated its share of the commerce of the West and of the lead trade of the Mississippi. In 1836 there was formed in Chicago a transportation company whose purpose was to carry goods between Chicago and St. Louis, and other Mississippi cities. A line of wagons was to connect Chicago with a tributary of the Illinois River near Kankakee, flat-boats were to run thence to the head of steamboat navigation, with a line of steamers to complete the trip. One hundred and twenty merchants in St. Louis and Alton entered into the contract to be supplied from the East by this route.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following, from the *Chicago American*, is quoted in the *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1836: "*Transportation Company*.—The public will be gratified to learn that a company is now formed for the transportation of goods from Chicago to the Mississippi. A line of wagons is to be established from Chicago to the Illinois river, terminating, as we understand, at or near Kankakee, from which place flat-boats are to run to the head of steamboat navigation on the Illinois river, and steamboats will complete the line to St. Louis. The stock of the company is taken chiefly in Ottawa and Chicago. It is connected with one of the largest lines upon the Lakes and the Erie Canal. *One Hundred and Twenty* merchants in St. Louis and Alton alone have entered into contract to bring their goods this way. The company was formed for the accommodation of that portion of the country, the wants and business of which are so great as to make the undertaking profitable also to the stockholders. The immense advantage of Lake transportation over any other, in connection with this new arrangement, will enable merchants in the southwest to get their goods from New York at less expense through this channel than through the southern route. It should be understood that this important arrangement did not originate here, but with those merchants referred to who are directly interested, and who have calculated the advantage to be gained to themselves. If under the present circumstances this route is preferable,



In a report from the secretary of war, concerning the work of the topographical bureau in relation to internal improvements in the Territory of Wisconsin, January 31, 1840, occurs the following prediction regarding the future of Chicago: "The commercial interests of all the states that border upon the lakes is intimately connected with Chicago as a place of transshipment and deposite; and the agricultural prospects of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri, are to become greatly dependant upon facilities for business upon a large scale at some point on the southwest part of the shore of Lake Michigan, which lake is a part of the great channel by which the surplus of the staples of these states will best reach the Eastern markets."<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the Southern demand for the improvement of the Mississippi navigation, the following from a Wisconsin journal of 1846 is very significant: "Two great works are essential to complete the prosperity of Chicago, and make it the great emporium of Western trade, i. e., the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal—and what will be found equally conducive to her business and growth,

how much more will it be preferred when the Canal is built. When that is accomplished, it will always be the channel for the commerce of Illinois and Missouri. The great bulk of the western trade will ever be carried on upon the Lakes."

In curious contrast to the enterprise and aggressiveness of Chicago is the calm self-confidence of her Mississippi rival, St. Louis. The following well illustrates this, from Whittlesey's *Missouri and Its Resources*, quoted in *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, viii., p. 543: "It is to be hoped that in the course of a few years [this was written in 1846] a canal will unite this river [Mississippi] with the waters of Lake Michigan; which will open the trade of the eastern part of Wisconsin and western part of Michigan to the markets of St. Louis. The trade of the whole of this part of country passes by St. Louis, and it is constantly increasing. Groceries of all kinds will seek this market to be reshipped to the north, east and west. Instances have been known of persons purchasing cigars and coffee in St. Louis, shipping them to Peru on the Illinois by steamboats, and waggoning thence to Chicago, and selling them at lower prices than those brought from New York by a continuous water navigation."

<sup>1</sup> *Senate Docs.*, No. 140, 26th Cong., 1st sess., vol. iv., p. 19.

the construction of a substantial Railroad, fit for the conveyance of freight as well as passengers from thence to the Mississippi river. Shut out from our Southern market by the rapids of the Mississippi river for three months in the year, the trade of the Upper Mississippi will soon be forced into the basin of the Lakes. Is it not already time for Galena, Potosi, and Dubuque to shake hands with their sister cities on the western shore of lake Michigan?"<sup>1</sup> In this paper, a few months later, there is much more to the same effect, accompanied by a strong plea for the immediate improvement of the Mississippi, for "Our trade is draining into the lakes, even from the shores of the Mississippi and beyond."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Wisconsin Herald* (Lancaster), Sept. 26, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Dec. 31, 1846: "*The Trade of the Northwest.*—What was the Mississippi river made for with its great trunk and branches, embracing half a continent? To be navigated. \* \* \* There are the rapids of the Mississippi, still damming that noble stream. \* \* \* The products of Agriculture and the mines are multiplying while the perils and prices of transportation over the rapids yearly increase. \* \* \* St. Louis and New Orleans are robbed of a large share of their legitimate trade. Our river towns are languishing. \* \* \* *Our trade is about to be forced into another channel.* The river states south of us may as well awake to a knowledge of this fact, first as last. Instead of commanding and concentrating the trade at our river towns, half way to the lakes, *our trade is draining into the lakes*, even from the shores of the Mississippi and beyond. The river is becoming a mere tributary to the lakes. Our large river towns are threatened with a ruinous diversion of their business and capital — with being a part of the circumference, instead of the centre of trade. Goods brought by the way of the lakes can be sold quite as cheap at Madison or Mineral Point as goods brought by the river can be sold at Galena or Potosi. Boston is wide awake. Taking advantage of the stupid inertia of government, in opening for us our natural channel of trade, she is extending a line of railroad by the way of Ogdensburgh, Canada, Detroit and Chicago into our very midst. When this road is done, none of our towns east of the Mississippi will have any radius of trade worth mentioning. Everything will become tributary to the East. Lancaster, Platteville, Mineral Point, will undersell Potosi and Galena. The population, wealth, and political influence of the western half of Wisconsin, relative to the Eastern half, will be diminished. The influences now operating with us,—the political strength in Congress to get appropriations made will yearly diminish — and the

These admissions by an avowed advocate of the southern route are significant enough of the relative commercial standing of St. Louis and Chicago. In the following year the same subject is repeatedly mentioned: "The difficulty in navigating the Upper Mississippi seems bound to drive our trade out of its natural channel into the basin of the lakes. The veto<sup>1</sup> is the pivot on which that trade is turning. So nearly balanced is the cost of transportation now, by the lake and by the river route, that if the lake route had the advantage of even 50 miles of railroad, which a comparatively small expenditure of money will give it, we should see all the lead, even from the wharves of Galena and Dubuque, moving off upon wheels to New York and Boston."<sup>2</sup>

Among the many elements which contributed to Chicago's success and brought her to the front as the leading city of the Northwest, none is more worthy of mention than the River and Harbor Convention held there July 5-7, 1847. Over 2,300 delegates, principally from Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania, assembled at this meeting to discuss the great questions of transportation and internal improvement so urgently pressing for settlement in the West at this time. The keynote of the convention was struck by a resolution previously adopted at a Chicago mass meeting: "*Resolved*, That we sincerely regret the action of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce in reference to the subject of the proposed convention, believing that the almost unanimous expression of the press in favor of Chicago, and the action of the meeting in New York, should determine the question in favor of this city, especially as the South-West have already held a convention [at Memphis] to advance river and peculiarly *South-Western interests*, and we deem it

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rocks in the Rapids of the Mississippi will lie there forever, to testify to the tameness of the northwest in submitting quietly to be robbed by a veto."

<sup>1</sup> By President Polk, of the river and harbor improvement bill.

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Herald*, May 7, 1847.

but just that the *North-West* should assert its claim, free from all prejudice, to have this convention held within Northwestern borders."<sup>1</sup>

This period, then, 1846-47, marks the division between the early predominance of the Mississippi route and the later importance of that through the lakes, or overland by rail. It is full of indications of the economic revolution which culminated a few years later with the beginnings of Chicago's railroad system. We have noted the great loss of trade to the cities of St. Louis and New Orleans, the continued demand for the improvement of the river navigation and the serious interruption of traffic on account of natural obstructions in the Mississippi; and lastly, we have seen the gradual appearance of a conviction among shippers that some other route must be secured,—a conviction that worked itself out concretely in the form of a complete change of trade routes for the raw produce of the West.

In 1851 the Illinois and Michigan canal was completed, thus connecting Illinois River with Lake Michigan. The importance of this canal will be dwelt upon later. During the decade 1830-40, no railroads were built in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Minnesota, or Wisconsin. During the following decade, 97 miles of railroad were completed; and between 1850 and 1860, over 4,606 miles, of which more than 2,700 miles were built by the close of 1855.<sup>2</sup> Such a showing, taken in connection with the problem we have

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<sup>1</sup> *Fergus Historical Series* (Chicago, 1882), No. 18, p. 23. The *Chicago Daily Journal* of August 19, 1846, is also quoted on p. 15 as follows, concerning the president's veto of the River and Harbor Bill: "All other pretenses of objections to the Harbor Bill are idle and vain. The North can and will be no longer hoodwinked. If no measures for protection and improvement of anything North or West are to be suffered by our Southern masters, if we are to be down-trodden and all our cherished interests crushed by them, a signal revolution will inevitably ensue. The same spirit and energy that forced emancipation for the whole country from Great Britain, will throw off the Southern yoke. The North and West will look to and take care of their own interests henceforth."

<sup>2</sup> *U. S. Census*, 1880, vol. iv., pp. 354-364.

been discussing, needs no comment. The promptness and vigor with which Eastern capital and Western enterprise united in occupying the field to the exclusion of all rivals, is to be seen in such facts as the above.

The South was slow to take the alarm, and loth to acknowledge the great changes inevitably coming to pass in the commercial life of the Mississippi valley. The remedy offered shows how little they realized the true situation. The following from a Southern journal is a fair sample of their attitude: "It is ascertained beyond a doubt that the Legislature of Illinois, now in session, will now adjourn without passing a bill granting the right of way to the Cincinnati and Mississippi Railroad Company through that State, unless they are permitted to fix its termination at a point to which the stockholders and the people of St. Louis will never consent. Knowing that there is so strong a prejudice among the people of a large portion of Illinois against the growth and prosperity of St. Louis, the citizens of that city should endeavor to become entirely independent of a State that persists in a policy so puerile and foolish. As we said last week, let them seek out a new channel—a new outlet for their immense trade. A railroad will be completed, not very long hence, from Charleston, in South Carolina, to some point on the Mississippi river, not far from the mouth of the Ohio, which in time will afford very great facilities to the transportation of the vast products of the West, to market, not only to points on the Gulf and on the Atlantic coast and the interior of the Southern States, but to Europe. It does not deprive the shipper of the privilege of the great outlet, New Orleans, and the trade with the West Indies, Central and South America, but it affords a new channel—it opens a new market to the surplus products of the West, and affords those who trade in Europe a means of conveyance across the country direct to Charleston, thereby avoiding the Florida Reefs and other dangers incident to the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico. \* \* \* Unlike the Illinois river, Michigan canal, the Lakes, the canals in New

York, which are closed by ice several months in the year, the transportation on the Southern railroad would be unobstructed the year round. Why should the trade of the western part of Missouri be made to form an acute angle in finding its way to market? A portion of it is now brought down the Miss. to St. Louis, and then sent back up the Ill. river through the Michigan canal, the Lakes, and then by canal or railroad to Boston or New York, and from there to Europe. This route is an unnatural diversion, and is caused by the check which the current of trade receives at St. Louis. It is to be hoped that the citizens of that city will cease to be suppliants at the feet of *Suckerdom*, beseeching that state to condescend to permit them to have a road through its territory. Shall St. Louis, and the vast extent of country whose trade centers at that point, become beggars at the door of the North, when the South has stretched out her iron arms to receive it in her wide bosom? Shall Missouri beg the North to partake of her mineral and agricultural wealth, when the South, at her own expense, has constructed a means of transportation which will soon extend to the borders of the State, requesting you to give her your trade? We ask the citizens of St. Louis again, if they are disposed to wait the time with patience until Illinois gets into a good humor? Our opinion is you will wait some time. The Mississippi River and the Michigan canal are even now inadequate to convey away the exports of the vast region above. If no other avenues of trade are opened, no other means of transportation are constructed, what will be done with the vast wealth of Asia, the islands of the Ocean, and our own Pacific coast, a great part of which will be poured into the lap of St. Louis, when the Pacific railroad is completed."<sup>1</sup>

It seems never to have occurred to this would-be prophet of the commercial future of the South that Northern railroads were not open to the same objection as their canals, and that for every railroad the South built, the North

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<sup>1</sup> *Western Eagle* (Cape Girardeau, Mo.), Nov. 9, 1849.

would build ten. Yet such proved to be the case, and its great system of railroads, converging upon Chicago, radiated to every part of the West and Northwest and fixed forever the course of trade and the commercial centers about which it circulated. The result of this achievement may best be told in the words of their dispossessed rivals of the South. "All the lead from the upper Mississippi now goes east by the way of Milwaukee. But the most recent and astonishing change in the course of the northwestern trade is to behold, as a friend tells us, the number of steamers that now descend the upper Mississippi, loaded to the guards with produce, as far as the mouth of the Illinois river, and then turn up that stream with their cargoes, to be shipped to New York via Chicago. The Illinois canal has not only swept the whole produce along the line of the Illinois river to the East, but it is drawing the products from the upper Mississippi through the same channel, thus depriving not only New Orleans, but St. Louis, of a rich portion of their former trade."<sup>1</sup>

Again: "New Orleans has suffered herself to sleep soundly in the arms of all the prosperity which the God of nature seemed to have showered upon her. Like Achilles of old, she conceived that a Deity had lent her armor, and, as the pet child of destiny, she must be forever invulnerable. Bewildered in her dreams of eastern magnificence and rank, as she contemplated herself at the very foot and receptacle of all the greatest and most magnificent rivers upon earth,  
 \* \* \* with fifteen great states of the confederacy claimed to be inalienably tributary to her, \* \* \* the connecting link between the two great continents. \* \* \* This was New Orleans; but what is New Orleans now? Where are her dreams of greatness and glory? \* \* \* Whilst she slept, an enemy has sowed tares in her most prolific fields. Armed with energy, enterprise, and an indomitable spirit, that enemy, by a system of bold, vigorous and sustained efforts, has succeeded in reversing the very

<sup>1</sup> *De Bow's Review*, xii., p. 38, article on "Virginia Commercial Convention," 1852.

laws of nature and of nature's God—rolled back the mighty tide of the Mississippi and its thousand tributary streams, until their mouth, practically and commercially, is more at New York or Boston than at New Orleans." <sup>1</sup>

But the events just described have a wider significance than the decline of the relative importance of certain cities along the Mississippi river and the rapid development of the ports of Lake Michigan. Along with these occurrences went a whole train of consequences fraught with deepest significance to the as yet undeveloped West. Previous to 1846-47, the prime factors affecting commerce, and industrial and social life, were necessarily Southern, or at least had a Southern tinge. The newspapers and the travelers came from the South. Along the great river route pulsed the life and spirit of the older and richer communities of the Gulf region. Unquestionably the influence thus exerted was a profound one. Much of the political history of the region is knit in with the effect of this vital connection between South and West, before 1846-47. But with the break-up of the old trading routes, there came into the life of this Western people a totally different set of influences. The change meant not only readily accessible markets and flow of capital to flagging industries, an intensifying of the commercial life and a quickening of the spirit of enterprise, but still more it meant an influx of New England and Middle State population, men of ability and determination, who were in sympathy with the changed industrial and social conditions, or who themselves helped to bring about these changes.

The special significance of this to the problem of Wisconsin trade and settlement may now be considered. The Fox-Wisconsin route is one too well known to need description, and its connection with early trade and settlement has often been pointed out. We should expect, therefore, that it would be used in the lead trade, as was actually the case. The following, from a newspaper of 1822, indicates how early lead was shipped by this route:

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<sup>1</sup> *De Bow's Rev.*, xii, p. 502.



"On the 12th ult. 12,000 lbs. of Mississippi Lead arrived at Detroit from Green Bay. It was transported by water the whole distance, with the exception of the short portage between the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers."<sup>1</sup>

The earliest shipments of shot made at Helena were to Galena and to Fort Winnebago, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin.<sup>2</sup> There was, of course, good reason for the early shipments by the Green Bay route, for the shot tower, during 1831-36, was owned and operated by Daniel Whitney, a Green Bay merchant, and consequently interested in turning trade in that direction. Still, as the Missouri shot probably controlled the markets of the Mississippi valley, the Wisconsin product could not be sent elsewhere.

In 1834 the Portage Canal Company was incorporated by the Michigan Legislature (March 10).<sup>3</sup> Its operations at the portage<sup>4</sup> under the superintendence of John Wilson will later be referred to in another connection.<sup>5</sup>

In 1839 the Green Bay *Democrat* contained the following article on steamboats on the Fox river: "There is now a strong probability—nay a certainty—that this long talked of enterprise is about being effected. The necessary amount of stock for two steamboats has been taken and the building of them, we are informed, will be immediately commenced. When completed, one is to be placed on the lower end of the Fox, and will be engaged in the towing of Durham boats from Green Bay to Grand Kakalin<sup>6</sup>—the other is to be placed on the upper Fox, and will be similarly engaged from the head of the rapids to Lake Apuck-away, a distance of but sixteen miles from the Portage.

<sup>1</sup> *National Gazette* (Phila.), Oct. 19, 1822.

<sup>2</sup> I am so informed by Milton D. Persons, of Dodgeville.

<sup>3</sup> The original stockholders were Daniel Whitney, Charles R. Brush, Daniel Jackson, John P. Arndt, H. G. Soulard, N. Goodsell, and John Lawe.

<sup>4</sup> The site of the present city of Portage.

<sup>5</sup> See *post*, "Chronicle of the Helena Shot-Tower;" also, Lapham's *Wisconsin* (Milw., 1844), p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> The Kaukauna of our day.

From the foot to the head of the rapids, but a short distance (which rapids are the only barrier to the uninterrupted navigation of the Fox by Durham boats from here to Fort Winnebago), a good road will be made and teams provided for the speedy transportation by land of freight. From Lake Apuckaway, the highest to which the steamboats will ascend, to the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin, Durham boats can proceed without obstruction. \* \* \*

One of the most important results will be the diversion, to a great extent, of the lead trade in this direction to eastern markets. Indeed, during the course of the present season we anticipate that there will be extensive shipments of lead by the way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, Green Bay, the Lakes, the Erie Canal and Hudson river to the Emporium city. David Jones & Co., of this place, and the Fox River Hydraulic Company, are about investing largely in this trade, which sooner or later, must nearly all take this direction, for, while by the way of the Mississippi and Atlantic to New York, the cost of the transportation of lead is about thirty dollars per ton, by this route it can be transported for eighteen dollars — nine from the Wisconsin to Green Bay and nine from Green Bay by the Troy and Erie line (we speak 'by authority') to New York! Here is a saving of nearly one-half in the cost of transportation, to say nothing of the difference in the time of getting a return," etc.<sup>1</sup>

Again, quoting from the *Wisconsin Democrat*: "We have learned that Randall Wilcox, Esq., an agent for Fox River Hydraulic Company, purchased, on a late excursion to the mining country, one hundred thousand pounds of lead, to be transported by the way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers and the Lakes, to a market in some of the eastern cities. We believe it is the intention of this company, when it can be done advantageously, to trade further in this article, transporting it to market by the above route, which is no doubt the cheapest and most expeditious."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Wisconsin Enquirer*, May 18, 1839.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Id.*, June 22, 1839.

In the (Madison) *Wisconsin Enquirer* for April 17, 1841, are given the two stage routes by which travelers might cross the Territory from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. One of these passed through Green Bay, Fond du Lac, Fox Lake, Fort Winnebago, Mineral Point, and Galena.

February 17, 1841, the Fox and Wisconsin Steam Boat Company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$10,000.<sup>1</sup> The members of the company were John P. Arndt, William Mitchell, Alexander I. Irwin, David Jones, Daniel Whitney, William H. Bruce, Charles A. Grignon, William Dickinson, Randall Wilcox, David Ward, and Hoel S. Wright. Nothing seems to have come from this enterprise, unless the following quotation may describe one of their schemes: "There is now lying at the wharf of Messrs. Lawson, Howard & Co., the queerest-looking steam water-craft that ever condescended to pay us a visit. She came in from Buffalo on Wednesday evening at the rate of ten miles an hour. She is nothing more or less than an Erie canal boat, propelled by a small but powerful engine, with a paddle-wheel astern, and a smoke-pipe in the center. She is commanded by Capt. P. Hotaling, who proceeds with her to Green Bay and from thence up the Fox River, over the rapids, to Fort Winnebago. She is intended to ply regularly between the latter place and the rapids of the Fox River (twenty miles above Green Bay), and will be adapted to carrying passengers and towing the Durham boats laden with lead, which is transported up the Wisconsin river to within one mile of Fort Winnebago; and this one mile is all the portage required between Galena and New York, by way of the Lakes."<sup>2</sup>

The following interesting mention is found in a Madison paper of the time: "*Green Bay and the Lead Trade.*—A gentleman of our acquaintance, whose responsibility may safely be depended upon, lately passed through this town on his way to the west, to secure some portion of the lead

<sup>1</sup> *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1840-41, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Milwaukee Courier*, July 5, 1843.

trade for Green Bay. By him we learn that covered canal boats, capable of carrying from fifty to ninety tons, are nearly completed, and arrangements are made that one will leave each end of the route, Green Bay and Portage, every week, and be through in about ten days. It is said that the Merchants' Line have also undertaken to ship lead from Green Bay at so low a rate that it can be carried from the Portage of the Wisconsin to New York city for ninety cents a hundred." <sup>1</sup>

And the following, in a Buffalo paper: "The forwarders of Green Bay are resolved to be prepared for business next season, whether it is destined to seek that channel or not. There is already a small navy, a very small steam-boat in service there, and now we find preparations on foot to build another which shall be more deserving of the name of steamer." <sup>2</sup>

November 1, 1844, a circular was issued by Morgan L. Martin, Daniel Whitney and others asking the people of Brown county to urge their Congressmen to secure a grant of land from the government sufficient to pay for improvements on the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, with a view to opening them to steam navigation and forming an unbroken connection from Green Bay to the Mississippi. <sup>3</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Enquirer*, Apr. 25, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 11, 1845.

<sup>3</sup> Circular in library of Wisconsin Historical Society:

"To ——. The people of Brown County in Wisconsin Territory, feeling a deep interest in the contemplated improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, appointed the undersigned, a Committee to address a Circular to the several members of Congress, requesting of each their individual endeavors in favor of the grant of land to effect that object. \* \* \* The design of this work is to open a water communication from the Lakes to be navigated by Steam Vessels. \* \* \* An experiment has been made for the first time the past season, in the use of Steam Boats upon the upper Fox River and its tributaries, which has given a new impetus to the trade of that region, and no doubt can longer be entertained of the River being navigable at all ordinary stages of water except that portion of it between the Grand Chute and the foot of Kackalin Rapids. \* \* \*

"The Fox and Wisconsin rivers occupy a position upon the Map of

this connection, also, the following comment of Lapham indicates sufficiently the importance of the movement. He says: "Other portions of the Territory are endeavoring to secure this lead trade, and wherever it is brought to the shore of the lake, the magnitude of the trade will be such as to afford business for a great number of inhabitants, and thus be the means of building up a town. Besides the railroad, it is proposed to improve the navigation of the Wisconsin and Neenah rivers, so as to secure the trade to Green Bay, and efforts are now making to obtain an appropriation by Congress to accomplish this important work."<sup>1</sup>

From this we can see how early the Green Bay route was used, and how thoroughly the experiment of lead shipment was tried. But the logic of events was too strong to be overcome. It was too long, too roundabout, and there was too much handling of freight ever to make it more than a pioneer trade route. What was considered in early days a

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our Territory to command the trade of the greater portion of it. The entrance of the Wis. into the Miss. is less than fifty miles from our southwestern border and the outlet of Green Bay forms the boundary between the Territory and the State of Michigan on the North East. The valley of these two streams, which are proposed to be made a channel of trade, extends from the North East to the South West, and comprises of itself a large part of the Territory. \* \* \* The advantages to be derived from the proposed improvement would be almost incalculable, opening as it will an extent of country greater than that through which the Erie Canal passes, and making it contribute to the immense commercial operations already carried on upon the lakes and the Mississippi river.

"But a small part of this extensive region has yet been purchased by individuals from the United States. Of the estimated quantity of lands bordering upon the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and their tributaries, not more than one-twentieth have become private property. \* \* \*

Green Bay, Nov. 1, 1844.

M. L. MARTIN,	DANIEL WHITNEY,
JOHN S. HORNER,	NATHAN GOODSELL,
EPHRAIM SHALER,	SAMUEL RYAN,
HENRY S. BAIRD,	JOHN LAWE,
WM. DICKINSON,	PETER B. GRIGNON."

<sup>1</sup>Lapham's *Wisconsin* (Milw., 1844), p. 50.

prime fur-trade route was abandoned for the shorter, more direct, overland connection east to Milwaukee. The history of this change of commercial routes from the natural to the artificial, from water carriage and portage to prairie transportation and corduroy roads, is full of significance. With it is bound up the development of the railroad system of this State and the movement westward from Lake Michigan to Eastern and Central Wisconsin of the emigrant host of 1840-50. It is typical, also, of the process that went on elsewhere along the Mississippi, when the change was made from river transportation and Southern ports to lake transportation and Eastern ports.

It will be remembered that Lieutenant Albert M. Lea is quoted as saying that the Mississippi River ports in 1836 had control of the Western trade and were likely to keep it indefinitely.<sup>1</sup> He adds, however: "But there is a reasonable prospect of our soon having a more direct and speedy communication with our brethren of the east. New York is now pushing her railroad from the Hudson to Lake Erie, where it will be met by another from Pennsylvania; thence the united railroad will be continued around the southern shore of Lake Erie and cross the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to the Mississippi, near the mouth of Rock River, touching the southern end of Lake Michigan in its route and receiving the tribute of the various local works it will intersect."

In 1837 the Milwaukee *Advertiser*, in arguing for the Milwaukee and Rock River canal, divided the lead region of Wisconsin into two sections, the one east and the other west of the meridian of Mineral Point (range 2 East), and it was conceived that the former of these sections would be tributary to Eastern markets provided that communication could be secured by a canal with Lake Michigan.<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered in this connection that Chicago had in 1836, by her transportation company, already begun to

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<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Lapham, *Documentary History of Milwaukee and Rock River Canal* (Milw., 1840), p. 19.

move toward the realization of the Illinois and Michigan canal; and now Milwaukee, only a year later, is projecting a canal that ultimately becomes a railroad, connecting it with the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien.

The following remark of Lapham in 1844 is fully applicable to the earlier period we are now considering: "The great object which it is most desirable to attain by works of internal improvement in Wisconsin is the transportation of the thirty million of pounds of lead, copper and shot produced in the western counties to the shore of Lake Michigan, and the supply of that 'Mineral District' with merchandise by way of the 'Great Lakes.' This, and the transportation of the surplus agricultural products of the intermediate country to market, and the supply of goods to the interior population, it is believed can be best accomplished by means of a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi river, a work entirely practicable. \* \* \* For the want of this improvement, the products of the mineral country have been transported to the Mississippi river, and from thence by way of New Orleans and New York back to Milwaukee, within one hundred and fifty miles from where it was originally produced. \* \* \* The cost of transportation of lead by waggons from Mineral Point to Milwaukee, in the summer, when the drivers can sleep in their waggons, and their cattle can find an abundance of feed on the open prairie, is about fifty cents per hundred pounds. \* \* \* To bring the lead, copper and shot by way of the lakes, is an object of importance not only to Wisconsin, but to all the States bordering on the lakes,—and even the New England States will derive a share of the benefits, in the diminished prices which they will have to pay for these necessary articles."<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the early shot trade of Wisconsin in developing lines of communication with the lake, overland across the State, deserves mention here. The Helena shot-tower passed from the ownership of Daniel Whitney in 1836, and was bought up by certain Buffalo capitalists,

<sup>1</sup> Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1844), pp. 48-51.

who held it, with but little interruption, till 1847. Now, when we remember that the Mississippi markets were monopolized by the shot-makers of Missouri, the significance of this change of owners will be at once apparent. Cut off from Western markets by the competition of long-established rivals, the only course open was to develop Eastern markets, with which the Buffalo capitalists were already more or less familiar. As a consequence of this, the shipments of shot between 1841 and 1844 were made to Buffalo and by no other than the lake route. For at least ten years, then, interest and necessity combined to turn the shot trade through Milwaukee. The important results flowing from the establishment of such an overland route will be mentioned later; it is sufficient to note its early appearance in connection with the agitation for such communication in both Wisconsin and Illinois. Helena, as will be seen from the map, was situated in the easternmost of the two districts marked out by the writer in the *Milwaukee Advertiser*.

In the *Milwaukee Sentinel* for September 18, 1838, appears the following item: "The efforts to secure a railroad for Milwaukee were at that time pretty generally indorsed. \* \* \* But everything was, after all, talk and ended in talk, although the Village of Milwaukee had, by agitating the subject, succeeded in attracting Western shippers to this point, and it was a common thing to see oxen laden with lead from Grant and La Fayette counties appear at the wharves after a journey of eight or ten days." Nor was this confined to Milwaukee; as early as 1836 there was shipped from Racine lead hauled from the interior of the State.<sup>1</sup>

In 1840 there appeared in the *Southport (Kenosha) Telegraph* a comparison of the lake and Mississippi routes, in

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<sup>1</sup>From *Milw. Advertiser* of August 25, 1836: "*Arrival Extraordinary*.—From a friend at Racine we learn that two waggons, containing 4,200 lbs. of Pig Lead, arrived there last week from the rapids of Rock River. It was purchased by Messrs. J. C. Knapp & Co. of that place and will be shipped to Buffalo the first opportunity."



which the following occurs: "The route by way of the lakes to New York city has already become a matter of common occurrence for merchants and business men of the southern and southwestern states. Whenever a canal or railroad shall be completed from Chicago to the navigable waters leading to the Mississippi, the Lake route will no doubt entirely supersede the route by way of New Orleans and the Atlantic to New York city. The business of the southwestern states will at no distant day be altogether brought thro' the lake communication between Chicago and Buffalo to New York city. Cheapness, expedition and safety will be entirely in favor of this route."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, it was beginning to be recognized by the Mississippi ports that transportation on that river was very unsatisfactory, and that the Northwest had good reason to look elsewhere for markets. In the *St. Louis Republican* for October 7, 1839, appears the following: "The continued low stage of the river, especially the Upper Mississippi, adds not a little to the pressure of the times. The lead trade from the upper mines has been completely suspended for a time, as it is impossible to bring it over the rapids at a reasonable charge. A letter from Galena informs us that large quantities of lead have accumulated in the hands of dealers, upon which many have made heavy advances, and must lay unproductive until there is a rise in the river. To add to all this difficulty, the supplies of produce for the mining country, which are chiefly shipped from this port, have advanced very considerably because of the increased freights. Boats now charge from two to three dollars per barrel for flour from here to Galena, and in the same proportion per hundred for other freights. Even at these rates it is a difficult matter to forward any considerable quantity over the rapids. In the Rock river, and many other parts of the country above the rapids, the crops of wheat are very abundant, but unfortunately they have no facilities for manufacturing it, and such is the

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in *Milw. Sentinel*, September 29, 1840.

present condition of the river that they cannot be shipped to this or any other southern market. We were credibly informed last week that wheat was offering in the Rock river country at  $37\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hundred and flour was selling at from \$10 to \$12 per barrel. \* \* \* The failure to get the lead to market is also a serious inconvenience to the merchants of this place, as in turn they are compelled to wait for their debts until it can be forwarded, and in the meantime are unable to meet their eastern engagements in the manner they had expected. \* \* \* The continuous low stage of water in all the upper streams has also detained a large portion of the country dealers, and the resources from this direction have not been near realized. Freights from the south are abundant, and a large drain is constantly made to meet the bills from that quarter, while the goods, in many cases, have to be stored to await the rise."

Turning our attention more particularly to Wisconsin, we see by the census of 1840 that there were then 49 smelting houses employing a capital of \$664,600 and yielding annually 15,129,350 pounds of lead, worth about \$500,000. Most of this went to Galena.<sup>1</sup> One out of every 38 of the population of the state was engaged in mining, while the average proportion for the rest of the United States was 1 to 1,122. The extent of this industry, and the unsatisfactory conditions attending the shipment by the Mississippi route, combined with the desire of merchants for a more direct communication with Eastern markets, gradually turned a considerable portion of the lead trade into the lake route through Milwaukee. The process was much facilitated by the necessity which, as early as 1831, compelled the Helena shot-tower owners to ship their product to the East. Following their example, the lead-smelters began sending an increasing proportion of their product, year by year, to the lake ports. It has already been pointed out that this had begun as early as 1836 and 1838.

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<sup>1</sup> Josiah Bond, "Wisconsin and its Resources," in *Hunt's Merch. Mag.*, x., pp. 552, 553.

Lapham states it to have begun for the Mineral Point mining region in 1839.<sup>1</sup> In a Madison paper for 1841 we find the following: "*The Lead Trade*.—We are pleased to observe by notices in Milwaukee and Southport papers that this trade is beginning to find its way to our Lake ports on its way to Eastern markets. The *Courier* of the 4th inst. says: 'Our citizens on Saturday afternoon were not a little surprised by the appearance in our streets of four sucker teams loaded with lead from the furnace of Thomas Parish, Esq., near Muskoday, in Grant county. These teams brought over about ten tons of lead to be shipped to New York.' If, as the *Courier* adds, the lead can be sent from that place to New York for about 50 cents per hundred, and it costs but 93 cents to have it delivered there from the mining country, making the entire expense of transportation to New York less than \$30 per ton, while by the New Orleans route the average cost is \$40 per ton, we can see no reason why the entire lead trade of the Territory should not be diverted from the Mississippi to the Lake route, especially when is taken into consideration the additional fact, that there is a difference in favor of the latter route, in the time of getting returns, of at least *two-thirds*. The *Courier* says: 'The lead which arrived here on Saturday was shipped on the 'Madison' on Monday, and will be in New York within twenty days from the time it left the furnace near the Mississippi river; and the owner will get his returns in about four weeks from the time the lead was smelted. A gentleman from Galena recently informed us that he shipped over 90 days since about \$1,500 worth of lead to New York by the southern route and he had not then got his return from it.' Besides getting a better price for their

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<sup>1</sup> Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1844), pp. 139, 140: "The first exportation of flour was in 1839, and in this year commenced also the exportation of lead brought here [Milwaukee] by wagons overland from the mining district about Mineral Point. In 1841, copper was added to the list of exports; and the amount of lead, shot, and copper shipped here during that year was 1,768,175 pounds."

lead on the Lake shore than can be afforded on the Mississippi, our miners can procure their necessary supplies more cheaply, generally, at the lake cities than at Galena, or other points on the river where they have been in the habit of trading, and this including the cost of transportation. The teams of which the *Courier* speaks, returned loaded with salt, which was obtained at Milwaukee for about \$2.50 per barrel, and can be sold in the mines at about \$7 per barrel."<sup>1</sup> The same subject is again brought up a few months later, and more detailed statements given of the comparative cost of transportation by the two routes.<sup>2</sup>

On January 21, 1842, Governor Doty approved a resolution of the State legislature requesting New York to abolish the Erie canal tolls on pig and bar lead. In his letter of December 1, 1841, to Governor Seward, regarding the matter, he says: "Our miners have produced more than twenty millions of pounds of lead during this year, and the difficulties, delays and expense of transportation upon the Mississippi and the ocean, and the return freights of merchandize, are so great that if they can receive any encouragement to ship their lead and copper across the lakes they are ready to give their business this direction. If no toll is charged upon either article until the trade becomes established—say for two or three years—it would be an inducement for its commencement early in the spring."<sup>3</sup>

The result of this request was, that the tolls on the Erie canal were promptly reduced.<sup>4</sup> But the shipments of lead

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Enquirer*, Aug. 11, 1841.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Dec. 4, 1841.

<sup>3</sup> *Madison Express*, Feb. 5, 1842. See also, Williams, *N. Y. Annual Register*, 1836, p. 172: "It will be seen by the comparative statement of tolls that the rates are reduced generally to the constitutional minimum. The trade of the canals might be materially augmented by a reduction of the toll on some articles below the constitutional minimum. This is particularly applicable to lead, which, by a reduction of the toll, might be transported in great quantities from the Galena mines through our canals to New York."

<sup>4</sup> Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1846), p. 46.

to Buffalo had already begun. The *Commercial Advertiser* of that city gives lead and shot as among the imports from the West, in 1841.<sup>1</sup> The following, from a Milwaukee paper, gives a hint at the reason for the establishment of the lead trade: " *White Lead*.—The manufacture of this article has lately been commenced at Buffalo with the most flattering prospects of success. About ten tons, pronounced by good judges to be a first rate article, have been made this fall, from lead obtained from the newly opened mines west of the Sugar river in this Territory.<sup>2</sup> The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* remarks: 'Taking into consideration the superior facilities for procuring the raw material enjoyed here, the proprietors, we have no doubt, will be enabled successfully to compete with foreign establishments, and at the same time meet a fair reward for their enterprise.'"<sup>3</sup>

In connection with the increased lead production after 1842, the influence of the white-lead factories of New York is stated to be of considerable importance: "These factories are of recent origin. The Saugerties paint company, in Ulster county, New York, was one of the first established in this country. It was suggested by the extremely low price of lead in 1842. It then commanded but 3 cents per lb. in New York, and sometimes was as low as 2½ cents. When lead was such a drug, it was thought by some enterprising man in New York to be a most favorable time to try whether a fair profit could not be realized by making paint here, instead of shipping the lead to England to be

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in *Milw. Sentinel and Wis. Farmer*, Jan. 29, 1842; also, Gordon, *Gazetteer of New York* (Phila., 1836), pp. 89, 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Niles' Register*, vol. 60, p. 384, Aug. 14, 1841: "The lead trade of Milwaukee, says the *Cleveland Herald*, bids fair to be an important item of commerce. The 'diggings' are about eighty miles west of that place, and the mineral is already found to extend over about 25 miles of country, and large quantities are constantly being raised. The *Sentinel* says Mr. Corbin's furnace smelts 5000 lbs. per day, which is brought to Milwaukee and shipped to Buffalo and New York. From 20 to 30 teams now arrive weekly at Milwaukee loaded with lead and return with goods, etc."

<sup>3</sup> *Milw. Sentinel and Wis. Farmer*, Dec. 4, 1841.

manufactured. The capital stock was taken, and operations were commenced on a large scale. Enterprise has been well repaid by this manufacture, and white-lead factories are gradually going up in different parts of the country, which are largely consuming our lead, while they are furnishing our country paint."<sup>1</sup> In 1842, 1,888,700 lbs. of lead and 2,614 kegs of shot were shipped from Milwaukee to New York.<sup>2</sup> The newspapers of this season are full of accounts of the lead trade.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> McLeod, *History of Wisconsin* (Buffalo, 1846), p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Items in *Milw. Sentinel and Wis. Farmer*, June 18, 1842:

"*Exports from Milwaukee.*—On Sunday last the De Witt Clinton took 50 tons of freight from W. W. Brown & Co., consisting of Pork, Flour and Lead for Buffalo. On Wednesday the Madison took 1,550 pigs of Lead (about 60 tons) from the wharf of J. & L. Ward."

"*More Lead.*—On Thursday evening and Friday morning, about twelve teams, with 4 yoke of cattle each, arrived here with from 25 to 30 tons of lead, consigned to Messrs. J. & L. Ward."

Item in *Wis. Enquirer*, Oct. 6, 1842: "*Lead.*—The Madisonian and Missouri took from Milwaukee, on their last trips down, over 2,000 pigs of lead.—*Milwaukee Sentinel.*"

Item in *Milw. Courier*, Oct. 26, 1842: "*Mineral Point.*—From this point the Lead and Copper is sent to the East by the way of Milwaukee and the Lakes; this route is becoming a greater favorite than the one by way of Galena and the rivers."

Item in *Wis. Enquirer*, Dec. 24, 1842: "*To Smelters.*—Messrs. Hutchinson, Wheeler and Peters, and Messrs. Torrey and Russell, at Southport, we perceive by the *Southport American*, are prepared to make liberal advances on lead, shot and copper."

In addition to what has already been given, the following newspaper extracts represent what had taken place in that year:

*Milw. Courier*, Feb. 2, 1842: "Never since the settlement of our town has the prospects of Milwaukee been so flattering or so full of high hope and promise as they have been during the present winter. \* \* \* An indication of what may be the future prosperity of Milwaukee may be found in the fact that the Miners and Smelters of the west are turning their attention to this place as offering superior inducements for the shipment of their lead and copper to an eastern market. Much credit is due to those of our merchants who have opened the way for the rich harvest, which the mines of the west are destined to pour into Milwaukee. This trade has but just commenced, yet we are informed that up-

We have here depicted the decisive turning-point in the Wisconsin lead trade, and later evidence will make it clear that during the succeeding years the process was simply one of expansion and development of those lines of communication roughly sketched out in 1842. The state of affairs in 1839-40, which was the result of the low stage of water in the Mississippi and its chief tributaries, leading to almost complete stagnation of trade, had compelled merchants and smelters alike to seek new markets to the eastward until those at the South were again accessible. The fact that both lead and flour are first mentioned as being brought to Milwaukee in 1839, is significant in this connection. In later years, when low water again interfered with traffic, or the ordinary channels of trade were inadequate to carry off the ever-increasing surplus, the route to the East was again and again followed till it be-

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wards of 400 tons of bar lead and shot will be shipped to Buffalo from this place at the opening of navigation."

*Wis. Enquirer*, June 11, 1842: "Lindsay Ward, Esq. of the firm of J. & L. Ward, returned last week from a visit to the mineral region and from him we learn that for the balance of the season a very great portion of the lead trade will be turned, via Milwaukee, through the Lakes. In fact there has been received for shipping, since the return of Mr. Ward, about one hundred thousand pounds of lead and a considerable quantity of shot. \* \* \* The Messrs. Wards have shipped during the spring 600,000 pounds of lead, 150,000 pounds of shot, and 20,000 pounds of copper. As will be seen by the advertisement, a large number of teams are wanted to haul lead from the mineral region to this place.—*Milwaukee Courier*."

*Id.*, July 2, 1842: "The transportation of lead from the Mines to Lake Michigan, which has been extensively commenced this season, bids fair to become an important link in reuniting the interests of the two portions of the Territory. Heretofore the trade of the west and the east has sought different channels and no union of interest has been felt; but it will soon be otherwise. The products of our mines will seek an eastern market across the Territory and through the lakes, and the amount heretofore paid to Galena and St. Louis merchants will be kept within our own borders. Lead is now transported from the mines to the lake for \$10 per ton, and from thence to New York for \$9. The teams, which take it across the Territory, return laden with lumber, shingles,

came the chief commercial highway for most of the products of Wisconsin.<sup>1</sup>

Among the exports of Milwaukee for 1843 were 2,200,000 pounds of lead and 250,000 pounds of shot.<sup>2</sup> The Albany (N. Y.) *Argus* of March 30 makes an earnest plea for the return to the Erie canal tolls of 1840-41, urging that the increased rates would result in the loss of the newly-acquired trade of Wisconsin.<sup>3</sup> Among the evidences of a growing trade in lead and shot, are the newspaper advertisements of 1843, in which retail merchants offer to take them in exchange for goods;<sup>4</sup> and forwarding and commis-

salt and merchandize, which under these circumstances can be obtained from the east to better advantage than from any other quarter."

Buffalo *Patriot and Journal*, quoted in *Wis. Enquirer*, July 16, 1842: "The Lead Trade.—This is yet in its infancy, in fact it is only of two years growth, but it will soon become an important item in the business of our port. The great market of the lead of the Upper Mississippi country is to be found in the maritime cities of the northern and middle states, and thither nearly all that is sent down the river to New Orleans eventually finds its way. If there were any easy water communication between the ports on Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, by far the greater portion of the mineral products of that region would seek a market via Buffalo. The amount received here up to the 22nd inst. from ports on Lake Michigan, chiefly from Milwaukee, was 6,763 pigs, or 453,410 lbs.—the pigs averaging about 70 lbs.—and 402 kegs of shot. \* \* \* The lead is brought across the country to Lake Michigan in wagons drawn by oxen, at a cost of about \$10 per ton or half a cent a pound. The teamsters find it a profitable business, as they get loading both ways, carry their own provisions, and the prairies afford all they want for their oxen by day or night."

<sup>1</sup>The activity of private and public enterprise in attempting works of internal improvement may be seen from the list of such enterprises given in Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1846), pp. 42-47.

<sup>2</sup>Milw. *Courier*, Jan. 18, 1843.

<sup>3</sup>Cited in *Grant County Herald*, Apr. 29, 1843.

<sup>4</sup>Adv. in Milw. *Courier*, July 19, 1843: "Westward Ho.—New Store and New Goods. All kinds of produce, lead, shot, and also cash taken in payment. R. Jennings & Co."

Adv. in *Id.*, Apr. 5, 1843: "Weeks and Miller of Center Store, Milwaukee, offer their goods in exchange for most kinds of Country Produce, Lead, Shot, Furs, Peltries, &c."



sion merchants announce the rate of advances made on shipments of these products.<sup>1</sup>

In the latter part of May, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* has the following: "Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa will soon send to this mart an incalculable amount of lead and copper, in addition to the whole of their surplus agricultural products. We already export lead to England, from whence we have heretofore imported many millions of pounds. \* \* \* Lead and copper are to be transported this season by contracts recently entered into, from Wisconsin to Boston, through this city at 35 cents per hundred pounds or \$7 a ton. Capitalists interested in the lake and canal trade, and especially those holding real estate in New York and Boston should not delay in aiding the construction of a canal or railway from Milwaukee or some other point on Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river."<sup>2</sup>

And the *Rochester Democrat*, in an article upon the lead and copper trade of the West, says: "Within the last eighteen months, an excellent road has been opened from Milwaukee to the Mississippi,<sup>3</sup> passing through the mining district, which will be much used hereafter in sending lead to the east by way of the lakes. \* \* \* When the canal is finished through Wisconsin, this vast lead freight will

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<sup>1</sup> Adv. in *Milw. Courier*, Aug. 9, 1843: "New Store.— Milwaukee wholesale and retail Cash Store, at Walker's Point, on the south side of the Ferry—James Rathbun has just arrived from New York with an extensive assortment of Goods suitable to the wants of the country round about, such as Domestic, Groceries, Hardware, &c., which he will sell at wholesale or retail, at the lowest prices for Cash, Wheat, Shot, Copper, Lead, Flax and Timothy Seed, Flour, &c., and would say to those in Mineral Regions that he is prepared to make liberal advances in Cash or Merchandise on Shot, Lead and Copper, and as he can make it an object for those working minerals, he hopes to receive a large share of their patronage.— Milwaukee, May 26, 1843."

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Milw. Courier*, May 31, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> Item in *Wis. Argus*, Sept. 26, 1844: "*Mail Stages*.— We would call the attention of the traveling public to C. Genung & Co.'s line of Mail Stages now running between Madison and Milwaukee, on the old United States road leading from Madison through Cottage Grove, Lake Mills, Aztalan, Summit and Prairieville to Milwaukee."

be floated through the lakes and Erie canal to market. It now gives employment to hundreds of keel and flat boats from Galena to St. Louis, where it is reshipped for New Orleans, and then again reshipped for New York or Europe. By way of the lakes and Erie canal, it could be accomplished in fifteen days."<sup>1</sup>

The trade of Mineral Point is thus referred to by Lapham: "The quantity of lead and copper sent from here is very considerable; most of it finds its way to Galena, Ill., whence it is shipped down the Mississippi and by way of the ocean to New York. Within the last few years, however, much of it is sent by waggons to Lake Michigan, mostly at Milwaukee, and thence sent direct by way of the lakes to New York."<sup>2</sup>

The *Buffalo Pilot*, 1845, had this reference: "More than the usual quantity of lead from the mines of Illinois and Wisconsin have sought a market through the lakes this year. A few sales are made here, but the great bulk passes on. The white lead manufactories consume a considerable quantity, which will annually increase.<sup>3</sup> In August about 2,100 pigs were loaded."<sup>4</sup>

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, in the same year, spoke of the increase of the production of lead and shot, but lamented the insufficient means of transportation which alone kept the resulting trade from seeking the lake ports. For the three years 1842-44, the imports of lead into that city were, respectively, 23,926, 23,753, and 6,276 pigs.<sup>5</sup>

For 1846, the condition of the lead trade is sufficiently

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Milw. Courier*, Feb. 1, 1843; also to be found in McLeod's *Wisconsin*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1844), p. 236

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 319; also, the following advertisement in *Weekly N. W. Gazette* (Galena), October 9, 1846: "*White Lead Manufactory*.—R. Conkling & Co., Court Street east of Broadway, Cincinnati. \* \* \* The old firm of R. Conkling & Co. still continues to manufacture best pure White Lead and at as low prices as can be purchased anywhere.—Cincinnati, September 21, 1846."

<sup>4</sup> Cited in *Niles' Register*, vol. 68, p. 102, April 19, 1845.

<sup>5</sup> Cited in *Wis. Herald* (Lancaster), September 20, 1845.

indicated by the following from a Grant county newspaper: "*Trade by the Lakes.*—Our trade with the east is rapidly increasing. Nearly all the goods brought into this county this fall, except groceries, are hauled from Chicago or Milwaukee—chiefly from Milwaukee, although Grant is a river county distant from Lake Michigan one hundred and fifty miles."<sup>1</sup>

In 1847 a Milwaukee newspaper published the following: "The Lead Schooners are constantly arriving here from the Mineral region. These singular teams drawn by six, eight or more yoke of oxen, excite some curiosity in those who are not used to such sights at the east. They sleep under the canopy of heaven with the camp fires and the primitive meals of a military encampment, pitching tents with the first dusk of evening and rising with the early dawn. These scenes are daily occurring within a few miles of a city with 13,000 inhabitants."<sup>2</sup>

We may fairly conclude, from the evidence offered, that by 1847 the overland lead trade to Milwaukee was well established, and that Buffalo, the leading port in Western New York, was very desirous of holding as large a share of this trade as possible. It has been shown how, little by little, the movement of Eastern goods from Milwaukee westward to the Mississippi grew into the importance of later years; and we have noticed utterances of dissatisfaction from time to time with the primitive means of transportation, and of hope for some better conditions in the near future. Just as, in 1839-40, the delays and difficulties of the Mississippi route brought about the discovery of some better and shorter way to Eastern markets, so now it was beginning to be keenly felt that if the lead industry was to continue, some improvement must be made in the means of communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River. It was just at this time that the agricultural interests of Wisconsin began to suffer for want of a better market, and more adequate means of transporta-

<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, November 23, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in *Id.*, Sept. 25, 1847.

tion for their increasing product. The following communication expresses the general sentiment among that class of producers: " We have been so accustomed to dilate upon the superior advantages of the western part of the state (for we are now a state) that it is extremely unpleasant to open our eyes on our real condition. The prevalent opinion has been that the mining region contains within itself the means of never-ending prosperity and independence. We have an unequalled soil, and the mining interest will always be able to consume and pay well for all the products of that soil. The farmer has only to go fifteen or twenty feet into the bowels of the earth to find a liberal market for everything he can raise on its surface. Such used to be the talk; but it is now manifest that the producing and consuming classes have not maintained the anticipated equilibrium. The capacity of production has satiated and overpowered the capacity of consumption. Such has been the increase of farms and farmers that the mining interest does not furnish a market for a tithe of the agricultural product which a liberal and reliable price would call forth. \* \* \* The desperate struggles evinced by our leading towns for county seats is a sure indication that their resources are drying up, and that they keenly feel the gnawings of internal famine. \* \* \* We need a reliable, liberal market for our increasing agricultural products. This is the thing. It is melancholy to see the noble-hearted, toil-worn farmer point to his granary and tell you it is full but not a cent of cash can he get for his grain. Labor ought to be rewarded. If a farmer wishes to get a few dollars, he must watch the moment when a tavern-keeper is out of oats, or peddle eggs, butter, bacon, and hams to the diggers. The merchants will not give him cash for anything. Western Wisconsin has reached a crisis; it must retrograde unless we can have a liberal market, paying a fair price for the products of the whole agricultural community. \* \* \* It is evident our state has reached a crisis. We need annexation to the lakes; some access to the

markets of the great world. When, and through what avenues is light from Lake Michigan to break in upon us?"<sup>1</sup>

Manifestly we have here depicted a state of things similar to that which was observed more than half a century earlier, in the then pioneer states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, when the economic pressure of a superabundant product, for which no market could be found, burst the barriers that shut out the new West from the older East. So in the early history of Wisconsin, the amount and value of the lead production compelled the opening of a new route to New York markets as early as 1838-39. Ten years later a similar development in agriculture again made it necessary to seek new markets and adequate outlets to the Eastern centres of trade.

This period of industrial unrest and change, 1846-48, was not by any means peculiar to Wisconsin. It affected the whole Mississippi valley. We have already noticed it in connection with the change of the lead trade from the New Orleans route to routes north of St. Louis. It will be remembered how the first decline in Southern trade was accounted for by the diversion of the miners to California, by the lack of capital to open new mines or to sink the old ones deeper, by the discriminating tariff of 1846 that no longer afforded sufficient protection to the lead industry, and by the lack of needed improvements in the channel of the Mississippi. From our brief survey of the development of a new route in Wisconsin, we can add to this list of causes, the natural growth of industrial life in the Northwest, making the more primitive arrangements of an earlier decade so entirely inadequate to the larger needs of the time that better markets and shorter and more accessible routes of trade became indispensable.

With this development clearly in mind, we may now consider a few of the more general aspects which are presented by the early development of railroads in Wisconsin and elsewhere in the West. The following from the *Boston Traveller* well expresses the general sentiment of the

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. M., in *Wis. Herald*, June 10, 1848.

time: "*Lake Michigan and Mississippi Railroad.*—Mr. Editor: Permit me to request the favor of your directing such attention to the subject of the subjoined memorial to Congress, relative to the connexion of Lake Michigan with the Mississippi by means of a railroad, as the importance of the project so obviously deserves—particularly at the hands of every friend, not only of Boston but of New England generally. \* \* \* Suffice it at this time simply to state \* \* \* that within the present year, a continuous line of direct steam communication will have been *completed* from Maine to Wisconsin—stopping short of the Great Father of Waters only about 160 miles,—and that the citizens of the Upper Mississippi country, generally, confidently appeal to their brethren of New England for their coöperation in the removal of the only remaining obstacle to a direct commercial and social intercourse between them and their Fatherland. \* \* \*

JOHN PLUMBE, Jr.

Ex Chairman Wis. R. R. Com. Cor.

Boston, Jan. 10, 1842."<sup>1</sup>

In a Galena paper for 1846 is a detailed statement of the comparative advantages of the Mississippi route, and the lake route, after a railroad had been constructed. Among other things it is shown that the distance by the two routes is 4,000 miles and 1,700 miles, respectively; and by the former route the cost for lead was 70 cents per hundred, and by the latter 61 cents.<sup>2</sup>

In a Madison paper of the same year appeared the following plea for a railroad from Milwaukee to Galena: "The citizens of Milwaukee and Galena are seriously agitating the subject of a Railroad between the two points.

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in *Milw. Sentinel and Wis. Farmer*, Jan. 29, 1842. The petition to Congress above referred to, recites the various advantages of railroad connection between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; among which are: more efficient checks upon the Indians, better mail facilities, a beginning for the Oregon railroad, a means of securing the trade of the Upper Mississippi.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly N. W. Gazette*, January 23, 1846.

To the thoroughfare of the Lakes and Erie Canal such an enterprise would be of great importance, inasmuch as it would secure for their route the entire trade of the Upper Mississippi. It would not only penetrate the finest agricultural portions of the Territory of Wisconsin, opening a channel through which their products would seek a ready market by the Lakes; but it would secure the transportation of the vast products of the Lead Mines, a large portion of which now find a market by way of the Mississippi River. When this communication shall have been opened, there is not a doubt that the lead of the Upper Mississippi will be diverted to this route, as a matter of interest with the mines."<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st of April, 1846, E. H. Darby, a prominent railroad man of Boston, wrote to a gentleman in Galena that a company had been organized to complete the Michigan railroad, and that the next enterprise would be the building of a line through to the Mississippi.<sup>2</sup> In this connection should be mentioned Asa Whitney's scheme for a Pacific railroad, which, while aiming at something more than the opening up of Mississippi trade, belongs with the movement to connect the lakes with the great river, since he proposed beginning his trans-continental line at Lake Michigan.<sup>3</sup>

In the *Wisconsin Herald* (Lancaster) for December 25, 1847, is given a letter from a prominent Eastern capitalist concerning the future of railroads in the West. The following extract is of interest in this connection: "There can be no doubt that the most direct and economical line ensuring you a continuous, daily, uninterrupted communication throughout the year is most for your interest. Where that line must, from natural causes governing the question beyond the control of man, be constructed there can be no division of opinion. The southern bend of Lake Michigan must be forever the key and railroad outlet to the East for the whole country northwest of it. \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> *Madison Express*, March 5, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly N. W. Gazette*, May 15, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> *Madison Express*, Aug. 25 and Dec. 15, 1846.

Arrangements have been made and elements are at work which will, it is believed, gather into one bond at the south end of Lake Michigan all the great Railroad interests of Ohio, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and New England, and the Canadas, from thence to radiate over all the country between Milwaukee and St. Louis and Cairo."

The editor, in commenting upon this letter, says: "The writer is probably better informed than we are of the arrangements made with other Railroad companies in the South and West, by which they concede to us in the North, the main trunk of Railroad communication from the Atlantic as far west as the southerly bend of Lake Michigan; but we are of opinion that there must be a serious struggle yet with interests south of us to accomplish all this—that the northern road must be done speedily—done before a central Railroad shall be completed from the Atlantic to St. Louis; for if done *now* it becomes a basis of an extension of Railroad still westward to Oregon; if not done before the completion of a Railroad from the Atlantic to St. Louis, then St. Louis becomes the starting point of an extension of Railroad to the Pacific. The question is, shall the upper West, or shall the lower West be the great avenue of trade and commerce, not only with the heart of this great continent, but ultimately with the islands of the Pacific and with the opulent Indies." A year later we find the following vigorous editorial in the same paper: "The Northwest is lagging. The world is running away from us. Look around us. See our undeveloped resources, our fertile lands uncultivated—our rich mineral lands ineffectually scratched over on their surface—our streams idly running, which ought to propel all sorts of machinery—our villages languishing—our farmers troubled to barter off their produce at ruinous prices for goods at an enormous profit—our population, as a whole, living without the conveniences and luxuries which should always reward patient industry—why is all this? Simply for want of easy communication with the great markets of the world. Western

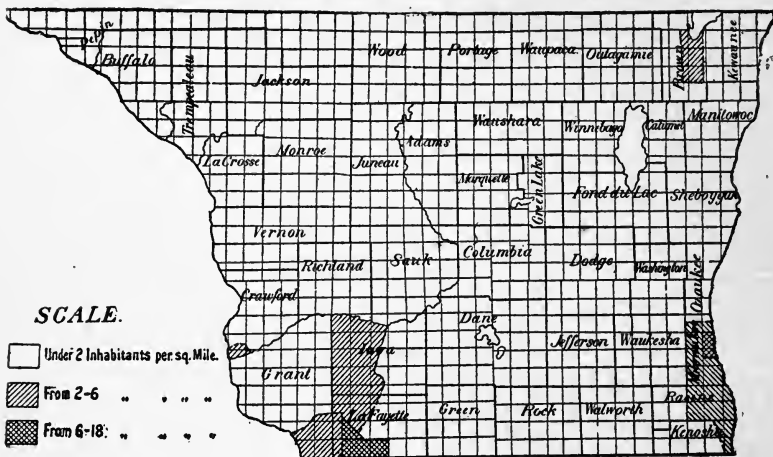


Wisconsin must arouse. We have slept long enough. Something must be done, we must do it for ourselves. Chicago saw the necessity of a railroad to Galena, and she went to work at it and will build it. Western Wisconsin must be put in communication with a railroad."<sup>1</sup>

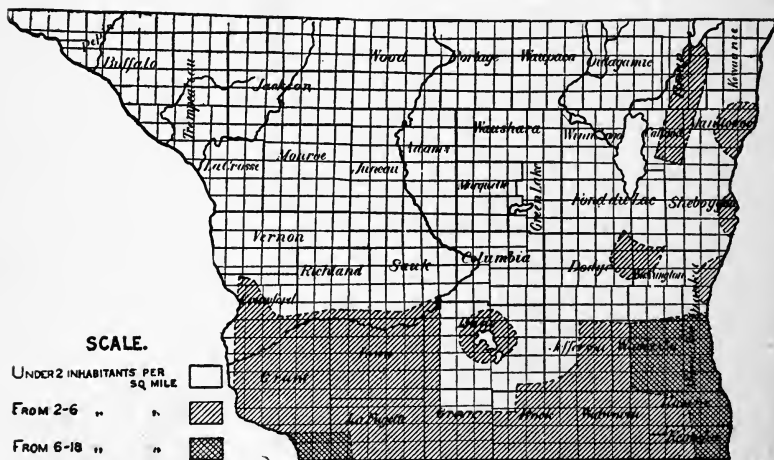
It is not necessary to go further and point out how the lead and shot trade figured in the demand for a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi. The importance of that industry was on the wane, and its peculiar value was being overshadowed by the immense development of agriculture and the growing importance of the lumber and milling interests of the State. It remains to point out the significance of the shot and lead trade in the settling of South Central Wisconsin. In examining the three maps herewith presented, showing the distribution of population in the State in 1836, in 1840, and in 1850 respectively, one is struck by the difference between them. The population in 1836, and even in 1840, lay massed in the southwest and in the east about Milwaukee, in two distinct, unconnected, inharmonious sections. The western section had its interests centered about the mines, its social and economic life affected by the peculiar relations arising from this occupation; and more important than all, it was a section in closest touch with the South—with St. Louis, to which went the lead produced and from which all supplies were obtained; with New Orleans, and the other Southern cities, more distantly but none the less vitally connected. Its newspapers were Southern in tone, so were its correspondents. The great river steamboats that plied between Galena and the Mississippi markets carried from New Orleans and St. Louis more than their sugar and coffee, their articles of foreign luxury and their everyday necessities. Economically this section was linked with the South, but socially and intellectually the tie was even closer; its people habitually turned in this direction for that sort of leadership which every large city exercises among the smaller communities with which it is in touch. Slavery took root for a while in this part of Wisconsin, brought

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Herald*, June 10, 1848.



Southern Wisconsin: showing density of population in 1836. For convenience of comparison, the county divisions given are those of 1895. See ante, p. 251, for remark on localization of population in Territorial census of 1836.



Southern Wisconsin: showing density of population in 1840. For convenience of comparison, the county divisions given are those of 1895.

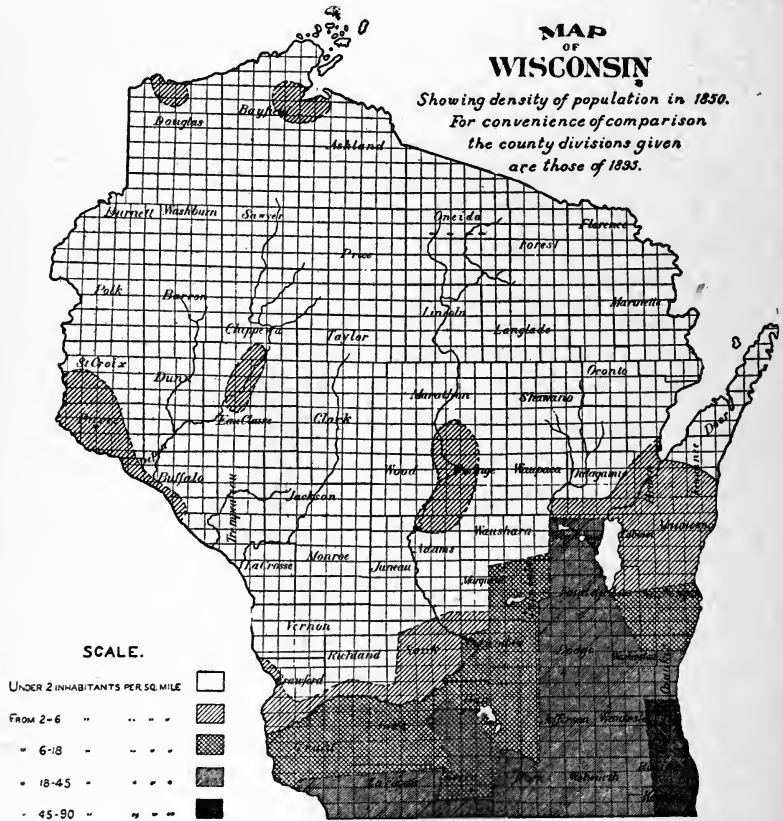
naturally enough from the neighboring slave States, whose views on this question had a place among the common stock of popular ideas.

As opposed to this stood the eastern section of Wisconsin, with its population of native Americans from New England and New York, its Germans and its French. The interests of this section were not mining, but agricultural and commercial; and it faced, so to speak, the East, especially New York and Pennsylvania.

These two sections of our State, thus looking in opposite directions, divergent in ideas and sentiments, and mode of life, were made to coalesce by uniting their economic interests upon a common source of profit—the lead and shot trade of Southwestern Wisconsin. The western section was, as it were, compelled to find a direct route eastward for these products. The lake cities of the eastern section needed just the stimulus afforded by a new and profitable trade to develop into the rich and important centers they were afterwards to become. Thus a common subject was found for State legislation and agitation in Congress, and both sections joined hands in the work of securing improved means of transportation. More than all, the opening of roads and the regular passage of freight wagons to and from the lake cities, especially Milwaukee, served to people the vacant lands which in 1836 divided the two sections from each other. A glance at the map of 1850 will show how thoroughly that had been done. The State, which in 1833 had two separated sections of population, was to all appearances fairly desectionalized in 1850, so far as mingling of population could do it; and this was largely the result of improved means of communication and mutual economic interests.

The initiatory impulse given to the settlement of this central region of Southern Wisconsin by the early lead and shot trade was of the utmost importance. It coincided with a movement westward in New England and New York, itself connected with the completion of the Erie canal; and it enabled Wisconsin to take advantage of this great

forward movement of population, and fill up the fertile counties of the Rock River valley, and farther west. Without such a path as was traced out for them by the teamsters of 1836-38, the emigrants of 1840-50 might have been delayed a decade in penetrating to these regions; without the prize of the lead trade to tempt them, the merchants and capitalists of Milwaukee, Buffalo, and New York would



not at this early date have taken so lively an interest in our lines of communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

In general, then, the lead trade and the shot trade together attracted capital to Wisconsin, helped to fill its southern counties with population, and gave an impulse to its industrial life that the State has never lost.

## CHRONICLE OF THE HELENA SHOT-TOWER.

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BY ORIN GRANT LIBBY, PH. D.

### *Introduction.*

In the summer of 1894 the writer was visiting friends at Hillside, Iowa county, while attending the meeting of the Unitarian Sunday School Assembly, held on the grounds of the Tower Hill Pleasure Company—the site of the old Helena shot-tower. Among other improvements carried on that summer was the clearing out of the shaft of the tower, which had become filled with debris from above. This vertical shaft, sunk some 120 feet through the rock, is met by a horizontal shaft 90 feet long, running in from the face of the cliff on the northeast side. The shot "tub" or "cistern," at the bottom of the vertical shaft, is about three feet below the level of the horizontal shaft or "drift." In removing the debris, this portion was left untouched, as it offered a standing-place for visitors, from which a clear view of the upper end of the shaft could be obtained. Thinking that something of interest might be secured by exploring this pocket, I obtained permission to dig here, and soon brought to light remains of the machinery and implements, and some of the shot as it had lain there for over thirty years. These relics were given to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It was suggested by the editor of these *Collections* that a paper be prepared, giving an account of the Helena shot-tower and its place in the history of the

State. With this end in view, the following sketch has been prepared, not as a formal monograph, but as a collection of such data as are obtainable. The death of many of the old settlers who lived in the early lead-mining days, and the scarcity of materials on this subject, have made the task an extremely unsatisfactory one. It is published with the hope that its mistakes and shortcomings may be rectified by those who actually took part in the events, or have recollection of them.

*The Story of the Tower.*

Materials for a historical sketch of the old Helena shot-tower are for the most part not to be found in books, least of all in the local histories of the State. They have been gathered from official records, newspapers, letters, and especially from the recollections of old settlers.<sup>1</sup> Aside from inadequate and often erroneous accounts in the quarto *History of Iowa County*, only five works were found which

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<sup>1</sup> I desire especially to acknowledge aid given in my work, by the following:

*Within the State* — Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society; John L. Jones, William Lockman, Mrs. M. S. Mabbott, Mrs. John Sliter, John King, Mrs. Margaret L. Jones and Robert Lloyd, of Hillside; Robert Joiner, D. W. Culver, Archie Brander, Mrs. Joseph Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Culver, of Wyoming; Milton D. Persons, Clark Hickox, Thomas J. Williams, John Shaunce, Joseph Bennett, Nicholas Sherman, and Robert Wilson, of Dodgeville; John Thomas, S. P. Hoxie, W. H. Harris and Dan. J. Davis, Spring Green; Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Yorker, Wm. Hodgson, Mrs. Evan Lloyd and Mrs. Susan Slau-son, of Arena; William Ruggles, of Ridgeway; W. T. Cass, of Lone Rock; Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Oertel and Robert Baxter, of Prairie du Sac; Charles Teel, of King's Corners; J. T. Kingston, of Mauston; W. H. Canfield and Mrs. Henry Willard, of Baraboo.

*Outside the State* — A. J. Lockman, of Lamoure, N. D.; Mrs. Blanche B. Bunker, of Winslow, Ill.; Miss Mary Woodman, of Cambridge, Mass.; E. W. Blatchford, of Chicago; Ralph Flint, of West Baldwin, Me.; Daniel Thompson, of Calumet Plantation, Patterson, La.; G. W. Chadbourne, of St. Louis; J. K. Graves, of Dubuque, Iowa; Evan J. Davis, of St. Cloud, Minn.







contained even a mention of the tower.<sup>1</sup> This does not include the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, which makes two references to the tower, incidental to the narratives of old settlers.<sup>2</sup> It is not presumed that this exhausts the material on the subject, but it serves to show how scanty it is in this particular field. The fragmentary nature of the sources makes it impossible always to give exact references to authorities, especially when the evidence is conflicting, but so far as possible the source of the information will be indicated.

Although Wisconsin very early and with success entered the field of shot-making, Missouri appears to have been the home of this industry. The *Missouri Gazette* of March 1, 1809, contains the following notice of the first shot-tower in the West, and probably the first this side of the Atlantic: "At Herculaneum a shot manufactory is now erecting by an active and enterprising citizen of our Territory; the situation is peculiarly adapted for the purpose, having a natural tower, or rather stupendous rock, forming a precipice of about one hundred and sixty feet, having the lead mines in the neighborhood, and one of the finest harbors for vessels. We presume the proprietor (J. Macklot) will be enabled to supply the Atlantic States on such terms as will defeat competition."<sup>3</sup> The following year, one Austen erected another tower near the first.<sup>4</sup> In 1827-28 there is found another description by a traveler in Missouri of a shot-tower at Herculaneum;<sup>5</sup> and in 1840 the

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<sup>1</sup> W. R. Smith, *Observations on Wisconsin Territory* (Phila., 1838), p. 77; Lapham's *Wisconsin* (ed. 1844), p. 234; McLeod's *History of Wisconsin* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1846), p. 223; Featherstonhaugh's *Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor* (London, 1847), i., pp. 196-199; *Sketches of the West, or the Home of the Badgers* (Milw., 1847), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 369; xi., p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Scharf, *Hist. St. Louis* (Phila., 1883), ii., p. 1252. Macklot ran his first cast of shot at Herculaneum, Nov. 16, 1809; see *ante*, p. 285, article by the editor.

<sup>4</sup> Scharf, same reference.

<sup>5</sup> Beltrami, *Pilgrimage in Europe and America, leading to the discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and Bloody River* (London, 1823), ii., p. 118.

St. Louis *Gazette* mentions an editorial visit to a shot-tower a few miles below the city.<sup>1</sup> In 1847, Kennett, Simonds & Co. completed the St. Louis tower, begun three years before, an establishment that is still running.<sup>2</sup>

The pioneer shot-maker of the Northwest was Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay.<sup>3</sup> Coming to this State in 1819 he rapidly extended his business operations so as to include fur-trading, lumbering, and retail and river trade,—and finally, in 1831, shot-making. His many undertakings took him up and down the Fox, Wisconsin, and Mississippi rivers, between Green Bay and St. Louis. The success of the Missouri towers already referred to, and the rapid development of the lead mines in Wisconsin, suggested to his enterprising mind the idea of the Helena tower. The fact also that John Metcalf was employed at the portage by Whitney, to manage his stores there, makes it probable that the new venture was partly a result of Metcalf's previous experience in the same line of business, and that he came from Missouri to manage the tower when it was completed.

The origin of the company that built the Helena tower seems to be involved in uncertainty. Morgan L. Martin, of Green Bay, gives the following account: "About 1830, a shot-tower company was organized, principally composed of gentlemen living here and in Detroit, with one from Oswego. The firm name was Daniel Whitney, Platte & Co."<sup>4</sup>

The following record of the transfers whereby the land on which the shot-tower was built passed into the hands of its successive owners, I have gathered from the records of the Iowa County register of deeds. The tower and buildings were erected on government land, before it was open to settlers. August 4, 1835, John C. Kellogg entered as government land 59.40 acres, which tract appears in

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<sup>1</sup> *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Oct. 6, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Review*, etc. (St. Louis, 1854), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> For a biography of Daniel Whitney, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., p. 274, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 403.

all subsequent records of transfers, without the change of a fraction of an acre. The next record shows that Daniel Whitney, June 14, 1836, deeded to Sheldon Thompson, of Buffalo, N. Y., for \$10,000, the land on which stood the tower, with all its buildings and improvements; the Wisconsin Shot Company paid the money, but the land was entered in Thompson's name. On May 25, 1838, Thompson sold the estate for \$10,000 to the trustees of the Wisconsin Shot Company, De Garmo Jones and Sheldon Thompson. The next owners were Charles Townsend and John L. Kimberly, of Buffalo, N. Y., who bought it September 16, 1842. Henry Hamilton, of Buffalo, next bought it for \$6,000, September 5, 1843. The same year, John Metcalf and John B. Terry, of Mineral Point, each bought a third interest in the property,—October 20 and October 13, respectively. On February 15, 1847, these three partners sold the property to Washburn & Woodman, of Mineral Point, for \$6,000.

From manuscript account-books kept by John Metcalf during portions of 1831-33,<sup>1</sup> we are able to follow the operations of the company in some detail. The record begins with September, 1831. There are at first but three men employed, John Metcalf, Louis Beaupré, and Cornelius Hill. They are boating on the Wisconsin during September and part of October, reaching the Fox-Wisconsin portage October 19, from which place a week later they go up the Wisconsin to a lumber camp, probably at Whitney's mill. April 5, they are joined by two others, Almon Green and one De Reese. A month later, Metcalf and his men return to the portage, where he hires four more, one Stewart, A. Derosiere, Levi Warrington, and one Dejodor; Louis Kirby and one Dixon join the force in July, but all the others save Warrington have now left.<sup>2</sup> This fragmentary record indicates in a general way the character of the work in 1831-32. It consisted largely of getting out and floating down the Wisconsin the materials for the proposed buildings at Helena,

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<sup>1</sup> Now in possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>2</sup> In the spelling of these several names, I follow Metcalf, save where there is better authority.

which are to be used by the company in their shot-making operations. Among the most interesting of these records are those relating to the articles bought and sold at Whitney's stores at the portage,<sup>1</sup> and the men who dealt there. Among the customers appear the names of two of the Grignons; Paquette, the famous half-breed scout; and Oliver Newberry, well-known as a lake captain and steamboat owner.<sup>2</sup> While at the portage from May to August, 1832, Metcalf and his men lived as ordinary lumbermen, or loggers on a drive. Wages ranged from \$12 to \$30 a month. The accounts show considerable connection with Fort Winnebago.

In the autumn of 1831, Whitney hired T. B. Shaunce<sup>3</sup> to dig the vertical and horizontal shafts of the present tower,

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<sup>1</sup>The articles in the account-books most frequently mentioned are tobacco (smoking and chewing), pork, flour, and sugar. In a second class, less frequently called for, appear tea, corn, shot, blankets, moccasins, thread, beans, ham, potatoes, and deerskins. Tea seems to have been used instead of coffee, and there is very little liquor mentioned in the accounts.

<sup>2</sup>The list of men employed, or having accounts with the shot-tower, were: Oliver Newberry (his agents at the portage probably acted in his name), Francis Roy, Levi Warrington, Louis Bopre, Charles Grignon, A. Grignon, Cornelius Hill, Almon Green, A. La Dow, De Reese, A. Dero siere, Benjamin Lequeire, Jean Baptiste Van Sant, Dejordor, Dixon, Louis Kirby, Stewart, Louis Manaigre, Absalom Quinney, Pierre Paquette, Indian Tom, and Indians John, Peter, and Irvan.

<sup>3</sup>T. B. Shaunce was born in New York, May 8, 1808. His family moved West in 1811, first to Indiana, and later to Viola, Ill. At the age of twenty, young Shaunce left home and went to Galena. In 1831 he was hired by Whitney to sink the shaft for the tower at Helena. When the Black Hawk War broke out, work was temporarily abandoned, Shaunce having enlisted to serve during the war. After his work was completed at Helena, he went to Dodgeville and engaged in mining. In 1841 he married, and settled down on a small farm, where he died Aug. 31, 1863. "Colonel" Shaunce, as he was called, was one of Dodgeville's best-known characters, in early days. He had a large fund of jovial humor, that vented itself in practical jokes upon his associates. On one occasion, in 1835, he was challenged by an Irishman, Joseph McMurtry, to fight a duel. Shaunce, as the challenged party, chose the weapons — rocks, at a distance of forty feet, neither party to stir from his tracks till satisfied.

in which work he was assisted by Malcolm Smith.<sup>1</sup> They were boarded at the house of a Mr. Green, who lived with his wife on a farm near by, having come to the place in 1827.

The following from the quarto *History of Iowa Co.* (p. 844) gives some idea of the first attempt at settlement here: "The point of greatest interest in the north part of the county, from 1828 to 1840, was what is usually termed Old Helena, which was located on Section 29, in what is now the town of Wyoming. As will be seen in the general history, the first village in the county was planted here in 1828, the intention then being to build a place at that point which would rival Galena, as by that means the great water thoroughfare of Wisconsin could be utilized advantageously for the shipping of lead, and also for transporting all needful supplies into the country. In 1828, there were a few huts, but the principal objects to be seen were the stakes that marked out the town lots. In 1829, a large hewed-log house was erected by three Morison brothers, who also broke a few acres of land. In 1830, this house was purchased by George Medary, who moved there with his family and opened a sort of hotel, and also did (or rather attempted to do) legal business. Soon after him, William Green, who was afterward killed by the Indians, came here with his wife and erected a comfortable log house, and preëmpted the land where the shot-tower was afterward built. The first white child born in the north part of the

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A large crowd turned out to see this remarkable duel. Each of the men, accompanied by his second, came to the appointed place, the mouth of an old mining shaft, just outside the little village. When called upon to indicate where his opponent was to be stationed, Shaunce coolly proposed that McMurtry should stand at the bottom of the shaft, which happened to be just forty feet deep, and he would stand at the top. Of course the affair was declared off, and the whole party adjourned to the nearest tavern, to drink at the expense of the discomfited Irishman.

<sup>1</sup>So I am told by Milton D. Persons, who arrived in Dodgeville Oct. 20, 1827. He remembers these two men stopping with him all night at his little cabin, on their way to and from Galena. Smith was afterwards killed in the Black Hawk War.

county was a son of Mr. Green's. The Government erected a small building for storing lead and supplies, in 1829, and stationed an agent here. In 1830 Frank Guyon opened a store here, and for a short time the prospects for building up a smart little town were good; but, alas for human hopes, the Black Hawk war came on, the place was abandoned, and that was the last of it."

The soldiers in pursuit of Black Hawk crossed the Wisconsin river here, and the log houses were torn down to furnish materials for rafts.<sup>1</sup>

Some time after the close of the war, Shaunce resumed work on the shot-tower shaft. His implements were the ordinary mining tools and such contrivances as necessity compelled him to make use of. He seems to have dug the first fifteen or twenty feet of the shaft before he hired Smith to assist him. He would fill both buckets, fasten the rope to one of them, and prop up the bail of the other with a stone. Climbing out by his frail Indian ladder<sup>2</sup> he would wind up one bucket by windlass, and then by swinging the rope back and forth a few times he would hook and draw up the other. This method of work could only be carried on to a depth of about twenty feet, and little progress could be made thereafter, without an assistant. After the vertical shaft was completed to the required depth, he began work on the horizontal. In getting his direction and distance, he had no compass or surveyor's chain, but made use of a line of stakes, over which he sighted. Inside the drift, where it was too dark to see the stakes, he used a row of lighted candles. He thus struck the vertical shaft nearly in the center; the amount of variation, as can be seen to-day, is slight, and the whole work

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<sup>1</sup> Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Chicago, 1879), p. 263; Wakefield, *History of the War between the U. S. and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> The simplest form of this ladder is a pole to which cross-pieces are lashed by thongs. When a greater length is required, two such poles are tied together at the ends. An improvement consists in the use of nails or an auger, and even in the use of two parallel poles instead of one. At best it is a fragile support for a climb of fifty feet.

does credit to his engineering skill. Some blasting was done in the harder portions, but most of the work was performed with gads and picks, as the sandstone was soft and friable.

Some time in the latter part of 1833 the tower was completed, so that shot could be made, and John Metcalf<sup>1</sup> was for many years the regular shot-dropper. Referring to the account-books of the company kept by Metcalf from September to November, 1833, we find every indication of activity at Helena, and this is probably very nearly the time when operations at the tower were commenced. Besides Metcalf, there were five men employed, Thomas B. Shaunce,<sup>2</sup> B. Smith, J. Wallis, B. Gardepie, and Mills.

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<sup>1</sup> John Metcalf was born in Rhode Island in 1788, and died at Baraboo, Wis., Jan. 22, 1864. Educated at Boston, at the age of nineteen he began the practice of law in New York. His health failing him, he went to Pennsylvania and worked in the pinerias a few years. Thence he went to Missouri, in the interest of a stock company that had purchased land there. Thinking it unlikely that the small French town of St. Louis would ever develop into a business center, he located at Herculaeum, where he built and ran two stores and was connected with a shot-tower. He next purchased a farm in Jefferson county, Mo., where he resided for many years, holding the office of sheriff for a number of terms. In 1831 Daniel Whitney hired him to take charge of his business at the portage; and some years later, probably 1839, he was given the management of the Helena shot-tower, which position he held till 1847. In 1843 he bought a third interest in the Shot-Tower Company, which in 1847 he sold to Washburn & Woodman. In December, the same year, he bought of Alvah Culver a half interest in a sawmill at Baraboo (*Sauk Co. Deeds*, Vol. A, p. 438). Out of this investment was later evolved the firm of Metcalf, Paddock & Waterman. (See Canfield, *Baraboo and its Water Powers*, p. 12.) Metcalf was a gentleman of the old school, a man without an enemy, a thoroughly upright and honorable character. Such is the unvarying testimony of all who knew him during his sixty-three years of residence in Wisconsin. With Daniel Whitney he is to be remembered as one of the founders of the shot-making industry in our State, as well as one of the first lumbermen on the Wisconsin river. His account-book, and many other of his papers, are in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> In Metcalf's account-book, Shaunce is credited (Sept., 1833) with 187 days' previous work. This probably expresses quite accurately the time spent in excavating the tower shafts.

Smith did the cooking for the crew, and worked in this capacity till the latter part of November, when all but Shaunce stopped work. The record of the purchase<sup>1</sup> at this same time of temper-kettles, arsenic, shot-kegs and bags, and cord-wood (20 cords), clearly indicates that shot-making was at least begun experimentally during the latter part of 1833. Not much shot was made at first, and this was shipped principally to Fort Winnebago and thence to Green Bay. A small quantity found its way to Galena, chiefly in exchange for goods.

Even at this early time, Helena was a supply station of no small importance. Daniel Whitney was too keen a trader to let slip a favorable opportunity to drive a good bargain. With the establishment of the shot-tower, there was opened a local store similar to those at the portage; a glance at the list of supplies brought in from both St. Louis and Green Bay will sufficiently show this. It certainly was not to supply his own men at Helena that he had on hand, Nov. 25, 12,997 lbs. of salt, 14 box stoves, 12 bake-ovens, and \$105 worth of stoves; and we shall see that his store continually increased its stock so long as he was connected with the tower.

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<sup>1</sup>Sept. 1, 1833, there was received by the boat from Green Bay: 30 lbs. salt, 13 lbs. meat, 1 lb. flour, 1 bu. peas and beans, 14 box stoves, 1 Franklin stove, 13 tea-kettles, 12 bake-ovens, ½ doz. pots, 6 skillets, 1 spider, 2 hand mills, 4 kegs powder.

Sept. 25, there was received by E. Johnson's team, via Blue Mounds: 1 box door-hangings, 2 balance wheels, 1 pair scales, 1 cross-cut saw, 6 pair shoes, 1 lb. chalk, 1 lb. pepper, 2 scythes, 1 fine saw.

Oct. 19, received by boat (presumably from St. Louis): 1 hogshhead sugar, 2 doz. candles, 9 boxes soap, 4 shot-guns, 2 temper-kettles, 1 axe, 2 sacks coffee, 2 boxes tobacco.

In another record, without date, we find the following:—

100 lbs. Arsenic . . . . .	\$4 00	1 Shovel . . . . .	\$1 00
British Lustre . . . . .	2 50	1 Harness . . . . .	5 00
10 Shot kegs . . . . .	4 50	Cooking stove . . . . .	25 00
1043 " bags . . . . .	38 25	20 cords wood . . . . .	30 00
Stoves . . . . .	105 00	House Furniture . . . . .	22 00
Cows and calves . . . . .	126 00		



The first printed reference we have, to the tower, is by Henry Merrell, whose business took him to Fort Winnebago in April, 1834. He became well acquainted with Daniel Whitney, and speaks of his sawmill on the Wisconsin, his stores at the portage, and the shot-tower at Helena.<sup>1</sup>

August 30, 1835, the place was visited by George W. Featherstonhaugh, an English geologist then traveling in the United States, and the following is from his interesting account of the establishment: "At 9 A. M. we reached a shot-tower belonging to Mr. Whitney, on the left bank of the river, and landed there to breakfast. Mr. Whitney had entrusted to my care a large bag of silver money, with some other funds he wished to remit to his nephew and agent there. I had been very reluctant to receive it, \* \* \* but he had shown me so much obliging zeal in my service, that, upon his pressing me with some urgency a short time before my departure, I consented; and the treasure being put into the middle of one of my carpet-bags, which contained some heavy fossils, was embarked. \* \* \* As soon as the canoe was fastened to the shore, I told L'Amirant to shoulder the sack, and away we trudged with it to the agent's house, to which the name of Helena had been given, where I delivered my charge and took a receipt. Mr. Whitney's nephew<sup>2</sup> and his wife received me civilly, and insisted upon entertaining me with breakfast, which when I had dispatched, I went to see what they called the shot-tower, where lead brought from the lead district of Wisconsin, not many miles off, is cast into shot of various sizes."<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1835, Benjamin L. Webb, the agent, was the means of securing a substantial reënforcement to the workmen at the tower. John Wilson had been sent out by the Portage Canal Company with a party of sixty men to dig a canal across the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. He brought his wife and children with him, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel M. Whitney, — so I am told by J. T. Kingston, of Mauston.

<sup>3</sup> *Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor*, i., pp. 196-99.

party arrived at Green Bay on the steamer "Michigan." They were carried up the Fox river on flat-boats, pushed by Menomonee Indians, and arrived at the Portage in May. After building a house for the accommodation of his family and the men, the work on the canal was begun. They succeeded in excavating a channel deep enough to float a canoe, and then, because of high water, were obliged to cease operations. Webb, hearing of their arrival, went overland from Helena to visit their camp and persuaded Wilson to return on horseback with him to Helena. After his wife had almost despaired of seeing him again, he returned to the portage, and transferred the



ORIGINAL SHOT-TOWER BUILDINGS.

(Facsimile of sketch by John Wilson, made July, 1836.)

entire party to the shot-tower. At Helena, the men were employed for nearly a year in getting out stone, cutting logs, sawing lumber, and erecting buildings. Among these buildings were a store, cooper shop, blacksmith shop, a log barracks for the men, and a warehouse,—the last named, a large five-story structure, the first two stories being of stone. Not a little of the lumber was obtained from the pines, just across the river from the tower.

Early in the summer of 1836 the men were discharged<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the men returned to New York. Among those remaining were Archie Dempster, David Coffin, and Charley Morgan.

by Webb, who had hired Henry Teel<sup>1</sup> to come from Ohio and superintend operations in place of Wilson.<sup>2</sup> The Teel family boarded some of the men in the company's house, as the Wilsons had done before them.

Among the men who worked under Teel were the brothers A. B. and Elisha Sampson, who were employed in getting out window-sash, door-frames, etc., for the new warehouse, which at this time was completed only in the

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Teel was born at Kingston, Luzerne Co., Penn., Jan. 14, 1788, and died at his home in Sauk Prairie, Feb. 14, 1856. He was of Pennsylvania-Dutch stock, his name being originally spelled "Dale." Feb. 20, 1812, he married, and in 1828 moved to a farm in Sunbury, Delaware Co., Ohio. Webb, who was well known to the family as a Methodist circuit-rider in their vicinity, came out in 1836 from Helena, where he had been employed by the Shot-Tower Co., and hired Teel to go to the tower, to do teaming and superintend the men. In May, the Teels moved from Ohio, arriving at Helena the latter part of the month, with Thomas Peacock, one Lathrop, and Margaret Dunn. The two last afterwards married, and returned to Ohio. After remaining two years at Helena, Teel removed to Willow Springs, from which place he went June 22, 1840, to Sauk Prairie, where he spent the remainder of his life.

<sup>2</sup> John Wilson was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1792, and died at his home in Wilson Creek, Wis., Dec. 1, 1866. He was educated in his native city. He served as cooper on board the British man-of-war "Kerry Castle," in the war of 1812-15, and was wounded in an engagement with an American privateer. After his discharge he went to Canada, and subsequently to Buffalo, N. Y., where he married. He found employment with Judge McPherson, of Black Rock, and was given charge of a company of men to be employed in digging a canal at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin. Their subsequent transfer to Helena has been mentioned in the text. In July, 1836, Wilson took his family to St. Louis, where he had charge of a plantation owned by McPherson. In 1839, Samuel Knapp persuaded him to return to Helena and make shot-kegs for the Shot-Tower Co. When the Mineral Point bank failed, two years later, Wilson bought a piece of land at Wilson Creek and began farming. But up to 1849 he continued to make kegs and do other kinds of cooper work. His double log house, situated as it was at the mouth of the valley on the river road, the most direct route from Galena to the Wisconsin pinneries, became a favorite stopping place for travelers. Wilson was an artist of some talent, was possessed of a library, and was, for the times, a well-informed man. An erroneous account of him is to be found on p. 665 of the *Hist. of Sauk Co.*, where he is styled Thomas Wilson.

two lower (stone) stories. A. B. Sampson was afterwards employed by Whitney to take charge of his mill on the Wisconsin River, where he worked for five or six years after he left Helena (1837). An Englishman, named Thomas, took Wilson's place as cooper, until the latter's return three years later.

Before leaving this early period we must mention Jefferson Davis's connection with the pioneer days of Helena. Although he resigned his commission in the United States army in 1835, and never again returned to this State, yet he was a well-known character at Fort Winnebago (Fox-Wisconsin portage), where he was stationed with troops; and at Helena, where the boats to and from Ft. Crawford (Prairie du Chien) frequently stopped.<sup>1</sup> Davis was many times at Helena, and in after life was wont to refer to his experiences there.<sup>2</sup>

The Wisconsin Shot Company was replaced by the Wisconsin Mineral and Transportation Company, incorporated by the Territorial legislature December 8, 1836.<sup>3</sup> The old name, Wisconsin Shot Company, was retained, however, and occasionally appears even in legal documents. Besides the shot-making, the company had a well-stocked store and lumber-yard which supplied the surrounding country with necessaries. The first notice of the store occurs in 1836,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Katherine Oertel, of Prairie du Sac, tells me that when a child she boarded a boat commanded by Lieut. Davis, which was conveying soldiers from Ft. Winnebago and had stopped at the shot-tower. She was a favorite with the soldiers, but for some childish prank was sent from the boat by Davis, who was a strict disciplinarian. This occurred in the summer of 1835, after her father, John Wilson, had arrived at Helena with his family.

<sup>2</sup> From a MS. letter by Mrs. Davis, dated June 13, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws of Wis.*, 1836-39, p. 69; *Id.*, 1836, No. 33. Among the members of the new association were James H. Lockwood, David Jones, Benjamin L. West, William H. Buen, Daniel Whitney, Robert McPherson, and Theophilus S. Morgan.

<sup>4</sup> Adv. in Belmont *Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1836: "New Store at Helena.—The Wisconsin Shot Company have opened and now offer for sale a general assortment of European, Indian, and American Dry Goods, Groceries,

and down to 1840 it seems to have done a thriving business.<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin L. Webb was agent of the Shot-Tower Company from 1836 to 1838, but David B. Whitney, a cousin of Daniel Whitney, seems occasionally to have acted in his place;<sup>2</sup> and while Henry Teel was at Helena he himself had

Hardware and Crockery on as reasonable terms as can be purchased in the Territory. Also on hand for sale 60,000 feet of Pine Lumber and 65 bbls. of Cranberries."

<sup>1</sup> Adv. in *Miners' Free Press* (Mineral Point), July 21, 1837: "*Wisconsin Shot Co.*— Have on hand, and for sale at Helena for cash, or exchanged for lead:

- 20,000 feet of thoroughly seasoned Pine Boards.
- 80,000 do green do
- 22,000 do Pine Shingles.
- 4 new one Horse Carts, with harness complete.
- 3 good young Horses.
- 3 yoke of excellent work Oxen.
- 30 Cast Iron Barrow Wheels.

"They will also keep on hand a supply of Dry Goods, Groceries, Hardware, Crockery, Pork, Flour and Candles,—also a supply Ready Made Clothing.

"Orders received for any quantity of shot, of any sizes, deliverable in any part of the United States, at as low rates, as good an article and packed in a superior manner, as can be had from any similar establishment. Bar lead and Balls, also made to order.

"The Steamboat Science, having this season made three trips from St. Louis to Fort Winnebago, and continuing to run as a regular trade through the season. Any quantity of Lead will be received and shipped free of charges (except actual expense incurred) at 50 cents per 100 lbs. to St. Louis, and if requested, forwarded through our agents to any part of the United States for sale. Advances made on shipment if required.

Helena, July 21.

BENJ. L. WEBB, Agent."

Adv. in *Miners' Free Press*, Sept. 1, 1837: "The Wisconsin Shot Co. Have just received and for sale at Helena, 800 bushels of Corn, 2,500 lbs. Bacon, 40 bbls. Flour, 30 bbls. Pork, 10 kegs Lard, 1,000 lbs. Cheese, 1,000 lbs. Candles.— July 28, B. L. WEBB, Agent."

<sup>2</sup> David Blish Whitney, a cousin of Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay, died at Helena, Aug. 29, 1838, aged 34 years. He was buried on the east slope of Quarry Hill, southeast of the shot-tower, and a picket fence was placed about his grave. His widow married one Kline of Dodgeville

charge of the business there, as Webb had hired him for that purpose; indeed Webb was often absent during these two years. From August, 1838, to the following spring, H. Sands was agent. It was under his direction that the wharf in front of the warehouse was constructed.<sup>1</sup> He also made application for a license to run a ferry on the Wisconsin at Helena, but seems to have been unsuccessful.<sup>2</sup> The same year the place was named as one of the voting precincts for the county and State election that autumn.<sup>3</sup> The first blacksmith shop had been established a year previous,<sup>4</sup> and by this time Helena was a busy and thriving little place.<sup>5</sup> The part it took in the contest for

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(1840-41), and about 1850 they moved to California. One of his sons (Isaac Whitney) returned about 1858 and had his father's remains removed to Dodgeville, his grave being the first one in the new cemetery there. Whitney was part owner in Whitney's mill, on the Wisconsin River, and was leaving Helena for the pineries with his wife when the Wilsons arrived in 1835. He was taken ill on his way down with a drive of logs, and died at the house then occupied by the Teels.

<sup>1</sup> Adv. in *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, commencing Sept. 15, 1838, and running till March 14, 1839: "Notice.—The subscriber wishes to contract to have a Wharf built and filled in at Helena, W. T., of the following dimensions, viz.: 120 feet front, and 10 feet high from the bottom of the River, and to extend out 10 feet from the low water mark. The timber will be pine, squared to 12 inches and furnished to the Contractor on the spot. Said Wharf to be filled in two-thirds with stone and one-third dirt. Apply personally or by letter.

Helena, W. T., Aug. 8, 1838.

H. SANDS,

Ag't. Wis. Min'l & Transp. Co."

<sup>2</sup> *Miners' Free Press*, Oct. 2, 1838: "Notice.—The subscriber will make application to the commissioners of Iowa county, at their next meeting, for a license to establish a Ferry at the Shot Tower on the Wisconsin River.

Oct. 2, 1838.

H. SANDS."

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, July 31, 1838.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, July 21, 1837: "Blacksmithing will be done regularly through the season at Helena at moderate rates and in good style by the subscriber.

July 7.

THOS. WILCOX."

<sup>5</sup> "In 1836, a post-office was established here, and B. L. Webb appointed Postmaster, and Mr. Culver, Deputy. John Lindsay, now the second

the location of the State capital,<sup>1</sup> shows its importance and the brilliant future confidently predicted for it.

In the summer of 1837 the shot-tower was visited by William R. Smith, and his description confirms the statement just given, of the rapid growth of the village.<sup>2</sup> But

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oldest settler in the county. was the first mail-carrier through the north part of the county."—*Iowa Co. Hist.*, p. 845.

<sup>1</sup> See *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1836, p. 45. On Wednesday, Nov. 23, 1836, Vineyard, of Iowa County, moved to strike out the word "Madison" and insert "Helena" as the capital of the Territory. The vote stood yeas 6, nays 7. The vote has less significance when we bear in mind that the same vote successively rejected the following long list of places for the proposed capital: Fond du Lac, Dubuque, Portage, Milwaukee, Racine, Belmont, Mineral Point, Platteville, Astor, Cassville, Belleview, Wisconsinapolis, Peru, and Wisconsin City.

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Smith, *Observations on the Wisconsin Territory* (Phila., 1838), p. 77: "Some small enclosed fields near the Wisconsin River give good promise of plentiful crops of corn and potatoes. Not far from the bank of the river is erected a house for a store, near which I observed some Indian graves lately made. Immediately on the bank a large log building was put up by the United States agent superintending the lead mines, and was intended as an office and store house for the deposit of the government lead, received from the miners and smelters. \* \* \* The building is going to decay. \* \* \* From this point the road bends abruptly to the east, along the bank of the river, and a ride of two miles or thereabouts, through the site of the town of Helena, brings you to the shot tower and buildings belonging to the Wisconsin Shot Company. Here is a large lumber yard, the lumber being chiefly pine, and brought down the Wisconsin river. Several mechanics' shops are erected and workmen employed. The shot company have a very large assortment of goods and merchandise in their store which is here kept, and on the river bank there is now being built a store house of about fifty by seventy feet, the basement story of stone from the river beach to the top of the bank, and the upper story of frame.

"The shot tower is worthy of a description. It is built on the summit of a rocky hill on the bank of Pipe creek, and a gentle descent southward and westward, by which wagons may reach the summit. One hundred feet from the base of the rock there is a ledge or landing place; on this ledge rises the shot tower, of frame, eighty feet to the roof; of course the depth from the top of the tower to the base of the rock is one hundred and eighty feet; a well or shaft has been sunk through the rock, which is of sandstone, one hundred feet, and a lateral drift or entrance, ninety feet in length, seven feet high and six feet wide has been

the crisis of that year, and the resulting hard times, told heavily on the prosperity of Helena. Two years later the tower was closed and many of its employés left the place. Just at this time, however, occurred a daring venture by Samuel B. Knapp, which for a brief time imparted an unusual activity to all of Helena's business operations. In the summer of 1839, Knapp, then cashier of the Mineral Point Bank, leased the tower and began making shot. His brother was associated with him in this enterprise, acting as his agent in buying the lead, disposing of the shot manufactured, and having general local oversight of the business. John Wilson, who was then at St. Louis, was hired to come to Helena and take charge of the manufacture of shot-kegs. As there was no dry lumber with which to make these, a steam drying-house was erected, and green lumber was thus prepared for immediate use. John Metcalf was hired as shot-dropper, and he also acted as superintendent of the tower and kept the books for Knapp.

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cut from the bank of the creek to the perpendicular shaft. \* \* \*  
A small railway is erected within the lateral drift, communicating with the well, and extending to the finishing house, which is built on the bank of the creek, immediately opposite the entrance of the shaft. On this railway the shot is carried in small boxes or cars from the basin or well, by a horse power, into the finishing house; the same power by various machinery is employed in drying the shot in a cylinder over an oven; from the oven the shot is carried into the polishing barrel, and thence the various sizes are passed over the several inclined floors for separation, and taken to the separating sieves; after which the several sizes are weighed, bagged, and put into kegs; a steamboat can lie at the door of the finishing house for the purpose of taking the commodity to market.

"This establishment would do honor to any old settlement in the east; the public spirit of the proprietors deserves remuneration in the profits of their business. I am informed that five thousand weight of shot is the usual quantity made per diem, by one set, that is six hands—twice the quantity can be made by doubling the hands—of course there is no want of pigs of lead in the country. This company are the owners of a large body of mineral and timber land. One of the partners, Mr. Benjamin L. Webb, resides here and superintends the concern. The hospitality of his house and the information obtained in his society are matters on which a traveler's recollection may dwell with pleasure."



During the two succeeding autumns and winters (1839-41), the farmers of the mineral district carried on a profitable business by bringing produce for sale to Mineral Point and Dodgeville, and then hauling lead to Helena, or shot to Milwaukee. Knapp paid high prices; and as long as the roads were passable, both lead and shot were rapidly accumulated in Galena and Milwaukee, for spring shipment by vessel. In this way a large amount was kept constantly at the wharves during the whole shipping season.<sup>1</sup> Of course all payments were made in the money of Knapp's bank, and the reason for his unusual activity was soon apparent. In the summer of 1841 the bank failed, and the smelters, merchants and farmers who had dealt with Knapp found that they held worthless paper, while he had in his possession lead and shot, or its equivalent in checks on Eastern banks.<sup>2</sup> The failure of the bank, and the absconding of Knapp,<sup>3</sup> probably gave rise to the erroneous statement in the *Iowa County History* that

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<sup>1</sup>Item in *Wis. Enquirer* (Madison), August 25, 1841: "Six teams, loaded with about twelve and three-quarters tons of shot from Helena, passed through here for Milwaukee, two or three days since. The cost of transportation, we understand, is only about \$1 per hundred."

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Katherine Oertel, of Prairie du Sac, is authority for the following, which she had from her father, John Wilson: In the summer of 1841, Knapp sent word to Wilson to come to Mineral Point at once, with all the bills of the bank he had in his possession, as they would soon be worthless unless redeemed. Wilson collected what Mineral Point money he could find at Helena, from Metcalf, Alvah Culver, and others working for the company, and hurried to Mineral Point. Waiting until ten in the evening, as he had been directed, he knocked at a side door of the bank and was admitted. Knapp at once exchanged the money he had brought for bills on reliable Michigan banks. He then told Wilson that he intended going to Cuba, and proposed to him to go to Northern Illinois, hire men there, and make hogsheads, which were to be filled with corn-meal and shipped to Cuba. Knapp was to fill these with sugar and send them back. But Knapp's plan of escaping to Cuba failed, and Wilson never again heard from him.

<sup>3</sup>*Milwaukee Courier*, October 6, 1841: "Mineral Point, September 28, 1841.—W. H. Banks started today for the east in company with S. B. Knapp to make an arrangement to have the drafts, bills of exchange,

the tower itself, which he operated, was permanently abandoned at this time.

The early machinery used in the tower was primitive, but it served its purpose and remained for the most part unchanged until 1853. At that time steam took the place of the horse-power heretofore used.<sup>1</sup>

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&c. of the Mineral Point Bank cashed and to put that institution in a way to redeem its liabilities." This was the last seen of either Banks or Knapp.

<sup>1</sup>The following description of the machinery and its working is given to me by Clark Hickox, of Dodgeville: The buildings used in making the shot were three. The melted lead was dropped through a shaft, 120 feet of which was excavated in the solid rock. At the top of this shaft, at the edge of the cliff, stood the melting-house, with two kettles, in which mineral was prepared for dropping. A little to the east of this were an arch and a large kettle, protected by a small roof. Here the lead was tempered by the addition of arsenic, and run into pigs for further use, and here also the imperfect shot was remelted. In preparing "temper," two shot-sacks of arsenic were tied in an iron vessel resembling in shape a wash-bowl, and then the whole immersed in the kettle of molten lead by means of an iron handle riveted to the bottom of the bowl. The pigs thus obtained were used to give the requisite brittleness to the lead from which the shot was made. A small portion would suffice to temper a kettle holding 1000 lbs. of lead. The dropping-ladle was perforated with holes of varying size, and when partly full of melted lead would be tilted gently sidewise, forcing the metal out in drops to form the shot, which falling 180 feet would assume a spherical shape and at the same time be cooled. At the bottom of the shaft, the shot fell into the shot-cistern, filled with water which served both to break the fall and cool the shot.

At the mouth of the horizontal shaft stood the finishing-house, at the northwest corner of which, under a low roof, was the horse-power. This resembled an old-fashioned cider-press; a horizontal shaft ran out from a large cogged wheel (itself turning horizontally) moved by the horse. On this shaft, which ran above the horse into the finishing-house, was a windlass drum which could be put in or out of gear by sliding it back and forth on the shaft. When the car at the farther end of the tunnel had been dipped full of shot, the drum was put in gear; in revolving, it wound up a rope to which was attached the car, which was thus pulled up an inclined track to the mouth of the tunnel. Here the shot was taken out, and the car ran down the track of its own weight after the drum had been put out of gear. From the car, the wet shot was put in a hopper that discharged into an inclined conical drum

Previous to 1841 Henry Merryfield had been for some time the regular shot-dropper, but in February of this year he fell ill, and Metcalf hired Clark Hickox<sup>1</sup> to come to the tower, learn the business, and take charge of the work; for

revolving on a shaft turned by hand; about this a furnace fire played, thus drying the shot in its downward passage. The shot then passed into a box from which it was dipped into the polishing-barrel, in which was placed a small quantity of black-lead. The next process was the separation of the good from the imperfect globules; the shot slid down a series of inclined planes, separated by small spaces; only the good shot would leap these spaces, the rest would fall into inclined troughs below and be collected for remelting. The shot was next sized by means of sieves, at this time made of buckskin, prepared by hand from pelts purchased from the Indians. These sieves for sizing the shot were about 3 feet long by 2 wide, set in a frame about 4 feet high, so as to be easily slid in and out. A batch of shot would be placed upon the top sieve, which would be shoved back and forth (100 strokes) till all but the coarsest grade of shot was shaken out. Each sieve would be treated in the same way from the top to the bottom, after which those would be emptied that required it; and the same process was repeated until all the shot was sized. The sieves were emptied into small movable bins about 3 feet deep and large enough to take in the entire sieve in emptying. When the shot was to be weighed and sacked, these bins would be rolled up to a table and the sacks filled, weighed on a small grocer's scales and set aside to be sewed up after all the shot was weighed out.

A good run of shot would be 5,000 lbs. and from one-sixth to one-eighth of the shot dropped was perfect. The lead bought for melting was weighed by means of "56's,"—iron weights of 56 lbs. each,—twenty-four of which were owned by the company. The scale beam was a heavy iron bar, at one end of which the lead would be suspended, and at the other the requisite number of "56's."

<sup>1</sup>Clark Hickox was born in Randolph Co., Ill., Jan. 12, 1820. At the age of four, he went to live with his grandfather in New York, and in 1828 his family went thither, settling at Syracuse, where he joined them. In 1835 they removed to Wisconsin, and settled at Ridgeway, where their old log house, built in 1836, is still standing. In 1844 Hickox married Rebecca C. Green, whose people came to Wisconsin in 1840. After leaving the Helena tower, he settled on his Ridgeway farm. In 1864 he enlisted and served in the 6th Wisconsin infantry till the close of the War of Secession. He removed from Ridgeway in 1866 to a farm in Wyoming, but returned in June, 1886, to Dodgeville, where he now resides. Hickox Mill, the first grist-mill in Southwestern Wisconsin, was built in 1840 by Hickox's father, for Rolette of Prairie du Chien, and he ran it for many years after.

Metcalf himself was often absent for weeks together, on general business trips.

In February, 1842, the melting-house was destroyed by fire, and for some months lead was melted and the shot dropped in the open air. The house was rebuilt the following spring, by Edward Rogers, and the shaft was again boarded up.<sup>1</sup> The men boarded chiefly with Joseph Smith, who kept hotel in the company's house.<sup>2</sup> He also sold goods sent out to Helena by Henry Hamilton, of Buffalo, and occupied the old store formerly used by the Shot-Tower Company. Alonzo Harrington was the regular teamster for the company in 1842-43. John Wilson had by 1840 moved his family to Wilson Creek, but he continued to work at Helena at his old trade. The shot at this period was packed in kegs and shipped mostly to Buffalo, being hauled by team to Milwaukee. Very little was sent elsewhere, for the Missouri shot controlled the Mississippi markets.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The windows of the shaft were in three sets of three each. One of these was at the top of the shaft, one in the middle, and one about five feet from the bottom. The roof came well up the gable of the melting-house, and was itself gabled and shingled. It was sided up by Clark Hickox, who did the work from a platform on the inside, moved up and down by means of a windlass rope.

<sup>2</sup>John Metcalf supplied much of the farm produce used in the company's house, from his place in Ridgeway.

<sup>3</sup>The following are quotations from Milwaukee papers of the time: *Courier*, Sept. 1, 1841: "Last week there arrived about 20,000 lbs. of shot from the Helena Tower, and we understood 30,000 lbs. more will be forthcoming in a few days."

*Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1841: "*Lead Trade*.—Last week six teams loaded with upwards of twelve tons of shot, arrived in town from Helena on the Wisconsin river. We are glad to perceive that the route by the way of Milwaukee, through the Lakes, to an eastern market is enjoying the attention of the mineral region. It is shorter and more expeditious than any other, and we believe less expensive. Our roads have been so much improved within the last twelve months that they are now very passable through the Territory. Still greater improvements can be made in them, and our citizens should use every exertion to secure this valuable trade to this place, as it will add much to the increase and prosperity of Milwaukee."

In December, 1843, Hickox went to his farm in Ridgeway, and his place was taken by Thomas J. Williams.<sup>1</sup> Metcalf, while at Mineral Point in the winter of 1843, had hired Williams and Peter Lloyd to come to Helena in the April following. Lloyd was first employed in hauling the imperfect shot up from the finishing-house, while his wife boarded the hands. Williams began dropping shot after three months' work in the finishing-house, during which apprenticeship Metcalf himself was the dropper.<sup>2</sup>

During this period, 1843-44, most of the lead was obtained from Todd & Hoskins's furnace at Dodgeville, and from other furnaces at Ridgeway, Blue Mounds, and Pokerville (near Blue Mounds). The shot was sold mostly at Milwaukee, but some of it also at Galena. The hauling was done largely by "sucker"<sup>3</sup> teams from Northern Illinois, which came up in the spring and returned in the fall. Their five yoke of oxen and their heavy canvass-topped wagons were familiar sights to the miners and other settlers of the '40's and the early '50's. The return trips from Milwaukee and Galena were made profitable by loads

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas J. Williams was born in Wales, March 9, 1819. He came to America in the spring of 1842, and went to Pennsylvania for a time. Not liking the country there, he went to Albany, intending to return to Wales; but, meeting a settler from Wisconsin, he heard from him of its rich farming lands and determined to come to this State. With two companions he walked from Albany across New York State, crossed over to Canada, and buying a team there proceeded to Detroit. Embarking on a sailing vessel with his team, he reached Milwaukee. From there he drove to Blue Mounds where he sold his team to the tavern-keeper, Ebenezer Brigham. On his way to Dodgeville he stopped several months at the Messersmith place. He served a Mineral Point store-keeper named Beach in the winter of 1842-43 and left there to work at Helena the following spring. He settled in Spring Green the latter part of August, 1844. In 1861 he moved from Spring Green to a farm in Ridgeway, settling in Dodgeville, his present home, in 1888.

<sup>2</sup>The wages of the men varied from \$10 to \$13 a month. Hickox received \$200 a year, and Williams \$16 a month.

<sup>3</sup>See Thwaites's *Story of Wisconsin*, p. 205, note, for origin of terms. "Badger" and "Sucker," as applied to residents of Wisconsin and Illinois respectively.

of merchandise (particularly salt) brought back to the towns and villages of the mining region. Considerable shot and lead were also hauled by local teamsters, who also brought back many immigrants, with their baggage, from the lake cities into the interior of Wisconsin. By 1844, most of the supplies for this region, save groceries, came from Milwaukee, the usual road passing through Madison and Waukesha, or farther south by Troy, to avoid the marshes. It will be remembered that after 1836 the Helena tower was owned chiefly by Buffalo (N. Y.) men, and that not until 1843 did the controlling interest pass from them to John Metcalf, of Helena, and J. B. Terry, of Mineral Point.<sup>1</sup> This of course determined the markets for their product during these seven years, and by the end of that time the route was too well established to be changed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Terry was born Jan. 18, 1796, in Cocksackie, on North River, N. Y., and died at Mineral Point, Jan. 11, 1874. He learned the hardware business at Troy, N. Y., and carried it on in St. Charles, Mo. He went to Sangamon, Ill., in 1827, and to the lead mines as a merchant and smelter. He was a member of the Wisconsin Territorial legislature at both the Belmont and Burlington sessions. He had been drafted into service during the War of 1812-15. In 1832, for services in the Black Hawk War, he received a captain's commission, and afterward Governor Dodge gave him the rank of general of the Territorial militia. He had in early times a trading post at Terry's Springs, in company with Gratiot of St. Louis, and his lead-smelting furnace was at Diamond Grove.

<sup>2</sup> Adv. in *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Oct. 12, 1844, until April 26, 1845: "The Wisconsin Shot Tower Company will hereafter have regular supplies of Shot Nos. O, BBB, BB, B, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, for sale at the following places, viz.

Helena .....	by J. Metcalf
Mineral Point .....	by J. B. Terry
Milwaukee .....	by L. J. Higby
Detroit .....	by S. Shepard
Buffalo .....	by Sizer and Tift.

"Supplies of Pig and Bar Lead will also be kept for sale at the Stone Warehouse of Messrs. Sizer and Tift, Prime street and the dock.

Buffalo, Sept. 12, 1844.

H. HAMILTON, Agent."

The following, from the *Milwaukee Herald*, copied in the *Wisconsin Herald* (Lancaster), Nov. 30, 1844, p. 2, is of interest: "*Shot and Lead.*—One day last week we discovered an unusual number of hoosier teams

In the latter part of August, 1844, Williams left Helena, and his place was taken by Evan Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> who remained for two years. John Evans<sup>2</sup> was shot-dropper in 1846, having previously worked in the finishing-house. There were also here, between 1844 and 1848, Owen Jones, James Elli-

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in our street. On inquiry, we found they are here after goods for Mineral Point, shipped this way. The teams brought 40,000 lbs. of shot, and 50 tons of lead for L. J. Higby, all of which were shipped the same day for Buffalo, by the steamer James Madison. If there was a good railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, over 25,000,000 lbs. of lead and shot would find its way to New York, via the Great Lakes. It is a matter that must be looked to by the next legislature."

<sup>1</sup> Evan Lloyd was born in Caernarvonshire, North Wales, Dec. 25, 1823, and died at Mazomanie, Dec. 13, 1885. At the age of 13 he ran away from home and spent three years in the Newcastle coal mines. In 1839 he came to America, and after working three years in the Pennsylvania mines went West, stopping at St. Louis and Galena, and finally settling in Dodgeville. In 1844 he was hired by Metcalf to work in the shot-tower at Helena, and till 1846 dropped shot there. On July 3, 1847, he married Jane Hodgson, and for a year filled small orders for shot, frequently working at the tower with no assistance but that of his wife. The next two years were spent in St. Louis, after which he brought his wife north again, and returned in a few months to work in the Illinois coal mines. The next year he joined a Dodgeville party bound for California. On his return, two years later, he settled at Mill Creek, but later built a house on a farm at Arena, and moved thither. In the spring of 1868 he went to Chicago to take John Bradford's place as dropper in the new shot-works there, but returned in the autumn of 1869, being unable to work longer on account of arsenic poisoning, which doubtless hastened his death.

<sup>2</sup> John Evans emigrated to the United States in 1844, from the parish of Llandyssil, Cardiganshire, Wales. The next year he came to Wisconsin, soon after obtained employment in the shot-tower, and in 1854 married Mary Thomas, from Anglesey, Wales. Evans held the position of shot-dropper at Helena longer than any other man employed there. He dropped for John Metcalf in 1846, and again in 1848-49; for Daniel Thompson in 1850, for Raiph Flint in 1852, for John Bradford in 1853-57, and for Tracy Lockman in 1859-60. When the works closed in 1861, he settled on a farm at Wyoming. In 1867 he was hired by E. W. Blatchford to drop shot for the Chicago Shot-Tower Company, and assist in experiments on various alloys. But owing to ill-health he returned in a few months to his farm, where he died Oct. 12, 1876. He was buried by the side of his wife in the Old Helena cemetery.

son, and Peter Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> all of whom were more or less regularly employed at the tower. William Hodgson<sup>2</sup> worked a year, 1847-48, in the finishing-house, attending to the drying and polishing of shot, as well as dipping it out of the cistern. Mrs. Hobbs boarded Metcalf's hands for a number of years, at the company's house.

In 1847, as already related, Metcalf disposed of his interest in the shot-tower, and purchased property at Baraboo. He does not appear to have completely severed his connection with the company, however, until after 1849. His assistant and clerk was A. W. Moore,<sup>3</sup> who about this time

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Lloyd was born in Denbighshire, North Wales, in 1810, and died at Lone Rock in 1881. After the age of 12 he spent most of his early life in London and Liverpool. At the latter place he was on the police force, and before leaving the city married Margaret Davis. About 1840 he came to America, was employed as fireman on a steamer at Pittsburg, and also worked in the coal mines of that region. In 1843 he arrived at Mineral Point, and was hired by Metcalf to work at the shot-tower. While at Helena he built a dwelling northeast of the company's house. A few years later, he took up a farm at Mill Creek and moved there with his family, although he still spent much of his time at Helena. About 1851 he returned to Helena, and after Bernard's death (see p. 362, *note 1.*) built a house, on the site of the hotel erected by the latter in 1852. Until the tower closed, Lloyd was employed in the finishing-house and occasionally dropped shot. After 1861 he bought a farm about a mile from the tower, where he resided until shortly before his death.

<sup>2</sup> William Hodgson was born in Barmston, Eng., Dec. 24, 1825. In 1845 he came to America with his brother, by way of Montreal, passing around Niagara Falls on a horse railway. Landing from their boat at Milwaukee, the brothers hired a team to transport them to Blue Mounds, where they spent some time at Brigham's hotel. After taking up a farm at Mill Creek, William spent the summer and fall of 1846 at Reinerson's lead furnace in Mineral Point. With the money earned here (\$13 a month), he entered a tract of government land at Arena. The following year was spent at the tower, and in 1848 he assisted George Pound at the ferry, disposing at the same time of a raft of lumber purchased of a chance dealer on the Wisconsin. Since this time, Hodgson has resided on his farm in Arena, where he has purchased several claims from stockholders in the British Temperance Emigration Society, whose advertisement had attracted the Hodgsons to this part of the Northwest.

<sup>3</sup> Moore was at Helena, 1844-50, leaving at about the time of the death of his wife (Harriet Franklin), early in 1850. He was subsequently the county auditor at Olympia, Washington, where he died.



managed a store for him. In moving his goods to Baraboo, Metcalf took them by team across the Wisconsin river and through Harrisburg (near Black Hawk) to their destination.

About the time of Metcalf's departure, the shot-tower lost another of its old-time employes; John Wilson had removed to Wilson Creek in 1840, but he still continued to make shot-kegs for the company, either coming to Helena and doing the work in his old cooper shop there, or sending them down the river from his shop on Wilson Creek. In 1848 he ceased this work altogether, and after 1854 the shot was shipped in boxes made at the tower. During his last year's work, Wilson was assisted by F. A. Oertel. Among the best-known of those Helena settlers who were more or less connected with the tower, may be mentioned Alvah Culver,<sup>1</sup> whose hotel was in early days a great resort for travelers. He was also the pioneer ferryman of Old Helena, and kept store in a building southeast of his hotel. Less widely known, but none the less kindly remembered, was another genial tavern-keeper, Thomas Pound,<sup>2</sup> whose old-fashioned Quaker hospitality is still re-

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<sup>1</sup> Alvah Culver was born in Bainbridge, N. Y., in 1811. He went to Green Bay, in 1837, to work at his trade as carpenter. The same year he came to Helena with Daniel Whitney and worked for him upon the buildings of the Shot-Tower Company. In 1838 he returned to New York and brought his family to Helena by way of Green Bay. The same year he put up the hotel of which he was proprietor till 1863. He built two steamboats for the Wisconsin River trade, and ran a small boat between Helena and Prairie du Chien. He also owned and operated what was for many years the only ferry across the Wisconsin River. He moved to Helena Station in 1863, and in 1884 bought the Andrew Lockman property there. Dying there Feb. 28, 1885, he was buried in the Old Helena cemetery.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Pound was born Nov. 13, 1784, and died at Spring Green, Sept. 23, 1868. He belonged to a Pennsylvania Quaker family. In 1847 he came west with his family, stopping temporarily at Cooksville, Rock Co., and settled at Prairie du Sac. After keeping hotel here for a year, he was hired in the fall of 1848 by John Cook to come to Helena and board the men engaged in constructing a steamboat that had been begun at Prairie du Sac the preceding summer. After two years Pound

called by those who had occasion to visit Helena in his day. Pound was at Helena from 1848 to 1850, and ran a store in the building previously used for that purpose by the company. He was also postmaster, and had control of the ferry, it being run by his son George and his stepson, S. I. Freeborn. Pound's successor was Archibald Bernard,<sup>1</sup> who came to Helena in the fall of 1849 and began keeping tavern in the company's house, which he rented immediately after Pound's departure for Spring Green. He also took charge of the ferry,<sup>2</sup> and sold lumber for Northern dealers,—Helena being, in his time, an important lumber center. In 1852 Bernard erected a hotel southwest of Culver's place, and kept a small grocery in one of the rooms.

We cannot forbear a reference to F. W. Shadick, a Cornishman, but nevertheless universally known as "the Scotch giant." Before coming to America he traveled with a circus in England; after his arrival here, he was a teamster for several years, principally between Mineral Point and Galena. Although probably never at Helena, stories of his many wonderful feats of strength are still

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moved across Wisconsin River and for a year kept store about two miles from the present site of Spring Green. He subsequently managed a hotel at Richland City till he retired from business. After living at Ithaca some time he moved to Spring Green, where he spent the remainder of his life.

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Bernard was born in 1810, and died at Helena, April 30, 1857. He came from Prince Edward's Island with his family, in July, 1849, in company with a large party of immigrants, among whom were the Kings, Branders, and Mackintoshes. Passing through Ridgeway, where he had friends, he arrived at Helena in the autumn of the same year. His life here has already been referred to. He was buried in the Old Helena cemetery, where several members of his family have since been interred.

<sup>2</sup> Alvah Culver seems to have first conducted the Helena ferry. After him Metcalf had charge of it, apparently for the Shot-Tower Company. Pound next took it, followed by Bernard, who was succeeded by Culver again. William Persell was the next ferryman, assisted by Robert Lloyd, who after Persell's death sold it to Owen King, under whose ownership it remained until the bridge was built (1887).

told in the neighborhood, where he was well known by most of the employés at the tower. He was, during his last years, regularly employed as a man of might by one of the large Western circuses, and was traveling with the company when he died (1854).<sup>1</sup>

Henry Peche,<sup>2</sup> another character of the old mining days, was well known at Helena and Dodgeville. But it is impossible to enumerate all the individuals in that life that centered about the tower in the first twenty years of its existence. The type of life it gave rise to has already disappeared, or exists only in the recollection of those few who have outlived their generation. To study it, is to study beginnings, the rudiments of social and economic order in an undeveloped country, and see in their proper perspective the first rough outlines of a new social organization in the Northwest.

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<sup>1</sup> From the *Rewey Bee*, April 30, 1895: "The bodies of the noted giant and his wife were moved from the Cottage Inn cemetery to this place Monday. Mr. F. W. Shadick was born in Cornwall, England, April 27, 1813, and came to America in 1847 and located at Cottage Inn in the spring of '48, where he married Miss Jane Gray in '49; and in the spring of '50 he began traveling with one of the earliest shows on the road in this country. Mr. Shadick was 7 ft. 4 in. high and weighed 370 lbs. While on exhibition at Laporte, Ind., July 4, 1854, Shadick died and his body was brought to Cottage Inn and interred. In the following fall his wife died and was laid by his side."

<sup>2</sup> Henry Peche claimed to have come to Prairie du Chien with the British army when it captured that place in 1814. He was a tailor by trade, and was company tailor in the expedition. From here he drifted to Dodgeville, where he did mending and washing for the miners. John Metcalf took care of him during a severe sickness, and after that he stayed with him, often keeping house for him, until he became jocularly known as "Metcalf's wife." He was the first Sunday School superintendent, and David Jones was the first preacher, at Old Helena, the services being held in the warehouse. When Metcalf went to Baraboo, he accompanied him, but soon returned to the shot-tower, where he assisted at various sorts of work until he was no longer able to support himself. From here he went to Isaac Fann's, at Wyoming, doing gardening, etc., for his board. He afterward stayed a year with the Joiner family, and in the spring of 1862 was taken by L. W. Joiner to the Iowa county poor-house, where he died about two years later.

In 1847 the tower was bought by Washburn & Woodman, a Mineral Point law firm, which was doing an extensive land business. Thus the enterprise begun by a Green Bay merchant, and so long controlled by Buffalo capitalists, comes into the possession of Wisconsin citizens of the lead district.<sup>1</sup> For two years the tower was run successfully by the new firm,<sup>2</sup> then it seems for a time to have suspended operations, for early in 1850 we find that it was reported as abandoned. In this year Daniel Thompson<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* (Galena), June 11, 1847.

The following, from the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, is quoted in the *Wis. Herald*, July 10, 1847, p. 2: "*Wisconsin Shot*.—Another fleet of 'Prairie Schooners' eight in number, arrived here yesterday morning, bringing some sixteen or seventeen tons of shot from the Wisconsin Shot Tower at Helena, 24 miles from Mineral Point. This Tower is now owned and worked by Messrs. Washburn & Woodman, of Mineral Point, and can turn out from 5 to 10,000 lbs. per day. The agents in this town are Messrs. Miller & Cushman. We learn from Mr. Miller that he sold last week thirty tons of this shot for the Montreal market. The retail trade of our own city and vicinity has long been supplied from the same source, and there is no doubt that ere long Wisconsin shot will be a leading article of export from Milwaukee to all cities and towns along the lakes."

<sup>2</sup> Adv. in *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1847: "*Shot Agency*.—I am appointed Agent for the sale of shot from the Wisconsin Works, a supply always kept on hand.

E. HEMPSTEAD."

Adv. in *Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1847: "*Shot! Shot!*—500 Bags just received (all sizes) direct from the Wisconsin Tower, and for sale by

CAMPBELL & SMITH."

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Thompson was born June 1, 1821, at the village of Sacarappa, in the town of Westbrook, Cumberland Co., Maine. His father commanded a sailing vessel during the War of 1812-15. Left an orphan at three years of age, he was brought up by his uncle, Ephraim Flint. At eighteen he graduated in the civil engineering department of Norwich (Vt.) University. After a year at sea on a whaling ship, he went to Mineral Point and found work with Washburn & Woodman in the government land office. He next settled at Pekin, on the Illinois river, and carried on a grain and provision business until the building of the Illinois Central railroad destroyed it by turning the trade to Chicago. After a year spent in Mineral Point and at Helena, he went to Chicago; and in 1854 engaged in the elevator and storage business as a member

was hired to make a quantity of shot for Henry and Nathan Corwith, of Galena. He spent the summer and fall at Helena, and from his account we learn that things were much dilapidated. Part of the shot made by Thompson<sup>1</sup> was sent in kegs to Milwaukee by ox-teams from Pike county, Ill.

In June, 1852, Ralph Flint<sup>2</sup> was sent to the tower to superintend the works and attend to the shipments of shot. Most of the shot was still hauled to Milwaukee by oxen, but part of it went to Galena by boat.<sup>3</sup> In the autumn of 1852, Flint tore down the old finishing-house and rebuilt it with lumber floated\* down from the Wisconsin pineries.<sup>4</sup>

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of the firm of Flint & Thompson. In 1880 he was compelled to leave on account of ill-health, and went to Louisiana, where he has since been engaged in sugar-raising on the Calumet plantation, at Patterson.

<sup>1</sup> He employed John Evans as shot dropper; Evan Lloyd to dry, polish and size the shot; and Peter Lloyd to weigh it and sew up the sacks.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Flint was born at West Baldwin, Me., in 1830. He came West in 1849, and was for a time employed in a packing-house belonging to his brother in Pekin, Ill. After the firm removed to Chicago, he returned to West Baldwin, where he remained till the spring of 1852, when he again took charge of the Helena tower. From here he went to Richland City, and for a few years engaged in saw-milling. In 1855 he sold out his interest and opened a lumber yard at Avoca, where he remained until the spring of 1859, when he returned to his native town where he has since resided. Flint served in the Army of the Potomac during the last year of the War of Secession.

<sup>3</sup> In 1851 a company was formed at Helena to build a steamboat; among its members were E. M. Greer, John Cameron, and Alvah Culver. The boat was loaded with wheat and went down as far as Memphis. Here it was condemned, and was sold for a barge. When the boat was being launched near the warehouse, a party of musicians led by Peter Lloyd and William Persell played Yankee Doodle. Unfortunately, the boat stuck on a sand-bar before it reached deep water, and so this launching ceremony was wasted.

<sup>4</sup> Flint stayed at the hotel of Archibald Bernard, and slept in a room in the warehouse. John Evans was dropper, assisted by Evan J. Davis; Peter Lloyd sized the shot; and Dr. Giddings (nephew of Joshua R. Giddings) weighed the shot and sewed up the sacks. The men were called from work by striking a large kettle which, suspended on a pole, did service as a bell. Wishing one day to call Peter Lloyd, and being unable to attract his attention, Flint struck the kettle such a blow that

The carpenter employed in this work was Robert Emery,<sup>1</sup> of Arena. The new building was fitted with improved machinery and a small 6-horse-power steam-engine took the place of the horse.

In 1853, John Bradford,<sup>2</sup> of Winslow, Ill., was placed in charge of the tower. By means of the superior facilities for making shot then in vogue, the daily output was nearly doubled. Nor was this increased business activity confined to the shot-tower alone; there was as well a brief but de-

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its support was broken, and it fell upon the roof of the finishing-house, breaking off a dormer window and plunging into the river. It was never recovered. Dr. Giddings was at Helena as early as 1849, and did not leave till about 1854. His wife was an invalid, but soon after they came to this place taught in their kitchen the first school at Helena. He was the only doctor there, but his skill does not seem to have been highly regarded. He was also justice of the peace, and in this capacity performed many of the early marriage ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Emery was born March 25, 1809, in Bedfordshire, Eng., and died near Madison, March 16, 1882. He came to New York in 1837, but moved to Springfield, Mass., the following year, remaining there six years, working at his trade of stair-building and carpentering. Buying some land in Muscoda, he came to Wisconsin, and in the spring of 1844 settled at Helena, occupying a log house on the bank of the river, where Dr. Giddings subsequently lived. About 1850 Emery moved to a farm in Arena, on Mill Creek, and was there when engaged in rebuilding the finishing-house at the shot-tower. In 1858 he moved to Union, and ten years later returned to the farm in Arena, where his daughter Susan now resides.

<sup>2</sup> John Bradford was born in Plympton, Plymouth Co., Mass., July 10, 1809, and died at Winslow, Ill., Nov. 30, 1893. He was the eldest son of Lieut. John Bradford, a direct descendant of William Bradford, the second governor of Plymouth colony. He learned the trade of millwright from his father. In 1837 he came to Winslow with some agents of a Boston land company. When he drove through where Chicago now stands, a man offered to trade for his team and wagon forty acres of land on the present site of the Chicago court-house. Bradford's reply to the offer was, "You can keep your swamp, and I'll keep my team." He worked at Helena from 1853 to 1857, and from there went to Waubeek as overseer in the Washburne flouring mills. In 1867 he took charge of the shot-tower belonging to E. W. Blatchford of Chicago. He remained here seven years, inventing in 1873 a revolving bullet-mold, which he sold to the company the same year. See *Official Gazette*, U. S. Pat. Off., iii., p. 101, patents 135, 197.

cided "boom" for the little village. Old Helena's one street assumed a thriving appearance as the teamsters came and went with their loads, bringing from Milwaukee and the other lake ports on each return trip one or more travelers, or a company of immigrants looking for homes; and the bustle that always precedes the coming of a new railroad added intensity to the busy life of this period of her history. River traffic was also active just now, and more and more of the surplus product of the farms was finding its way southward. Much lead and shot went to market the same way, doubtless favored by the business connections of Washburn & Woodman at Galena. But the prosperity of Helena was as short-lived as it was vigorous. The bridge was completed across the Wisconsin river, and the Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad pushed on to Muscoda and Prairie du Chien. Transportation no longer delayed progress, towns sprang up all along the line of the new road, and river towns not in connection with the new highway fell into inevitable decay. It only needed the crisis of 1857 to completely ruin Old Helena; nor did the shot-tower long outlive the little village.

Besides John Evans, the dropper, Bradford had under him Samuel Henderson, Henry Douglas, and George Mack; the last named came from Illinois with Bradford, to work in the tower. Soon after Bradford's arrival, a well was dug in the horizontal drift near the cistern; besides furnishing excellent drinking water, it was used to supply the cistern. At about the same time the stairs were built from the finishing-house up the face of the cliff to a path leading to the shaft and melting-house. They started from a platform near the west door of the finishing-house, and were broken in the middle by a small landing. The path to which they led is yet to be seen ending abruptly on the face of the cliff, and the mortices in the side of the ledge still show where the supports rested.

All who remember the appearance of the old wooden shaft of the shot-tower (60 feet high) will recall the fact that it was white or whitish, making it a striking object

for miles around. Perhaps not all who remember this feature of the shaft are aware that this was due to its having been, early in the '50's, whitewashed by William Bernard, son of the hotel-keeper at Helena. This rather hazardous task he performed in a tub which was raised and lowered by means of a rope and windlass.

In 1855, Cyrus Woodman<sup>1</sup> withdrew from the firm, and his partner continued the business, under the title of C. C. Washburn & Co. A circular issued by the new firm, the following year, gives the condition of affairs at the tower;<sup>2</sup> without doubt this was the most prosperous period in its history. The excellent management of Bradford, the in-

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<sup>1</sup> Cyrus Woodman was born in Buxton, Me., June 2, 1814, and died at Cambridge, Mass., March 30, 1889. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1836, studied law, and in 1839 was admitted to the bar in Boston. In 1840 he went to Illinois in the employ of the Boston & Western Land Co. Four years later he entered into partnership with C. C. Washburn of Mineral Point; and the firm of Washburn & Woodman did a law, land, and banking business for eleven years. In 1855 Woodman severed his connection with the firm, and the following year went to Europe with his family. In 1859 he returned to Mineral Point, while his family were settled at Cambridge, Mass. The years 1862-64 were spent chiefly at Detroit, in the employ of the St. Mary's Ship Canal Co. and the Michigan Pine Lands Association. After 1864 he gradually withdrew from active business, settled down in Cambridge, and devoted himself to books, to historical research, and to the publication of historical material. His interest in the West was always fresh, and in the last year of his life he took a trip to Alaska.

A biography of C. C. Washburn is to be found in the *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 327-365.

<sup>2</sup> "*Wisconsin Shot Tower.*—The proprietors of the Wisconsin Shot Tower give notice that the completion of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Rail Road thereto, will enable them hereafter to fill all orders for shot which may be transmitted to them, at a moment's notice. The tower is now in successful operation and a large stock of shot of all sizes will be kept constantly on hand for sale at the lowest rates, for cash. The Shot is put up in strong boxes, six sacks in each box and can be securely transported to any distance. Orders accompanied by a remittance or satisfactory reference will receive prompt attention. All communications should be addressed to us at Helena, Wisconsin.

Helena, Wis., June 1st, 1856.

C. C. WASHBURN & Co."



creased facilities for production, and improved means of transportation, combined to give every advantage to the new firm.<sup>1</sup>

In 1857, Tracy Lockman<sup>2</sup> took Bradford's place as manager; he was also shot-dropper for a portion of the time. With the introduction of steam and new machinery, fewer men were employed.<sup>3</sup> Willis Foster was engineer and

<sup>1</sup> The amount of shot shipped eastward over the new railroad, beginning as early as 1853, is evidence enough of the prosperous condition of the business.

Statistics from *Milw. & Miss. R. R. Reports*, 1853-59, and *Mil. & Pr. du Chien R. R. Reports*, 1861: Shot shipped east:

1853.....	110,201 lbs.	1857.....	415,714 lbs.
1854.....	91,379 lbs.	1858.....	205,377 lbs.
1855.....	160,844 lbs.	1859.....	341,104 lbs.
1856.....	277,839 lbs.	1861.....	16,480 lbs.

No shot shipped after 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Tracy Lockman was born in New Jersey, Feb. 13, 1824, and died at Cazenovia, Madison Co., N. Y., Jan. 18, 1887. In the spring of 1848 he went to Cadiz, Green Co., Wis., where he was employed by Cyrus Woodman to survey his land. In 1851, Lockman moved to Martin Town, in the same county, where he was made manager for Nathan Martin, who had a saw-mill, lumber-yard, store, etc. He remained here until the autumn of 1856, when he went to Helena to take charge of the shot-tower, and was in the employ of C. C. Washburn for four years, until the tower closed. In October, 1861, he moved to a farm near Helena, and acted as real estate agent for outside capitalists, until 1880, when he returned to his old home in New York. Mention of the official positions he held in his town and county is to be found in *Iowa Co. Hist.*, p. 934.

<sup>3</sup> The shot was raised from the cistern by means of an endless belt, and elevator cups; these discharged the shot upon a wide belt running to the mouth of the shaft, from which it passed into the finishing-house. After the shot was dried and polished, it was elevated by means of a belt with cups to the top of the finishing-house, where it was sorted and sized as before described (*ante*, p. 355). The sieves were perforated zinc sheets, concave upon the upper side. They were rocked back and forth by machinery, while a heavy leaden ball, in a trough beneath, rolled backward and forward, jarring the shot through the sieves by its sudden jerk; this device was an invention of John Bradford. The rest of the work was also done automatically; the empty sack was hung from a spout, where shot ran in till the required weight (25 lbs.) was reached, and then the weight of the bag caused the flow to be cut off. All that remained to do was to hang an empty bag on the spout, and sew up the full one.

polisher. The shot-droppers, 1857-60, were successively Evan Lloyd, Peter Lloyd, William Persell, and John Evans, although it required two men in busy times, making it necessary to hire extra hands. For the most part they were paid \$2 a day, or \$40 a month; Lockman received \$66 a month; and his son Andrew, who worked there, \$8. David W. Culver,<sup>1</sup> of Wyoming, assisted at shot-dropping in 1857-60; Thomas Evans worked in 1856-57 at sewing sacks and packing the shot in boxes; Archie Brander<sup>2</sup> was hired as regular teamster in 1857 and worked one season, receiving \$25 a month.

The first sewing-machine in this part of the country was purchased in 1854 for use in the shot-tower, in making sacks. It was a Grover & Baker, at first run by hand; but several years later, Lockman added a treadle. It was a very clumsy affair, as "noisy as a threshing-machine."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>David W. Culver, born Aug. 25, 1834, in Tompkins, Delaware Co., N. Y. He came with his father to Helena, when but four years old, and lived here during the greater part of the period we are tracing. Much of this time was spent in assisting his father in his various occupations of hotel-keeper, merchant, ferryman, and postmaster. Besides this, he was frequently employed about the shot-tower, in making shot and preparing it for market. On Sept. 3, 1863, he married Jane Mallalieu and lived in the old company house during 1863-72. He then moved to Helena Station, where he remained till 1875; since 1883 he has been living on a farm in the town of Wyoming, Iowa Co.

<sup>2</sup>Archie Brander was born in Prince Edward's Island, April 16, 1831, and came to Helena with his father at the age of twenty. They moved to Wyoming in 1852, where for eight years he did teaming between Galena, Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Helena, and Milwaukee. He was one of the best teamsters in the country and well known in the mining regions. After his season's work for the shot-tower, he was employed by C. C. Washburn for two years, hauling supplies from the town of Pepin to the lumber camps in the interior. In 1860 he married, and now resides on a farm in Wyoming.

<sup>3</sup>During the summer and autumn of 1854, Mary Ann Donnelly (Mrs. De Witt Culver) worked at the tower, making shot-sacks. When Lockman took charge, his wife did most of this sewing. She also made clothes for the family on the same machine, and it was used by others to some extent, for the same purpose.

The following item is from the Mineral Point *Tribune*, May 12, 1857: '*Sam Patch Beaten*.—Probably the greatest leap on record was made

In the fall of 1857 the tower closed, and at that time it was supposed to be a final suspension; but it opened again the following spring. Henry P. George was the agent for the company during these later years, in that capacity buying the lead, paying the men, and acting for the firm generally.

In May, 1861, the tower was finally closed. During this spring it was, without other assistance, run by Lockman and his son Andrew. The breaking out of the War of Secession, which drew Washburn away from Mineral Point, and the scarcity of gold, with which alone lead could be purchased, combined to render it impossible longer to continue operations. Lockman purchased the buildings and machinery, except the buckshot machine, which John Bradford took with him to Chicago in 1867 and sold to the Shot-Tower Company of that city.<sup>1</sup>

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one day last week at the Helena shot-tower. A horse, some twelve years old, jumped from the bank over a perpendicular precipice of one hundred and eighty feet into the river below, and came out safe and sound, after swimming nearly half a mile to a suitable landing-place. The water at the point where the leap was made was from twenty to twenty-five feet deep, and the noble animal must have struck it in a favorable position, otherwise he could not have come out uninjured. We have the above particulars from reliable authority."

It does not detract from the interest of the item to know that the actual space through which the horse dropped was not over 70 ft.; and that the "noble animal" was almost useless, being so balky that its owner, Peter Lloyd, declared it "wouldn't pull an empty wagon down hill." The horse was grazing on the hill above Mill Creek, and being completely blind, lost its footing on the steep slope. John L. Jones, of Hill-side, assisted it to reach the shore, as, bewildered by its unexpected plunge, it did not know in which direction to swim.

<sup>1</sup>From *Chicago Illustrated Century*, Aug. 20, 1887: "*The Big Shot-Tower*.—High above all the surrounding factories and dwellings, even above the tallest chimneys, standing like a sentinel over the fork of Chicago's river, may be seen what is popularly known as 'Blatchford's Shot-Tower.' This structure was erected in 1867, being of the usual rigid simplicity of its kind, \* \* \* over 200 feet high. \* \* \* The original builder, E. W. Blatchford, has transformed that branch of his manufacture into what is known as the 'Chicago Shot-Tower Co.,' the Blatchfords still continuing to be members of the same."

In the winter of 1864-65, Lockman took down the melting and finishing houses of the Helena tower and put them up again a few miles away, on the farm now owned by James L. Jones, of Hillside. Here, they are still in use; the finishing-house, with some additions at one end, serves as a substantial barn, the principal one on the farm. The wooden shaft was left to tumble down from decay, years later. The shot-making machinery was chiefly sold to persons in Dodgeville.<sup>1</sup> Among the other buildings at Helena, some are still in use. The company store was moved many times, and once served as a school-house; it is now standing about a mile from the hill, and is used by J. T. Clancy as a store. The warehouse was taken down, removed to Arena, and set up as a store by William Jones, of that place. Later, he sold it to the town board, who converted it into the present town hall. The shot-tower real estate was sold for taxes, September 6, 1864, to George W. Foster, of Wyoming, for \$46.85;<sup>2</sup> on February 20, 1882, the land was bought by Robert Lloyd for \$55;<sup>3</sup> September 3, 1889, it was sold for \$60 to Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago.<sup>4</sup>

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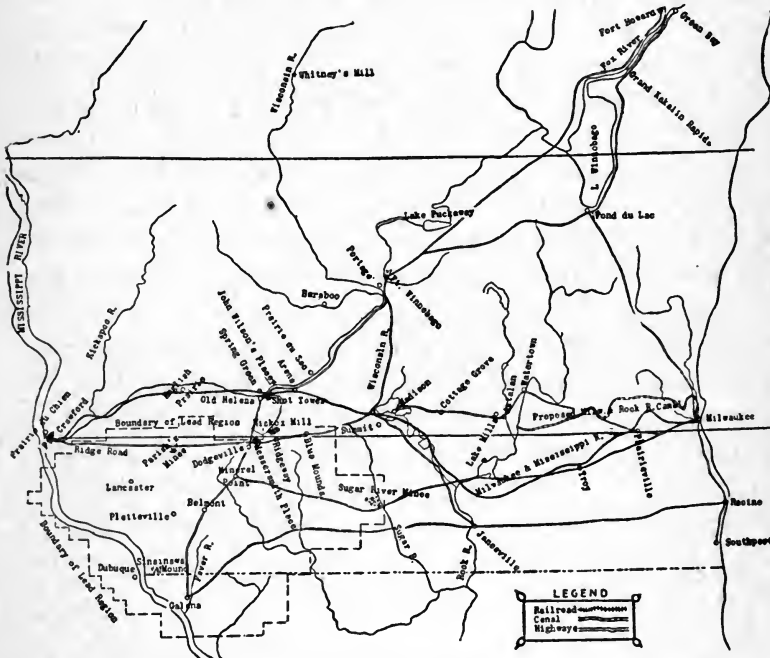
<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Sherman, of Dodgeville, bought the engine and boiler for \$100, also the two circular saws, and the belt used in elevating the shot in the finishing-house. Peter Spang bought the shafting (24 ft. long). There was also a Daniel planer used to prepare lumber for the boxes.

<sup>2</sup> *Iowa Co. Deeds*, vol. 24, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, vol. 39, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, vol. 47, pp. 377, 378. In making this purchase, Mr. Jones, in connection with William C. Gannett, then of St. Paul, and Sylvan S. Hunting, of Des Moines, Ia., proposed to establish a summer resort and resting-place for ministers, teachers and others who might during the summer months thus enjoy the beautiful scenery of the neighborhood, and a simple, economical retirement from the city. In carrying out this purpose, the Tower Hill Pleasure Company was incorporated Dec. 30, 1889, with Robert L. Joiner as its first president. The articles of incorporation, as filed Dec. 30, 1889, are signed by Thomas L. Jones, James L. Jones, Enos L. Jones, James Phillip, E. C. L. Jones, and Jane L. Jones (*Iowa Co. Deeds*, vol. 50, p. 163). At the present writing (August, 1895), this company owns a pavilion, dining hall, ice-house, the necessary stables and servants' quarters, and a system of water-works which, by

We have seen in the foregoing sketch how the Helena shot-tower, begun by the enterprise of a Green Bay merchant, had a vigorous life of nearly thirty years. It is no mean proof of shrewd judgment exercised in selecting such a site, that the industry flourished as it did, and that



Southern Wisconsin (1830-61): Showing transportation routes, lead-mining centres, Helena shot-tower, etc. This map illustrates both the present and the preceding paper.

Helena became a center of trade and commercial activity for so many years. The tower, standing where the Mis-

means of a windmill, draws water through the shaft of the old tower into a reservoir sunk in the brow of the hill, and then distributes it as desired by the occupants of the resort. There are upon the grounds six private cottages and three "long houses" for transients. It is the purpose of the company to preserve as far as possible the historical landmarks of the vicinity, and to dedicate the historic spot to educational uses. A "summer assembly and institute" has been maintained each year since its occupancy of the hill. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who from the beginning has been the controlling spirit of the enterprise, is now president of the company.

Mississippi and Green Bay trade met, became the starting point for a newer and more economical route directly to Milwaukee. Its wagon-loads of shot pioneered the way, marking out the track that was followed by lead shippers whenever Mississippi navigation was obstructed; and along this route came returning loads of merchandise and of emigrants seeking homes. Thus was a mere teamster's trail developed into a broad highway, multiplying a hundredfold Wisconsin's connections with the East.

It is of no slight significance that of all the men prominently connected with the Helena shot-tower, nearly three-fourths were from New England and New York. Such facts indicate clearly enough what was going on during the decade following the Black Hawk War. It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of a movement that sent the best men from the states of Maine, Massachusetts, and New York along the Great Lakes to take possession of the new states of the Northwest. And it is a fact no local historian can safely ignore, that in the period when the southern half of Wisconsin received its first peopling, the shot-tower at Helena played an important part in attracting and distributing the new elements added to the State at this early day.

## THE BELGIANS OF NORTHEAST WISCONSIN.

BY XAVIER MARTIN.<sup>1</sup>

In 1853 ten families, mostly from the commune of Grez Doiceau, county of Wavre, Province of Brabant, Belgium—all of them owning homesteads there, with more or less land, upon which they were unable to support their families and provide a suitable education for their children,—conceived the idea of emigrating to the New World. With that object in view, they held meetings at each other's houses to discuss what part of America would most likely improve their condition and that of their children. After due consideration, and before deciding what State they would settle in, they sold out their homes in Belgium and, bidding farewell to their relatives and friends in the fatherland, departed for the United States.

They had contracted with a vessel agent from Antwerp, and the venturesome emigrants reached that seaport on May 14, remaining there several days waiting for the departure of the ship in which they had agreed to take passage, meanwhile making preparations to supply their wants during the voyage. May 18, they boarded the "Queenebec," an old three-masted sailing craft, which about noon set forth, with its 325 passengers, toward the land of promise.

The names of the heads of these ten families who formed the first Belgian settlement in the county of Brown, are as follows: François Petiniot, Etienne Detienne, Martin Paque, Philip Hannon, Adrian Masy, Joseph Moreau, Jean

<sup>1</sup> Of Green Bay.—Ed.

Baptiste Detienne, Joseph Jossart, Lambert Bodart, and Jean Martin (the father of the present writer); with them, were their wives and children. The passage from Antwerp to New York was long, tedious, and rough, attended with several terrific hurricanes, one of which carried off the mainmast of the ship. There were many hardships, such as hunger, thirst, sickness, and one death; but finally we arrived in New York harbor July 5, having been tossed on the troublous sea for forty-eight days.

Whenever on the voyage the weather was fine, the heads of families would congregate and there exchange their views about the State likely to be the best for them in which to settle. From a little pamphlet in which several of the Western States were well advertised, Wisconsin seemed to the most of the party the best and most suitable on account of its land, its water, its timber, and its climate. This last is nearly the same as that of Belgium, with the exception that the winters are longer in Wisconsin; but considering the purity of its atmosphere, and the large volume of snowfall during the winter months facilitating traffic, the conditions were thought to be favorable to Wisconsin. A more hopeful little band of emigrants never set sail for America. For honesty, energy, and perseverance, considering that they came from a rural district, they were good specimens of a country whose history shows its love for human progress, for self-improvement, and for self-government.

It was on board ship that the majority of them decided to locate in Wisconsin; and upon their landing in New York July 5, 1853, they proceeded at once towards Wisconsin,—with the exception of two families, those of Martin Paque and Jean Martin, who remained in Philadelphia for a few months,—arriving at Milwaukee the latter part of July. After a few days in that young city, spent in consultation and rest, they proceeded northward along the lake shore, until they arrived at Sheboygan, where they stopped, believing they had gone far enough. Here they commenced prospecting for land, and had almost come to



the conclusion to settle near that town, having found a suitable location; but as none of them could speak anything but French and the Walloon (a Latinized *patois*, said to be a relic of the Roman Empire), they were considerably annoyed at not being able to communicate with the people of Sheboygan. At this juncture they met a gentleman who could speak French, and he informed them that at Green Bay nearly a half of the people spoke that language; and besides that the land, the water, the timber, and the climate were as good as in Sheboygan or anywhere else in the State of Wisconsin. Hence they at once determined to proceed to Green Bay, where they arrived the latter part of August. Here they found many French-Canadian families, who could speak their language, and so they decided to locate permanently in the neighborhood of these folk.

Leaving their families in what is now the city of Green Bay, the men went out of town in search of a suitable location for a settlement. After several days prospecting they concluded to settle along the Fox river near Kaukauna, about twenty miles south of Green Bay; and were it not for an incident which occurred just at that time, the Belgian settlements would, in all probability, be to-day situated between Wrightstown and Appleton. But it happened otherwise. The death of a child in the family of Philip Hannon caused a delay of a few days, and was the means of determining the locality of settlement of the 20,000 Belgians who are now in the counties of Brown, Kewaunee, and Door. The funeral of the child above mentioned occurred at St. John's Catholic church, in Green Bay. Father Daems, of the Bay Settlement, happened to be visiting the pastor of St. Johns. Father Daems, himself a Belgian, was glad to meet some of his countrymen, and the little band were happy to make his acquaintance. They told Father Daems where they had concluded to settle, but he persuaded them to abandon their first-selected location, forfeit the payments on the entries of land they had made near Kaukauna, and settle on sections 1, 2, and 3, township 24 north, range 22 east; also sections 34, 35, and

36, township 25 north, range 22 east, which sections are adjoining. From that time forward, this district has been called "The First Belgian Settlement" (Fr., *Aux Premier Belges*).

Here the little colony lost no time in hunting the deer and bears which at that time were in abundance in the neighborhood. Each having selected as much land as he wanted, paid the government \$1.25 per acre, and at once began to build small hewed-log houses which they covered with cedar bark, making benches with split blocks, beds with branches and leaves, and using their trunks for tables. For several days and nights, they were obliged to live and sleep in the open air, with nothing above their heads but the canopy of heaven. On the second night after their arrival, there came a terrific rain-storm which drenched them to the skin. Philip Hannon and wife, both of whom are yet living, informed the writer that all they had to protect themselves and their goods from that pouring rain was one umbrella.

The little party were ten miles away from any house, in a virgin forest consisting of a thick growth of pine, maple, beech, cedar, basswood, etc.,—many of the trees being five and even six feet in diameter, and some over a hundred and fifty feet high,—without roads of any kind, not even a trail; with no neighbors, no horses, no cattle; nothing but the occasional visit of a wolf, a deer or a bear, coming around their little huts, and on more than one occasion taking the pork they had brought with them. These and the other hardships incident to frontier life of those days, would have discouraged many people under the same circumstances, but not this brave little band. Their firm belief in Providence, and the desire for self-improvement, gave them courage and strength to acquire a competence in the near future for themselves and their children.

They had promised their friends and relatives at home, that, as soon as they had settled in the New World, they would write to them the facts and circumstances of their voyage, their arrival, and their settlement. This promise

they kept, within a few weeks of their arrival; without encouraging any one to come and join them, they simply said, after telling the story of their migration, that they were satisfied with their new homes in America. These letters were pored over by thousands of people in Belgium, who would come from long distances to read them. Overlooking all the difficulties, which had not been dwelt upon by the colonists, the Belgians at home were delighted with the fresh descriptions of the primitive American forest, and their passion for acquiring land was thereby quickened. Many of them sold everything they had in Belgium, and hastened to join their former neighbors and friends in Wisconsin.

In 1854-55 a large stream of Belgian immigrants — estimated at 15,000 — followed on the trail of the pioneers and, locating on government land in the counties of Brown, Ke-waunee, and Door, formed other settlements, naming them as follows: La Sucrerie, La Rivière Rouge, La Rivière des Loups, La Misère, St. Sauveur, Rosière, Walhain, L'Union, Brussels, Thiry Daems, Aux Flamand, Granlez, A la Petite Baie. Everywhere that they could find land in the three counties, the Belgians founded their little colonies.

The most of these men were tillers of the soil; a few were mechanics, such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, tailors, shoemakers, coopers; some came from cloth factories and other industrial establishments; but all seemed tired of their trades and wanted to become farmers, on land that they could call their own. But many of those who came in 1854 and 1855 were doomed to bitter disappointment; for the tilling of the soil was one thing, while the clearing the land of its heavy timber, in order that the soil might ultimately be tilled, was quite another. Those who had money enough to support themselves and their families for two years, could at once go to work clearing part of their land, so as to get a crop the second year; but those who were not so fortunate were compelled to work at very low wages, at anything they could find, so as to provide bread for their wives and children. As a re-

sult, in 1855, real hardship overtook hundreds of families; the want of work, and high prices for provisions, and no money, necessarily made them suffer for the want of food. Many families were without bread for weeks at a time, feeding on whatever they could find, such as fish, wild onions, and roots. This was followed by a disease resembling Asiatic cholera, attacking nearly every family in the settlement; death resulted in a few days, sometimes in a few hours, the corpse turning black immediately after death. Not a few families lost as many as five of their members in a single week; most of them were buried on their own land, and in great haste. This bad news soon reached the Fatherland through letters written to relatives; a few returned home, carrying to their old neighbors sad reports of the calamities that had befallen the Belgian settlers of Northeastern Wisconsin; this at once checked immigration, and for the next five years very few families came over.

During the first four years of the Belgian settlements, the people were struggling to keep body and soul together. Shut out as they were from the outside world, not understanding the English language, and thus far unable to obtain any one to come and teach it to them, they felt that their lot was indeed a hard one. Nevertheless they were not discouraged; they taught the French language to their children; and held their religious meetings in their log cabins, with an occasional priest to visit them and administer to their spiritual wants. Another difficulty against which they had to contend, was the cutting and building of roads, which had to be opened through dense forests, often threading deep ravines and crossing swamps over which they would lay "corduroy," which made travel difficult and even dangerous for man and beast. These roads, when cut and built, were less than twenty-five feet wide, and on either side rose enormous trees which prevented the sun from drying them; so that the highways, full of stumps and stones and deep water-holes, were in wretched condition all the year round.

I much dislike to refer to myself in this narrative; but from the year 1857 to 1862 circumstances forced me to take a leading part among the Belgian settlers, and the truth must be told. On our arrival in New York in 1853, I had gone directly to Philadelphia, and there I remained until to a certain extent I could understand the English language. Having remained four years in that city, upon the urgent request of my parents I visited my countrymen on the then frontier. When I left Philadelphia, little did I think that I should be induced to remain among them—much less so, when I saw the condition of the settlers on my arrival.

As I was well known among the people, the news of my visit to the settlement made some noise, chiefly because it was known to them that I had received an English education in Philadelphia. Knowledge of the English language was an accomplishment so rare, that among the 15,000 Belgian settlers it was said not one could converse in that tongue.

I found the people apparently very poor, but a more industrious crowd of men, women, and children I have never seen. Many of them were felling trees and clearing land; others were busy shaving shingles by hand, while women were splitting the blocks, and the children were packing the shingles; old people were cooking meals; some men were hauling shingles to Green Bay in lumber wagons drawn by oxen; some men were harvesting, others threshing with flails, others burning logs and branches; many were making or brewing their own beer, and nearly all the men were smoking tobacco which they had raised on their own land. Many of them had cattle, some of them had wagons and yokes of oxen, a few had teams of horses; many raised their own pork; those having maple trees on their land would make their own sugar from maple sap; and all or nearly all of them had patches of from five to twenty acres under cultivation.

Such was the condition of the settlers when I came among them in 1857. They were emerging from their first

years of hardship, full of hope and courage. What they desired the most, they said to me, were schools and school-teachers, churches and priests, and the full enjoyment of their political rights, which up to this time they had not exercised. Under those circumstances, they were very anxious to have a man among them to lead them out of their chaotic condition. Many came and offered all the inducements at their command, to have me settle among them. They came in scores, and once on a Sunday afternoon there came over a hundred, heads of families, so anxious were they to have me remain in the settlement; and my father and mother joined with them. It took considerable time before I could make up my mind to accept their propositions, but finally they urged me so persistently that I concluded to remain, and for five years did I work among them, teaching school in English, necessarily using French as a basis. During those five years I worked incessantly not only as school-teacher, but in discharging the duties of the several offices to which I had been elected or appointed; until, in the fall of 1862, I was elected register of deeds for Brown County, so that I was compelled to leave the Belgian settlement and move with my family to Green Bay.

The First Belgian Settlement ("Aux Premier Belges"), was located in the town of Green Bay, county of Brown, which town at that time covered 94 square miles, and comprised what are now the towns of Green Bay, Scott, Preble, Eaton, and Humboldt, and a part of what is now the city of Green Bay. It was in this First Settlement that I labored for five years, although I was often called into other settlements in Kewaunee and Door counties, to instruct in their duties the newly-elected officers of the several towns and school districts which were being formed.

Up to this time the Belgians had been ignored by their neighbors of other nationalities. Their poverty and distress, and the ordeal through which they had passed during their first three years of pioneer life, had not attracted that sympathy and help which is generally accorded to new

settlers under the same conditions and circumstances; while the Belgians themselves had been too busy to cultivate friendly relations with the German, Irish, or Scandinavian settlements, ten or fifteen miles away from them. They had not yet exercised their right of suffrage. The people of the county regarded them as of little or no account; and probably for that reason the Belgians had not yet been able to obtain any help, either for the building of churches or schools or for procuring teachers,—not even help for opening highways leading to their settlements.

The time for action had now arrived. It did not take long to demonstrate to the leaders of other settlements, and of the county at large, that the Belgians could vote quite as well as they could; that they had some rights which entitled them, if not to their sympathy, at least to respect, and that one of those rights was the privilege of voting for whom they pleased. The first election attended by the Belgian pioneers, was one for the town of Green Bay, held in April, 1858. The nearest polling-place was near the wind-mill at Bay Settlement, ten miles away from the Belgian settlement. There the Belgians went, 230 strong, all prepared with tickets especially printed for them, marching in double file to the poll; and there they for the first time in their adopted country exercised their rights as American citizens.

It is needless to say that every man on that Belgian ticket was elected; and from that time on, the Belgian element was recognized in this and adjoining counties as an important factor in the election of town, county, and state officers. The ice is now broken; the Belgian settlers are regarded by the people of other settlements as an honest, industrious, and intelligent people; their friendship and their votes are courted.

The writer having been at this and following elections chosen justice of the peace, town clerk, and school superintendent, was instrumental in establishing school districts, building school-houses, and obtaining teachers. Roads were

put in better condition, new ones were laid out, and the settlement received its full share of the county road fund, the drainage fund, and the school fund. Upon the application of a number of the settlers to the general government, a post office was also established, called Robinsonville, of which the writer was appointed first postmaster. The other Belgian settlements emulated our example, organized new towns, established school districts, provided teachers, laid out new highways, petitioned the general government for post-offices, and exercised their right of suffrage at every election.

Now came the building of churches,—one, and sometimes two, at each settlement,—and when the church was built, then would follow a parsonage for a priest. But the priest was hard to get, and when one would come he was generally a poor specimen of his kind. Some of them were so avaricious that they would refuse to bury a dead child because the parents did not have the ready cash to pay for their services; others were dissipated, some were habitual drunkards; and it was not rare to see a row break out in a church during the service, between the priest and the officers of his church, terminating in a regular fight, in which there generally came out a whipped priest.

Our Belgians are mostly Roman Catholics, some are Protestants; but generally they are lovers of liberty and freedom, willing that every one should worship according to the dictates of his own conscience. The question of religion is not a subject of contention among them. I have seen Protestants contribute material and labor towards building Catholic churches, and Catholics have done the same thing towards building Protestant churches. Religious quarrels are confined among themselves, and are mostly upon such materialistic questions as the location of a church site, the building of a church, or the retaining of an arbitrary priest.

Upon the 15th of August, 1858, an alleged miracle happened among the Roman Catholics of the First Settlement, which made quite a noise at that time, the effect of



which has not yet died out. In this Settlement, within fifteen miles of Green Bay, there exists a chapel and shrine, built to the Virgin Mary, to which thousands of pilgrim worshipers from far and near come yearly to offer up their devotions; and if we are to believe the reports of some of the faithful, many invalids have found a permanent cure, which is attributed by them to the virtue and powers of the Virgin. Many claim to have left their canes and crutches on the altar in the chapel, and to have gone home rejoicing and repeating, "*Ave Maria, gracia plena; Dominus tecum.*"

On the spot where the chapel is now built there stood, thirty-seven years ago, two small trees a few feet apart. Between these, it is said, appeared the Virgin Mary in person, and addressed Adèle Brice, who was at the time passing on her way home from attending church in the Bay Settlement: "and the Virgin Mary spoke to her in the French language, requesting her to devote all her time to the service of the Virgin Mary and the dissemination of the Catholic faith, and to build a chapel on that sacred spot." The report of this strange apparition spread over the Belgian settlements, in this and adjoining counties, with lightning speed. The people came in large numbers to see what they considered "holy ground," and to listen to the words of Adèle.

Without going into the details of the event and its results, I will simply say that for several years this young woman met with considerable opposition from the clergy of this diocese, who publicly declared that the alleged apparition was "a myth and an imposition." For a time even the holy sacrament was refused to the girl, for the perseverance with which she made her assertion. However, in spite of all opposition, the multitude would congregate on the spot, and with Adèle would worship and even say mass on certain days, without a priest. In the same year a small chapel was built, afterwards a school; and within five years from the apparition there was built a large chapel, a church, and a school-house and convent,

in which boys and girls were educated and boarded for a nominal consideration.

The bishop of the diocese, while still not recognizing the authenticity of the apparition, has virtually sanctioned the erection of the ecclesiastical buildings on the spot, and allows the faithful to congregate there for the purpose of worship according to the Roman Catholic faith. August 15 of each year is the time set for the gathering of the faithful to this shrine, and thousands come from far and near, even from other States, to here offer up their devotions to the Virgin.

We have now arrived with our historical sketch at the year 1860. We find the Belgian settlers, with the patient industry characteristic of the people of that nation, fast transforming a wilderness into beautiful farms. Nearly all of the settlements have their school-houses and teachers, quite a number have churches, and more of these latter are in the course of construction. These schools and churches are built of hewed logs, and roofed with hand-made shingles; the lumber and other material are sawed in the settlements with whip-saws, there being no saw-mills except at a long distance.

The attendance at the schools is large, although some of the scholars have to walk three and four miles to reach them. The churches are also well attended on Sundays and on holy-days, and when the people have no priests they select one of their number to read mass and the gospel of the day. In nearly every settlement there is a country store; this building is generally large enough to comprise the store, dwelling-house, tavern, and dancing-hall. Old-country feasts are being revived, and we find on these feast-days that old-time Belgian games and amusements are practiced, such as the swinging of the flags in public places, surrounded by young men and young girls waiting for the first dance. The young men indulge in a tournament of their own, called "carrousel;" on horseback they ride at full speed in a circle, catching rings for prizes, which generally consist of fine saddles, bridles, &c. After

these games are over, dancing commences, and continues to a late hour in the night.

The Belgian settlers are great lovers of music; nearly every settlement has a brass and string band; they love to sing songs, especially the national hymn of Belgium, "La Brabançonne," the national anthem of France, "La Marseillaise," "Partant pour la Syrie," and other patriotic songs. Their favorite drink is beer, and Philip Hannon, one of the first settlers, built a brewery at which he made a peculiar kind of beer; when a Belgian had drunk sixty or seventy glasses of that beverage, he would begin to feel good, and then he would sing a certain song, beginning "Nous avons planté des Canadas avec Marie Doudouye," &c. The music of this is not very stirring, nor the words very patriotic—somewhat resembling the dying song of a Chippewa Indian; but when sung, it always indicated that the kegs were empty, and the feast nearly over.

The Belgians were beginning to forget the hardships through which they had passed during the first few years of their settlement; they were having good crops, and fair prices for their surplus products and their shingles. Many were buying horses and discarding the oxen, which were too slow for them. They were having schools and churches, and they were exercising the right of suffrage. They were growing confident of the future; there was a good deal of talk about establishing factories in their midst, and genuine prosperity seemed about to reward them. But here again they were doomed to disappointment. Instead of new factories everywhere, instead of the good times they were anticipating, the firing upon Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, announced to them, as well as to all patriots, that this was not the beginning of good times, but the beginning of a long and cruel civil war. The call for troops by President Lincoln was a call on the Belgian settlers as well as on citizens of other nationalities. They had exercised their right of suffrage; they were, therefore, American citizens; and, be it said to their credit, they responded

nobly. The settlements furnished their full quota of Union soldiers; many fell on battle-fields, while hundreds of them even to this day carry on their persons honorable scars, together with their honorable discharges.

It need not be said that the War of Secession was a setback to these settlements. During those four years, while fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons were fighting the battles of the Republic, wives, daughters, sisters, and sometimes mothers, together with those men who had not been drafted, were working the little farms the best they could, in order to maintain and support themselves and their children. In those days it was an every-day sight among us to see Belgian women driving teams, harvesting or plowing in the fields.

For a period of six years immediately after the war, there came an unusual season of prosperity in the Belgian settlements, the like of which had not before been seen, nor has it been since. The surviving citizen soldiers had returned home. Some were engaged in business, others were employed in the workshops or in the mills, or on the farms; large tracts of primitive forest disappeared before the axes of the settlers, thereby adding thousands of acres of tillable land to their farms. Saw, planing, shingle and grist-mills were built at or near the settlements: Lefebvre's saw and shingle mill, at Walhain; Decker's lumber and shingle mill, at Casco; Lamb's lumber and shingle mill, at La Sucrierie; Daul's lumber and grist mill, at New Franken; Delvaux's lumber and shingle mill, at Delvaux Mill; Cowles's saw and shingle mill, at Bay Settlement; Pirlet's grist mill (afterward Shirland's saw mill), at Aux Premier Belges; Scofield's lumber and shingle mill, near Dyckesville; Anton Klaus's lumber and shingle mill, at La Sucrierie, in the town of Humboldt; and Williamson's mill, near Brussels.

These mills were a source of much revenue to the Belgian settlers. Before the war, in order to make farms, they were compelled to fell valuable pine, oak, cedar, basswood, maple, and beech trees, cut them into logs, and pile them up in heaps twenty or thirty together, then set fire to them,

when they would burn for several days, leaving nothing but ashes. But after the war it was different; the felled trees were cut into logs, and taken to the mills to be converted into lumber, shingles and ties, for which the settlers would receive good prices. Prosperity was everywhere visible; many of the settlers had threshing-machines, reapers, and other farming implements of the latest patents; they were enlarging their farms, and increasing their stock; many of them were building new houses, not of logs, but substantial dwellings of sawed lumber; they were building more and better school-houses, churches, and parsonages; every one was trying to emulate or excel his neighbor, — all contributing toward that progress which makes man independent and free.

Then came the never-to-be forgotten fire of October 8 and 9, 1871. So appalling was it, so entailed with loss of life and property, that the whole civilized world was moved with compassion for its victims. For eighteen months, clothing, bedding, provisions, farming implements, and money came from all quarters of the globe for the relief not only of the Belgians, but of all the sufferers of that terrible holocaust in the counties of Brown, Kewaunee, Door, and Oconto, the pecuniary loss of which aggregated over five millions of dollars, while its death list footed up over a thousand men, women, and children.

In the year 1871 but little snow and rain had fallen, and there had been an unusual drought. Forest fires had raged in many localities in August and September; the heat was oppressive, and the smoke so dense that vision in broad daylight was seriously obscured; on the waters of Green Bay, in full day-time, mariners were compelled to resort to the compass to find their way into port; flakes of black and white ashes and cinders fell in the streets of the city of Green Bay; and the roar and crackle of the flames could be heard from a long distance.

Fire had for some days been raging in the woods on both sides of the bay, and coming nearer and nearer. The people were in great alarm; scores of city people would

go out, days together, to assist the settlers in fighting the destroyer, but apparently with little or no effect. Finally, on the afternoon of October 8, the atmosphere became unbearable; clouds of smoke and tongues of flame seemed to spring up everywhere; the whole heavens were ablaze, the atmosphere itself seemed to be on fire, many people believed the end of the world had come, for none had ever before heard or read of such a conflagration. It was an awesome sight, as belching smoke and flames rolled along in masses, carrying desolation in their way. Houses, barns, and outbuildings of every description were destroyed in a few minutes; glass, china, and hardware were melted, so intense was the heat. Many families lost half of their numbers. In terror, some ran one way and some another; one man from the Red River settlement jumped into a well with his two children, and they were all saved, while his wife and three children ran into the clearing and the four perished. Wild and domesticated animals would make common cause in seeking shelter; many such were found along burned fences, huddled together, and roasted to cinders.

The district to which the writer, as a member of a committee, was assigned for the distribution of relief immediately after the fire, was the First Belgian Settlement, and the Red River Settlement. Tugs loaded with provisions, clothing, and tools, were sent down the east shore of the bay to Dyckesville. The writer, who had made his way on horseback to these settlements, gave orders for goods on the tugs, to those who were entitled to immediate relief. Later on, when the roads were cleared, relief was sent to the sufferers by teams and distributed by me and my assistants. The burned district on the east side of the bay commenced in the town of Glenmore, Brown county, and traversed all the Belgian settlements as far as Little Sturgeon Bay, in Door county,—being about six miles wide and sixty miles long.

The greatest loss of life on our side was at Williamson's Mill, near the Brussels Settlement. A little way from the

mill, which was utterly destroyed, there was a clearing where the hands had run for safety when the building caught fire; there, surrounded by a blazing forest, they threw themselves on the ground, trying to evade the flames and the smoke; but all of them, sixty-eight in number, were suffocated by the terrible heat and smoke. Three of the mill-hands did not run there, but threw themselves into a large tank of water under the mill, with the idea that thereby they would escape; but only one of them survived, the other two were so badly burned that one died the next day, and the other a few days later. The survivor told the writer that he saw one girl, named Desautel, run from the mill, and when a little way off stand as if petrified; she remained motionless, and her body was soon wrapped in flames and burned to a coal. On the other side of the bay the loss of life was appalling. The village of Peshtigo, with its mills, its hotels, its churches and school-houses, its halls and dwellings, was wiped from the face of the earth in one night, together with over seven hundred of its inhabitants.

Five thousand people were now homeless and destitute, with their dead, wounded, and dying; farms and homes, churches and schools, mills, lumber, and timber were in blackened ruins; the desolation alarmed the survivors, and a Wisconsin winter was coming on apace. Such was the condition of the different Belgian settlements on that gloomy 9th of October, 1871. Thanks to the generosity of charitable people in all parts of the civilized world, especially the American people, abundant relief began to pour in; with rekindled courage, self-reliance, and hope, the Belgian settlers began to erect new houses and barns, new school-houses and churches, and still further to enlarge their farms. Large tracts of timber land had been burned over, leaving nothing but charred logs and timber easily removed, so that thousands of good tillable acres were added to the farming tracts already under cultivation. Nearly all the marketable timber having been burned or destroyed, it followed that the lumber and shingle-mills

which had been destroyed by the fire were not rebuilt, and this alone was a great loss to the people. There was nothing left for them to do but to turn their attention strictly to farming, which they did; from that time on, farming, stock and wool-raising, butter and cheese-making were the main occupations of the Belgian settlers.

Three years after the great conflagration of 1871, we find the Belgians in better condition and circumstances than ever. Twenty years before, they had renounced their allegiance to their king, and declared their intention to become citizens of the United States; they were now American citizens, and were proud of their citizenship. They were adopting many of the American ways; cheese-factories were being built, and a fine article manufactured; they were farming with new and improved machinery, some of them had steam threshing-machines, and many had stump-pulling machines with which they were clearing their fields with ease.

And so it has gone on, to the present day. Some settlements, such as Rosière and Granlez, have taken down their fences; and it is a beautiful sight in summer time to see fine crops of wheat, rye, barley and oats covering fenceless and stumpless fields with an even height along the highways. The wilderness of forty years ago begins to look like the fields of Belgium. The original settlers are growing old, but their sons are coming into manhood and are fast becoming Americanized. Their modes of living and dressing are changing; the young generation are casting aside their wooden shoes, although at the date of this writing (1893) they are still manufactured in the settlements, and worn by many.

Neither the old settlers nor the new, nor their descendants, have ever lost sight of education, that all-important factor which develops man's intelligence and liberty,—that liberty which is dear to all men, especially to Belgians, whose native fields have for centuries been saturated with their blood, fighting against the tyranny of a Charles V., a Philip II., or a Louis XIV.



Under forty years of American citizenship, with that industry and perseverance characteristic of these people, they have acquired good farms, well stocked and well equipped,—not only sufficient for the support of themselves and families, but also to give their children a good common school, and some a collegiate, education. We find these latter attending schools and colleges in cities; some of them have graduated at our State normal schools, and are now school teachers; several have graduated from the State University. We find young men in this and other States, children of Belgian settlers, following their professions as teachers, physicians, lawyers, or priests. The intelligence and education of many Belgians seem to be appreciated by the American people, as well as by the people of other nationalities, in the counties of Brown, Kewaunee, and Door; in proof of this, we find many of them elected by their fellow-citizens to honorable positions and offices of trust and of great responsibilities. We find them active members of school boards; chairmen and supervisors of their towns; clerks, treasurers, assessors, and justices of the peace. We find Charles Rubens elected sheriff of Kewaunee county; Joseph Collignon elected treasurer for Door county; O. J. B. Brice, sheriff for Brown county; Constant Martin, superintendent of schools for Kewaunee; John B. Eugene, county clerk for Brown; Henry Watermolen, sheriff for Brown, and now clerk of the circuit court. Moreover, we find the people of these counties electing Americanized Belgians in whose honesty, intelligence, and capacity they have implicit confidence, to represent them in the State legislature. Thus, we find in the legislature of 1866, Constant Martin representing Kewaunee; in 1868, John B. Eugene representing Brown; in 1880 and 1881, Benjamin Fontaine representing the first assembly district of Brown, including the city of Green Bay; in 1887, Grégoire Dupont, representing the same district; in 1889, Joseph Wery, representing Kewaunee.

The traits chiefly characteristic of these people, their religion, their patriotism, their attitude towards the public

schools, their courage and perseverance under the most trying ordeals, as well as their love for independence and human progress, have all been made manifest. I have necessarily omitted many episodes, amusing as well as serious, which perhaps would have made the reading of this historical sketch more interesting; but these I must defer to some more fitting occasion. The only remaining trait of these people which has not been mentioned is their qualification for business. During the summer of 1867, ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, happened to be in this region on a tour of observation, he being the owner of large tracts of land in Brown and Kewaunee. In a conversation between the governor and the writer, the former praised the husbandry of the Belgian settlers whom he had visited, and he asked this question: "What are the business qualifications of the Belgian settlers?" My answer was, "Conservative." He desired me to explain, which I thus did: "When a Belgian enters business, be it as merchant or manufacturer, he carries on that business with the money which is his own." The ex-governor replied that it was unlike Americans, but that it was the best and surest way to a successful end.

The merchants of early days in the Belgian settlements were as follows: Désiré Duquaine, Jean Bt. Doyen, Henry Rubens, and Emmanuel Demain, of the First Belgian Settlement; Charles Rubens, of Rosière; Pierre Challé, of Granlez; Pierre Houart, of St. Sauveur; Jean Baptiste Puissant, and his successor, the Gosin Brothers, of Walhain; Peter Muller, of the Flemish settlement in the town of Red River; Louis Van Dycke, and his successor, Théophile Duchateau, of Dyckesville. All of them were successful business men. The names of those who are now engaged in the mercantile business in the different settlements are: Charles Rubens and Victor Brans, of Rosière; William Barrett, of Dyckesville; Amand Noël, of St. Sauveur; Grégoire Dupont, of the First Belgian Settlement; F. Pierre Virlec, of Brussels; Pierre Challé, of Granlez; Joseph Wery and Louis Boucher, of Thiry Daems; August Gosin, of Walhain; Guil-

laume Lefebvre, of the Sugar Bush; Eugène Nasé, of Rosière; Jean Anquetin, of Gardner, near Little Sturgeon Bay; Grégoire Denis, of Bay Settlement; and a few others unknown to the writer.

During the past twenty-five years, the Belgian settlers in Brown, Kewaunee, and Door counties have enjoyed marked prosperity. During that time, hundreds of families have come over from Belgium to seek their fortune in the settlements, while many of the old settlers have disposed of their farms and lands, sold out their rural interests, and moved into the city of Green Bay. At this date (1893), Green Bay has somewhat over 10,000 inhabitants,<sup>1</sup> one-fourth of whom are Belgians by birth or by descent. Here again, their intelligence and business qualifications are fully demonstrated. We find them marching abreast with their fellow citizens, favoring all and every improvement of a public nature, when for the public good. We find them engaged in all manner of vocations. We find some of them elected to honorable and responsible offices, not as Belgians, but as American citizens, known for their competency. We find them active members on the board of education, on the county board, and in the city council. We find some of them elected to the responsible offices of city treasurer, city clerk, city assessor, chief of police, and justice of peace and police justice. We find them equally active in business.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Belgian firms are among the largest and most enterprising in

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<sup>1</sup> In 1895, Green Bay annexed Fort Howard, which gave her, in the State census of this year, a population of 18,290.

<sup>2</sup> Chief among these are: Arthur, Félicité and Frank J. B. Duchateau; Florian and Jules V. De Cremer; Benjamin and Raphael Fontaine; John M. Franssens; Florentine Frisque; Théo. Duchateau; Labart and Muller; Charles Lecomte; Edward and Gilbert Lefebvre; John Looze; Désiré Hoslet; Clément Massey; Léopold Lefebvre; David and Sam. B. Détienne; Gustave and Joseph Cauwenbergh; Élie and Joseph Gotto; Joseph Piraux; Mrs. Marie V. De Both; Frank Piraux; Raphael Soquet; Emil and Mrs. Octavia Van Dycke; Peter Muller; Jules Parmentier; Charles, Michel, and Thomas Joannes.

this city and county, and cover nearly every branch of wholesale and retail trade; while, in the several professions, people of Belgian birth or descent have achieved among us most enviable reputations. I would like to mention them all, but the lack of space forbids. A large majority of these Belgian people have become thoroughly Americanized; they have adopted many of the American ways; but in business, with a few exceptions, they have adhered to the conservative rule. Those who have not, though for a time they were reputed to be wealthy, like their American brethren have in years of financial depression met with business disasters; while those who anchored their lines to the conservative practices of their native land, were little if at all affected by commercial cyclones.

## THE STORY OF CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

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BY THE EDITOR.

We commonly think of Wisconsin as a young State. In a certain sense she is. There are men now living, two or three of whom I meet almost daily, who were blazing paths through the Wisconsin wilderness, only sixty years ago: men who cleared the forest and broke the prairies; who founded frontier communities which have developed into cities; who upon this far-away border sowed the seeds of industries which to-day support tens of thousands of their fellows; who threw up their hats when the Territory was erected; and who sat in the convention which gave to the new State a constitution. The Wisconsin of to-day, the Wisconsin which we know, is indeed young; for the lively octogenarians who were in at the birth will not admit that they are now old. But there was an earlier, a less prosaic Wisconsin,—the French Wisconsin; and it had flourished in its own romantic fashion for full two centuries before the coming of the Anglo-Saxon, who, brusquely crowding the contented Creole to the wall, made of his Arcadian home an American Commonwealth.

In 1634, when the child born upon the "Mayflower" had reached but her fourteenth year, Jean Nicolet, sent out by the enterprising Champlain as far as Wisconsin,—a thousand miles of canoe journey west from Quebec,—made trading contracts, such as they were, with a half-score of squalid tribes huddled in widely-separated villages throughout the broad wilderness lying between Lakes Superior and Michigan. It was a daring, laborious expedition, as notable in its day as Livingstone's earliest exploits in

Darkest Africa; and although its results were slow of development,—for in the seventeenth century man was still cautiously deliberate,—this initial visit of the forest ambassador of New France to the country of the Upper Lakes broke the path for a train of events which were of mighty significance in American history.<sup>1</sup>

Let us examine the topography of Wisconsin. The State is situated at the head of the chain of Great Lakes. It is touched on the east by Lake Michigan, on the north by Lake Superior, on the west by the Mississippi, and is drained by interlacing rivers which so closely approach each other that the canoe voyager can with ease pass from one great water system to the other; he can enter the continent at the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and by means of numerous narrow portages in Wisconsin emerge into the south-flowing Mississippi, eventually returning to the Atlantic through the Gulf of Mexico. From Lake Michigan, the Fox-Wisconsin river system was the most popular highway to the great river; into Lake Superior there flow numerous turbulent streams from whose sources lead short portage trails over to the headwaters of feeders of the Mississippi. From the western shore of Lake Superior, Pigeon River invites to exploration of the Winnipeg country, whence the canoeist can by a half-hundred easy routes reach the distant regions of Athabasca and the Polar Sea. In their early voyages to the head of lake navigation, it was in the course of nature that the French should soon discover Wisconsin; and having discovered it, learn that it was the key-point of the Northwest—the gateway to the entire continental interior. Thus, through Wisconsin's remarkable system of interlacing waterways, to which Nicolet led the way, New France largely prosecuted her far-reaching forest trade and her missionary explorations, securing a nominal control of the basin of the Mississippi at a time when Anglo-Saxons had gained little more of the Atlantic slope than could be seen from the mast-head of a

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<sup>1</sup>The chief authority on Nicolet is Butterfield's *Discovery of the Northwest* (Cincinnati, 1881). See also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 1-25.

caravel. Thus the geographical character of Wisconsin became, early in the history of New France, an important factor. The trading posts and Jesuit missions on Chequamegon Bay<sup>1</sup> of Lake Superior, and on Green Bay of Lake Michigan, soon played a prominent part in American exploration. The career of Green Bay is familiar to us all.<sup>2</sup> I have thought it well hastily to summarize the equally instructive story of Chequamegon Bay.

The sandstone cliffs of Lake Superior were, many geologists think, among the first Laurentian islands to arise from the ancient ocean; if this be so, then the rim of our greatest inland sea is one of the oldest spots on earth. In its numerous mines of copper, prehistoric man long delved and wrought with rude hammers and chisels of stone, fashioning those curious copper implements which are carefully treasured in American museums of archæology;<sup>3</sup> and upon its rugged shores the Caucasian early planted his stake, when between him and New England tidewater all was savagery.

After the coming to Wisconsin of Nicolet, a long period followed, in which the energies of New France were devoted to fighting back the Iroquois, who swarmed before the very gates of Quebec and Montreal. Exploration was for the time impossible. A quarter of a century passes

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<sup>1</sup> In his authoritative "History of the Ojibway Nation," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., Warren prefers the spelling "Chagoumigon," although recognizing "Shagawaumikong" and "Shaughawumikong." "Chequamegon" is the current modern form. Rev. Edward P. Wheeler, of Ashland, an authority on the Chippewa tongue and traditions, says the pronunciation should be "Sheh-gu-wah-mi-kung," with the accent on the last syllable.

<sup>2</sup> See Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* (Milwaukee, 1894), and various articles in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 98, 99, *note*, for account of early copper mining on Lake Superior by Indians. In the summer of 1892, W. H. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution, found on Isle Royale no less than a thousand abandoned shafts which had been worked by them; and "enough stone implements lay around, to stock every museum in the country."

away before we have evidence of another white man upon Wisconsin soil. In the spring of 1659, the Indians of the valley of the Fox were visited by two French fur-traders from the Lower St. Lawrence—Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, and his sister's husband, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers. In all American history there are no characters more picturesque than these two adventurous traders, who, in their fond desire to "travell and see countries," and "to be known wth the remotest people," roamed at will over the broad region between St. James's Bay and the Wisconsin River, having many curious experiences with wild beasts and wilder men. They made several important geographical discoveries,—among them, probably, the discovery of the Mississippi River in 1659, fourteen years before the visit of Joliet and Marquette; and from a trading settlement proposed by them to the English, when their fellow-countrymen no longer gave them employment, developed the great establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. The unconsciously-amusing narrative which Radisson afterwards wrote, for the edification of King Charles II. of England, is one of the most interesting known to American antiquaries.<sup>1</sup>

Two years after Radisson and Groseilliers were upon the Fox River, and made their notable trip to the Mississippi, they were again in the Northwest (autumn of 1661), and this time upon Lake Superior, which they had approached by carrying around the Sault Ste. Marie. Skirting the

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<sup>1</sup> Radisson's *Voyages* was published by the Prince Society (Boston, 1885); that portion relating to Wisconsin is reproduced, with notes, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi. See also *Jesuit Relations*, 1660, for Father Lalle-mant's report of the discoveries of the "two Frenchmen," who had found "a fine river, great, broad, deep, and comparable, they say, to our great St. Lawrence."

In Franquelin's map of 1688, what is now Pigeon River, a part of the international boundary between Minnesota and Canada, is called Groseilliers. An attempt was made by members of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, in the Wisconsin Legislature, during the session of 1895, to have a proposed new county called Radisson; the name was adopted by the friends of the bill, but the measure itself failed to pass.



southern shore of the lake, past the now famous Pictured Rocks, they carried across Keweenaw Point, visited a band of Christino Indians' not far from the mouth of Montreal River, now the far western boundary between Upper Michigan and Wisconsin, and, portaging across the base of the Chequamegon Island of to-day,—then united to the mainland,—entered beautiful Chequamegon Bay. Just where they made their camp, it is impossible from Radisson's confused narrative to say; but that it was upon the mainland, no Wisconsin antiquary now doubts, and we have reason to believe that it was upon the southwest shore, between the modern towns of Ashland and Washburn.<sup>2</sup>

Writes our chronicler, with a particularity of detail suggestive of De Foe: "We went about to make a fort of stakes, wch was in this manner. Suppose that the watter-side had ben in one end; att the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle

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<sup>1</sup> Now called Crees.

<sup>2</sup> Radisson's *Voyages* plainly indicates that the travellers portaged across the long, narrow sand-spit formerly styled Shagawaumikong, in their day united with the mainland, but now insular, and bearing the name Chequamegon Island; this Radisson describes as "a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad," and later he refers to it as "the point that forms that Bay, wch resembles a small lake." After making this portage of Shagawaumikong, they proceeded in their boats, and "att the end of this bay we landed." The Ottawas of the party desired to cross over to their villages on the head-waters of the Black and Chippewa, and no landing-place was so advantageous for this purpose as the southwest corner of the bay. It is plain from the narrative that the Frenchmen, now left to themselves, built their fortified hut at or near the place of landing, on the mainland. The Chippewa tradition of the coming of Radisson and Groseilliers, as given by Warren in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 121, 122, places the camp of the first white men on the eastern extremity of Madelaine (or La Pointe) Island. The tradition runs close to the fact, in most other particulars; but in the matter of location, Radisson's journal leaves no room to doubt that the tradition errs.

See *post*, Father Verwyst's article, "Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay," with notes on the site of Radisson's fort, by Sam. S. Fifield and Edward P. Wheeler. Verwyst thinks the location to have been "somewhere between Whittlesey's Creek and Shore's Landing;" Fifield and Wheeler are confident that it was at Boyd's Creek.

to defend us from assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There were boughs of trees all about our fort layed across, one upon an other. Besides those boughs, we had a long cord tyed wth some small bells, wch weare sentereys. Finally, we made an ende of that fort in 2 dayes' time." Modernize this statement, and in imagination we can see this first dwelling erected by man on the shores of Lake Superior; a small log hut, built possibly on the extremity of a small rocky promontory; the door opens to the water front, while the land side, to the rear of the hut, is defended by a salient of palisades stretching from bank to bank of the narrow promontory; all about the rude structure is a wall of pine boughs piled one upon the other, with a long cord intertwined, and on this cord are strung numbers of the little hawk-bells then largely used in the Indian trade for purposes of gift and barter. It was expected that in case of a night attack from savages, who might be willing to kill them for the sake of their stores, the enemy would stir the boughs and unwittingly ring the bells, thus arousing the little garrison. These ingenious defenses were not put to the test, although no doubt they had a good moral effect in keeping the thieving Hurons at a respectful distance.

Winter was just setting in. The waters of the noble bay were taking on that black and sullen aspect peculiar to the season. The beautiful islands, later named for the Twelve Apostles,<sup>1</sup> looked gloomy indeed in their dark evergreen mantles. From the precipitous edges of the red-sandstone cliffs, which girt about this estuary of our greatest inland sea, the dense pine forests stretched westward and southward for hundreds of miles. Here and there in the primeval depths was a cluster of starveling Algonkins, still trembling from fear of a return of the Iroquois, who had chased them from Canada into this land of swamps and tangled woods, where their safety lay in hiding. At wide intervals,

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently by Jonathan Carver, in the map accompanying his volume of *Travels*.

uncertain trails led from village to village, and in places the rivers were convenient highways; these narrow paths, however, beset with danger in a thousand shapes, but emphasized the unspeakable terrors of the wilderness.

Radisson and Groseilliers, true *coureurs de bois*, were not daunted by the dangers which daily beset them. After *caching* their goods, they passed the winter of 1661-62 with their Huron neighbors upon a prolonged hunt, far into the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota. The season was phenomenally severe, and the Indians could not find game enough to sustain life. A famine ensued in the camp, the tragical details of which are painted by our friend Radisson with Hogarthian minuteness. In the spring of 1662, the traders were back again at Chequamegon, and built another fortified shelter, this time possibly on the sand-spit of Shagawaumikong,<sup>1</sup> from which place they once more

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<sup>1</sup> Says Warren (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 102): "Shag-a-waum-ik-ong is a narrow neck or point of land about four miles long, and lying nearly parallel to the island of La Pointe, toward the western end of which it converges, till the distance from point to point is not more than two miles." In first entering the bay, the previous autumn, Radisson describes the point of Shagawaumikong, and says: "That point should be very fitt to build & advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following." But later on in his journal, in describing the return to the bay from their winter with the Indians in the Mille Lacs region, he does not mention the exact location of the new "fort." While in this fort, they "received [news] that the Octanaks [Ottawas] [had] built a fort on the point that forms that Bay, wch resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speede,"—and had a perilous trip thither, across thin ice. This would indicate that the French camp was not on the point. As with many other passages in the journal, it is impossible to reconcile these two statements. Verwyst thinks that the traders were stationed on Houghton Point.

Warren, who had an intimate acquaintance with Chippewa traditions<sup>9</sup> believed that that tribe, driven westward by degrees from the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, reached Lake Superior about the time of the Columbian discovery, and came to a stand on Shagawaumikong Point. "On this spot they remained not long, for they were harassed daily by their warlike foes, and for greater security they were obliged to move their camp to the adjacent island of Mon-ing-wun-a-kauning (place of the golden-breasted woodpecker, but known as La Pointe). Here, they chose the site of their ancient town, and it covered a space about three

wandered in search of adventures and peltries, going as far northwest as Lake Assiniboine, and later in the season returning to their home on the Lower St. Lawrence.

When Radisson's party went to Lake Superior, in the autumn of 1661, they were accompanied as far as Keweenaw Bay by a Jesuit priest, Father Pierre Ménéard, who established there a mission among the Ottawas. The following June, disheartened in his attempt to convert these obdurate tribesmen, Ménéard set out for the Huron villages on the upper waters of the Black and Chippewa, but perished on the way.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until August of 1665, three years later, that Father Claude Allouez, another Jesuit, was sent to reopen the abandoned Ottawa mission on Lake Superior. He chose his site on the southwestern shore of Chequamegon Bay, possibly at the mouth of Vanderverter's Creek, not far from the spot on which Radisson's hut had been built, four years previously, and called his mission and the locality, *La Pointe du Saint Esprit*, which in time was shortened to *La Pointe*.<sup>2</sup>

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miles long and two broad, comprising the western end of the island."— (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 96.) They remained in this large town "for the space of three generations, or one hundred and twenty years," but for various reasons (see *Ibid.*, p. 108 *et seq.*, for the details) evacuated the place, and settling on the adjacent mainland came to regard La Pointe Island (now Madelaine) as an abode of evil spirits, upon which, it is said, until the days of Cadotte, no Indian dare stay over night alone. Gradually, as the beaver grew more scarce, the Chippewas radiated inland, so that at the time of Radisson's visit the shores of the bay were almost unoccupied, save during the best fishing season, when Chippewas, Ottawas, Hurons, and others congregated there in considerable numbers.

<sup>1</sup>The route which Ménéard took, is involved in doubt. Verwyst, following the Jesuit *Relations*, thinks he ascended some stream flowing into Lake Superior, and portaged over to the head-waters of Black river. Others, following Tailhan's *Perrot*, believe that he crossed over to Green Bay, then ascended the Fox, descended the Wisconsin, and ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Black. If the latter was his route, his visit to the Mississippi preceded Joliet's by eleven years.

<sup>2</sup>Neill (in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 116) is of the opinion that Allouez "built a bark chapel on the shores of the bay, between a village of

At the time of Radisson's visit, the shores of Chequamegon Bay were uninhabited save by a few half-starved Hurons; but soon thereafter it became the center of a considerable Indian population, residents of several tribes having been drawn thither: first, by the fisheries; second, by a fancied security in so isolated a region, against the Iroquois of the East and the wild Sioux of the West. When Allouez arrived in this polyglot village, October 1, he found here

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Petun Hurons and a village composed of three bands of Ottawas." That Allouez was stationed upon the mainland, where the Indians now were, is evident from his description of the bay (*Jesuit Relations* for 1666-67): "A beautiful bay, at the bottom of which is situated the great village of the savages, who there plant their fields of Indian corn, and lead a stationary life. They are there, to the number of eight hundred men bearing arms, but collected from seven different nations, who dwell in peace with each other." Verwyst, whose local knowledge is thorough, thinks that Allouez's mission was at the mouth of Vanderverter's Creek, and I have followed him in this regard.

There has always been some confusion among antiquarians as to what particular topographical feature gave name to the region. In christening his mission "La Pointe," he had reference, I think, not to the particular plot of ground on which his chapel lay, but to the neighboring sandy point of Shagawaumikong, hemming in the bay on the east, in which he must have had a poetic interest, for tradition told him that it was the landfall of the Chippewas, and the place where, perhaps a century before, had been fought a great battle between them and the Dakotahs (or Sioux), relics of which were to be found in our own day, in the human bones scattered freely through the shifting soil; doubtless in his time, these were much in evidence.

The map in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1670-71 styles the entire Bayfield peninsula, forming the west shore of the bay, "La Pointe du St. Esprit," which of course was map-making from vague report. Franquelin's map of 1688, more exact in every particular, places a small settlement near the southwestern extremity of the bay. See also Verwyst's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Ménard, and Allouez* (Milwaukee, 1886), p. 183.

In 1820, Cass and Schoolcraft visited Chequamegon Bay, and the latter, in his *Narrative*, says: "Passing this [Bad] river, we continued along the sandy formation to its extreme termination, which separates the Bay of St. Charles [Chequamegon] from that remarkable group of islands called the Twelve Apostles by Carver. It is this sandy point which is called La Pointe Chagoimegon by the old French authors, a term now shortened to La Pointe."

Chippewas, Pottawattomies, Kickapoos, Sauks, and Foxes, all of them Wisconsin tribes; besides these were Hurons, Ottawas, Miamis, and Illinois,—victims of Iroquois hate who had fled in droves before the westward advances of their merciless tormentors.

Despite his large congregations, Allouez made little headway among these people, being consoled for his hardships and ill-treatment by the devotion of a mere handful of followers. For four years did he labor alone in the Wisconsin wilderness, hoping against hope, varying the monotony of his dreary task by occasional canoe voyages to Quebec, to report progress to his father superior. Father James Marquette, a more youthful zealot, was at last sent to relieve him, and in September, 1669, arrived at La Pointe from Sault Ste. Marie, after spending a full month upon the journey,—so hampered was he, at that early season, by snow and ice. Allouez, thus relieved from a work that had doubtless palled upon him, proceeded upon invitation of the Pottawattomies to Green Bay, where he arrived early in December, and founded the second Jesuit mission in Wisconsin, St. Francis Xavier, on the site of the modern town of Depere.<sup>1</sup>

Marquette had succeeded to an uncomfortable berth. Despite his strenuous efforts as a peacemaker, his dusky parishioners soon unwisely quarreled with their western neighbors, the Sioux,<sup>2</sup> with the result that the La Pointe

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<sup>1</sup> By this time, fear of the Iroquois had subsided, and many Hurons had lately returned with the Pottawattomies, Sauks, and Foxes, to the old haunts of the latter, on Fox River. Cadillac, writing in 1703 from Detroit, says (*Margry*, v., p. 317): "It is proper that you should be informed that more than fifty years since [about 1645] the Iroquois by force of arms drove away nearly all of the other Indian nations from this region [Lake Huron] to the extremity of Lake Superior, a country north of this post, and frightfully barren and inhospitable. About thirty-two years ago [1671] these exiled tribes collected themselves together at Michillimakinak."

<sup>2</sup> "The cause of the perpetual war, carried on between these two nations, is this, that both claim, as their exclusive hunting-ground, the tract of country which lies between them, and uniformly attack each

bands, and Marquette with them, were driven like leaves before an autumn blast eastward along the southern shore of the great lake: the Ottawas taking up their home in the Manitoulin Islands of Lake Huron, the Hurons accompanying Marquette to the Straits of Mackinaw, where he established the mission of St. Ignace.

With La Pointe mission abandoned, and Lake Superior closed to French enterprise by the "raging Sioux," the mission at Depere now became the centre of Jesuit operations in Wisconsin, and it was a hundred and sixty-four years later (1835), before mass was again said upon the forest-fringed shores of Chequamegon Bay.

Although the missionary had deserted La Pointe, the fur trader soon came to be much in evidence there. The spirit of Radisson and Groseilliers long permeated this out-of-the-way corner of the Northwest. We find (1673), three years after Marquette's expulsion, La Salle's trading agent, Sieur Raudin, cajoling the now relenting Sioux at the western end of Lake Superior. In the summer of 1679, that dashing *coureur de bois*, Daniel Grayson du l'Hut,<sup>1</sup> ascended the St. Louis River, which divides Wisconsin and Minnesota, and penetrated with his lively crew of *voyageurs* to the Sandy Lake country, being probably the first white trader upon the head-waters of the Mississippi. The succeeding winter he spent in profitable commerce with the Assiniboines, Crees, and other northern tribes in the neighborhood of Grand Portage,<sup>2</sup> on the boundary between Minnesota and Canada. In June, 1680, probably unaware of the easier portage by way of the Mille Lacs and Rum River, Du l'Hut set out at the head of a small company of employés to reach the Mississippi by a new route. Entering the narrow and turbulent Bois Brulé,<sup>3</sup>

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other when they meet upon it."—Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (N. Y., 1809), pp. 197, 198.

<sup>1</sup> From whom the city of Duluth, Minn., was named.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Grand Portage see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., pp. 123-125.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 203, *note*, for description of the Bois Brulé-St. Croix route.

half-way along the southern shore of Lake Superior, between Red Cliff and St. Louis River, he with difficulty made his way over the fallen trees and beaver dams which then choked its course. From its headwaters there is a two-mile portage to the Upper St. Croix; this traversed, Du l'Hut was upon a romantic stream which swiftly carried him, through foaming rapids and deep, cool lakes, down into the Father of Waters. Here it was that he heard of Father Louis Hennepin's captivity among the Sioux, and with much address and some courage rescued that doughty adventurer, and carried him by way of the Fox-Wisconsin route in safety to Mackinaw.

An adventurous forest trader, named Le Sueur, was the next man to imprint his name on the page of Lake Superior history. The Fox Indians, who controlled the valleys of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, had for various reasons become so hostile to the French that those divergent streams were no longer safe as a gateway from the Great Lakes to the Great River. The tendency of the prolonged Fox War was to force the fur trade travel to the portages of Chicago and St. Josephs on the south, and those of Lake Superior on the north.<sup>1</sup> It was with a view to keeping open one of Du l'Hut's old routes,—the Bois Brulé and St. Croix Rivers,—that Le Sueur was dispatched by the authorities of New France in 1693. He built a stockaded fort on Madelaine Island, convenient for guarding the northern approach,<sup>2</sup> and another on an island in the Mississippi, below the mouth of the St. Croix, and near the present town of Red Wing, Minnesota. The post in the Mississippi soon became "the center of commerce for the Western parts;" and the station in Chequamegon Bay also

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<sup>1</sup> See Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict*, and Heberd's *Wisconsin under French Domination* (Madison, 1890).

<sup>2</sup> Neill, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 140, says that soon after St. Lusson's taking possession of the Northwest for France, at Sault Ste. Marie (1671), French traders built a small fort set about with cedar palisades, on which a cannon was mounted, "at the mouth of a small creek or pond midway between the present location of the American Fur Company's establishment and the mission-house of the American Board of Foreign Missions."



soon rose to importance, for the Chippewas, who had drifted far inland into Wisconsin and Minnesota with the growing scarcity of game,—the natural result of the indiscriminate slaughter which the fur trade encouraged,—were induced by the new trading facilities to return to their old haunts, massing themselves in an important village on the southwestern shore.

This incident strikingly illustrates the important part which the trader early came to play in Indian life. At first an agriculturist in a small way, and hunter and fisher only so far as the daily necessities of food and clothing required, the Indian was induced by the white man to kill animals for their furs,—luxuries ever in great demand in the marts of civilization. The savage wholly devoted himself to the chase, and it became necessary for the white man to supply him with clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments of European manufacture—the currency, as well as the necessities, of the wilderness.<sup>1</sup> These articles the savage had heretofore laboriously fashioned for himself at great expenditure of time; no longer was he content with native manufactures, and indeed he quickly lost his old-time facility for making them. Soon he was almost wholly dependent on the white trader for the commonest conveniences of life; no longer tied to his fields, he became more and more a nomad, roving restlessly to and fro in search of fur-bearing game, and quickly populating or depopulating a district according to the conditions of trade. Without his trader, he quickly sank into misery and despair; with the advent of the trader, a certain sort of prosperity once more reigned in the tepee of the red man. In the story of Chequamegon Bay, the heroes are

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<sup>1</sup> *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 125. Originally, the Indians of Lake Superior went to Quebec to trade; but, as the whites penetrated westward by degrees, these commercial visits were restricted to Montreal, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, as each in turn became the outpost of French influence; finally trading-posts were opened at La Pointe, St. Louis River, and Pigeon River, and in time traders even followed the savages on their long hunts after the ever-decreasing game.

the fur trader and the missionary: and of these the fur trader is the greater, for without his presence on this scene there would have been no Indians to convert.

Although Le Sueur was not many years in command upon Chequamegon Bay,<sup>1</sup> we catch frequent glimpses thereafter of stockaded fur-trade stations here, — French, English, and American, in turn, — the most of them doubtless being on Madelaine Island, which was easily defensible from the mainland.<sup>2</sup> We know that in 1717 there was a French trader at La Pointe, — now the popular name for the entire bay district, — for he was asked by Lieut. Robertel de la Noüe, who was then at Kaministiquoya, to forward a letter to a certain Sioux chief. In September, 1718, Captain Paul Legardeur St. Pierre, whose mother was a daughter of Jean Nicolet,

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<sup>1</sup> In July, 1695, Chingouabé, chief of the Chippewas, voyaged with Le Sueur to Montreal, to "pay his respects to Onontio, in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagouamigon, and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them; and to testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchmen killed at a feast. It occurred accidentally, not maliciously." In his reply (July 29), Governor Frontenac gave the Chippewas some good advice, and said that he would again send Le Sueur "to command at Chagouamigon." — *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident that hereafter Madelaine Island was the chief seat of French power in Chequamegon Bay, but it was not until the present century that either the name La Pointe or Madelaine was applied to the island. Franquelin's map (1688) calls it "Isle Detour ou St Michel." Bellin's French map of Lake Superior (in Charlevoix's *Histoire et Description Générale de Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744) calls the long sand-point of Shagawaumikong (now Chequamegon Island), "Pointe de Chagauamigon," and styles the present Madelaine Island "Isle La Ronde," after the trader La Ronde; what is now Basswood Island, he calls "Isle Michel," and at the southern extremity of the bay indicates that at that place was once an important Indian village. In De l'Isle's map, of 1745, a French trading house (*Maison Française*) is shown on Shagawaumikong Point itself. Madelaine Island has at various times been known as Monegoinaiccauning (or Moningwunakauning, Chippewa for "golden-breasted woodpecker"), St. Michel, La Ronde, Woodpecker, Montreal, Virginia (Schoolcraft, 1820), Michael's (McKenney, 1826), Middle (because midway between the stations of Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William, at Pigeon River), Cadotte's, and La Pointe (the latter because La Pointe village was situated thereon).

Wisconsin's first explorer, was sent to command at Chequamegon, assisted by Ensign Linctot, the authorities of the lower country having been informed that the Chipewewa chief there was, with his fellow-chief at Keweenaw, going to war with the Foxes. St. Pierre was at Chequamegon for at least a year, and was succeeded by Linctot, who effected an important peace between the Chippewas and Sioux.<sup>1</sup>

Whether a garrisoned fort was maintained at Chequamegon Bay, from St. Pierre's time to the close of the French domination, it is impossible to say; but it seems probable, for the geographical position was one of great importance in the development of the fur trade, and the few records we have mention the fort as one of long standing.<sup>2</sup> In 1730 it is recorded that a nugget of copper was brought to the post by an Indian, and search was at once made for a mine; but October 18, 1731, the authorities of New France wrote to the home office in Paris that, owing to the superstitions of the Indians, which lead them to conceal mineral wealth from the whites, no copper mine had thus far been found in the neighborhood of Chequamegon Bay. The commandant of Chequamegon at this time was Sieur La Ronde Denis, known to history as La Ronde,—like most of his predecessors, a considerable trader in these far Western parts, and necessarily a man of enterprise and vigor. La Ronde was for many years the chief trader in the Lake Superior country, his son and partner being Denis de La Ronde. They built for their trade a bark of 40 tons, which was without doubt "the first vessel on the great lake, with sails larger than an Indian blanket."<sup>3</sup> On account of

<sup>1</sup> *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 423-425.

<sup>2</sup> It was during this period the only fur-trading station on the south shore of Lake Superior, and was admirably situated for protecting not only the west end of the lake, but the popular portage route between Lake Superior and the Mississippi River,—the Bois Brulé and the St. Croix Rivers.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Butler's "Early Shipping on Lake Superior," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1894, p. 87. The rigging and material were taken in canoes from the lower country to Sault Ste. Marie, the vessel being built at Point

the great outlay that he had incurred in this and other undertakings in the wilderness, the post of Chequamegon, with its trading monopoly, had, according to a dispatch of that day, been given to the elder La Ronde, "as a gratuity to defray expenses." Other allusions to the La Rondes are not infrequent: in 1736,<sup>1</sup> the son is ordered to investigate a report of a copper mine at Iron River, not far east of the Bois Brulé; in the spring of 1740, the father is at Mackinaw, on his return to Chequamegon from a visit to the lower country, but being sick is obliged to return to Montreal;<sup>2</sup> and in 1744, Bellin's map gives the name "Isle de la Ronde" to what we now know as Madelaine,—fair evidence that the French post of this period was on that island.

We hear nothing more of importance concerning Chequamegon until about 1756, when Hertel de Beaubassin, the last French commandant there, was summoned to Lower Canada with his Chippewa allies, to do battle against the English.<sup>3</sup> For several years past, wandering English fur traders had been tampering with the Chippewas of Lake Superior, who in consequence frequently maltreated their old friends, the French;<sup>4</sup> but now that the tribe were summoned for actual fighting in the lower country, with extravagant promises of presents, booty, and scalps, they

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aux Pins, on the north shore, seven miles above the Sault. Butler shows that Alexander Henry was interested with a mining company in launching upon the lake in May, 1771, a sloop of 70 tons. After this, sailing vessels were regularly employed upon Superior, in the prosecution of the fur trade and copper mining. The Hudson's Bay Company's "Speedwell" was upon the lake as early as 1789; the Northwest Company's principal vessel was the "Beaver."

<sup>1</sup> In this year there were reported to be 150 Chippewa braves living on Point Chagouamigon.—*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Martin MSS., Dominion Archives, Ottawa,—letter of Beauharnois, For much of the foregoing data, see Neill's "History of the Ojibways," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.

<sup>3</sup> *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x., p. 424.

<sup>4</sup> Says Governor Galissonnière, in writing to the colonial office at Paris, under date of October, 1748: "Voyageurs robbed and maltreated at Sault Ste. Marie, and elsewhere on Lake Superior; in fine there appears to be no security anywhere."—*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x., p. 182.

with other Wisconsin Indians eagerly flocked under the French banner, and in painted swarms appeared on the banks of the St. Lawrence, with no better result than to embarrass the French commissariat and thus unwittingly aid the ambitious English.

New France was tottering to her fall. The little garrison on Madelaine Island had been withdrawn from the frontier, with many another like it, to help in the defense of the lower country; and the Upper Lakes, no longer policed by the fur-trade monopoly, were free plunder for unlicensed traders, or *coureurs de bois*. Doubtless such were the party who encamped upon the island during the autumn of 1760. By the time winter had set in upon them, all had left for their wintering grounds in the forests of the far West and Northwest, save a clerk named Joseph, who remained in charge of the stores and the local traffic. With him were his little family,—his wife, who was from Montreal, his child, a small boy, and a man-servant, or *voyageur*. Traditions differ as to the cause of the servant's action,—some have it, a desire for wholesale plunder; others, the being detected in a series of petty thefts, which Joseph threatened to report; others, an unholy and unrequited passion for Joseph's wife. However that may be, the servant murdered first the clerk, and then the wife; and in a few days, stung by the piteous cries of the child, the lad himself. When the spring came, and the traders returned to Chequamegon, they inquired for Joseph and his family; but the servant's reply was unsatisfactory, and he finally confessed to his horrid deed. The story goes, that in horror the traders dismantled the old French fort as a thing accursed, sunk the cannon in a neighboring pool, and so destroyed the palisade that to-day certain mysterious grassy mounds alone remain to testify of the tragedy. Carrying their prisoner with them on their return voyage to Montreal, he is said to have escaped to the Hurons, among whom he boasted of his deed, only to be killed as too cruel a companion even for savages.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the several versions of this tale, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., pp. 224 et

New France having now fallen, an English trader, Alexander Henry, spent the winter of 1765-66 upon the mainland, opposite the island.<sup>1</sup> Henry had obtained from the English commandant at Mackinaw the exclusive trade of Lake Superior, and at Sault Ste. Marie took into partnership with him Jean Baptiste Cadotte,<sup>2</sup> a thrifty Frenchman, who for many years thereafter was one of the most prominent characters on the Upper Lakes. Henry and Cadotte spent several winters together on Lake Superior, but only one upon the shores of Chequamegon, which Henry styles "the metropolis of the Chippeways."<sup>3</sup>

The next dweller at Chequamegon Bay, of whom we have record, was John Johnston, a Scotch-Irish fur-trader of some education. Johnston established himself on Madeleine Island, not far from the site of the old French fort; some four miles across the water, on the mainland to the west, near where is now the white town of Bayfield, was a Chippewa village with whose inhabitants he engaged in traffic. Waubojeeg (White Fisher), a forest celebrity in

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*seq.*; and *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 141-145, 431, 432. Warren says that some Chippewa traditions ascribe this tragedy to the year 1722, but the weight of evidence is as in the text above.

<sup>1</sup>"My house, which stood in the bay, was sheltered by an island of fifteen miles in length, and between which and the main the channel is four miles broad. On the island there was formerly a French trading-post, much frequented; and in its neighborhood a large Indian village."—Henry's *Travels*, p. 199. Henry doubtless means that formerly there was an Indian village on the island; until after the coming of Cadotte, Warren says, the island was thought by the natives to be bewitched.

<sup>2</sup>Jean Baptiste Cadotte (formerly spelled Cadot) was the son of one Cadeau, who is said to have come to the Northwest in the train of Sieur de St. Lusson, who took possession of the region centering at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1671. See St. Lusson's *procès-verbal* in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 26. Jean Baptiste, who was legally married to a Chippewa woman, had two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, both of whom were extensive traders and in their turn married Chippewas. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., index.

<sup>3</sup>"On my arrival at Chagouenig, I found fifty lodges of Indians there. These people were almost naked, their trade having been interrupted, first by the English invasion of Canada, and next by Pontiac's war."—*Travels*, p. 193.

his day, was the village chief at this time, and possessed of a comely daughter whom Johnston soon sought and obtained in marriage. Taking his bride to his island home, Johnston appears to have lived there for a year or two in friendly commerce with the natives, at last retiring to his old station at Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>1</sup>

Mention has been made of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, who was a partner of Alexander Henry in the latter's Lake Superior trade, soon after the middle of the century. Cadotte, whose wife was a Chippewa, after his venture with Henry had returned to Sault Ste. Marie, from which point he conducted an extensive trade through the Northwest. Burdened with advancing years, he retired from the traffic in 1796, and divided the business between his two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel.

About the opening of the present century,<sup>2</sup> Michel took up his abode on Madelaine Island, and from that time to the present there has been a continuous settlement there. He had been educated at Montreal, and marrying Equaysayway, the daughter of White Crane, the village chief of La Pointe,<sup>3</sup> at once became a person of much importance in the Lake Superior country. Upon the old trading site at the southwestern corner of the Island, by this time commonly called La Pointe,—borrowing the name, as we have

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<sup>1</sup>McKenney, in *History of the Indian Tribes* (Phila., 1854), i., pp. 154, 155, tells the story. He speaks of Johnston as "the accomplished Irish gentleman who resided so many years at the Sault de Ste. Marie, and who was not better known for his intelligence and polished manners than for his hospitality." See also, *ante*, pp. 180, 181, for Schoolcraft and Doty's notices of Johnston, who died (æt. 66) at Sault Ste. Marie, Sept. 22, 1828. His widow became a Presbyterian, and built a church of that denomination at the Sault. Her daughter married Henry B. Schoolcraft, the historian of the Indian tribes. Waubojeeg died at an advanced age, in 1793.

<sup>2</sup>Warren thinks he settled there about 1792 (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 111), but there is good evidence that it was at a later date.

<sup>3</sup>"The Cranes claim the honor of first having pitched their wigwam, and lighted the fire of the Ojibways, at Shaug-ah-waum-ik-ong, a sand point or peninsula lying two miles immediately opposite the Island of La Pointe."—Warren, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 86.

seen, from the original La Pointe, on the mainland, and it in turn from Point Chequamegon,—Cadotte for over a quarter of a century lived at his ease; here he cultivated a "comfortable little farm," commanded a fluctuating, but often far-reaching fur trade, first as agent of the Northwest Company and later of Astor's American Fur Company; and reared a considerable family, the sons of which were, as he had been, educated at Montreal, and became the heads of families of Creole traders, interpreters, and *voyageurs* whom antiquarians now confidently seek when engaged in resurrecting the French and Indian traditions of Lake Superior.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1818 there came to the Lake Superior country two sturdy, fairly-educated<sup>2</sup> young men, natives of the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts,—Lyman Marcus Warren, and his younger brother, Truman Abraham. They

<sup>1</sup> "Kind-hearted Michel Cadotte," as Warren calls him, also had a trading-post at Lac Courte Oreille. He was, like the other Wisconsin Creole traders, in English employ during the War of 1812-15, and was at the capture of Mackinaw in 1812. He died on the island, July 8, 1837, aged 72 years, and was buried there. As with most of his kind, he made money freely and spent it with prodigality, partly in high living, but mainly in supporting his many Indian relatives; as a consequence, he died poor, the usual fate of men of his type.—(*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 449.) Warren says (*Ibid.*, p. 11), the death occurred "in 1836," but the tombstone gives the above date.

Cass, Schoolcraft, and Doty visited Chequamegon Bay in 1820. Schoolcraft says, in his *Narrative*, pp. 192, 193: "Six miles beyond the Mauvaise is Point Che goi-me-gon, once the grand rendezvous of the Chippeway tribe, but now reduced to a few lodges. Three miles further west is the island of St. Michel (Madelaine), which lies in the traverse across Chegoimegon Bay, where M. Cadotte has an establishment. This was formerly an important trading post, but is now dwindled to nothing. There is a dwelling of logs, stockaded in the usual manner of trading-houses, besides several out-buildings, and some land in cultivation. We here also found several cows and horses, which have been transported with great labour." See *ante*, pp. 200, 201, for Doty's account of this visit.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Brunson, who visited Lyman Warren at La Pointe, in 1843, wrote: "Mr. Warren had a large and select library, an unexpected sight in an Indian country, containing some books that I had never before seen."—Brunson, *Western Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1879), ii., p. 163.



were of the purest New England stock, being lineally descended from Richard Warren, one of the "Mayflower" company. Engaging in the fur trade, the brothers soon became popular with the Chippewas, and in 1821 still further entrenched themselves in the affections of the tribesmen by marrying the two half-breed daughters of old Michel Cadotte,—Lyman taking unto himself Mary, while Charlotte became the wife of Truman. At first the Warrens worked in opposition to the American Fur Company, but John Jacob Astor's lieutenants were shrewd men and understood the art of overcoming commercial rivals. Lyman was made by them a partner in the lake traffic, and in 1824 established himself at La Pointe as the company's agent for the Lac Flambeau, Lac Court Oreille, and St. Croix departments, an arrangement which continued for some fourteen years. The year previous, the brothers had bought out the interests of their father-in-law, who now, much reduced in means, retired to private life after forty years' prosecution of the forest trade.<sup>1</sup>

The brothers Warren were the last of the great La Pointe fur-traders.<sup>2</sup> Truman passed away early in his career, having expired in 1825, while upon a voyage between Mackinaw and Detroit. Lyman lived at La Pointe until 1838, when his connection with the American Fur Company was dissolved; he then became United States sub-agent to the Chippewa reservation on Chippewa River, where he died on the tenth of October, 1847, aged fifty-three years.<sup>3</sup>

Lyman Marcus Warren was a Presbyterian, and, although possessed of a Catholic wife, was the first to invite

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<sup>1</sup> *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 326, 383, 384, 450. Contemporaneously with the settlement of the Warrens at La Pointe, Lieutenant Bayfield of the British navy made (1822-23) surveys from which he prepared the first accurate chart of Lake Superior; his name is preserved in Bayfield peninsula, county, and town.

<sup>2</sup> Borup had a trading-post on the island in 1846; but the forest commerce had by this time sadly dwindled.

<sup>3</sup> He left six children, the oldest son being William Whipple Warren, historian of the Chippewa tribe. See Williams's "Memoir of William W. Warren," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.

Protestant missionaries to Lake Superior. Not since the days of Allouez had there been an ordained minister at La Pointe; Warren was solicitous for the spiritual welfare of his Chippewa friends, especially the young, who were being reared without religious instruction, and subject to the demoralizing influence of a rough element of white borderers. The Catholic Church was not just then ready to reënter the long-neglected field; his predilections, too, were for the Protestant faith. In 1830, while upon his annual summer trip to Mackinaw for supplies, he secured the coöperation of Frederick Ayer, of the Mackinaw mission, who returned with him in his batteau as lay preacher and school-teacher, and opened at La Pointe what was then the only mission upon the shores of the great lake. Thither came in Warren's company, the latter part of August the following year (1831), Rev. Sherman Hall and wife, who served as missionary and teacher, respectively, and Mrs. John Campbell, an interpreter.<sup>1</sup>

La Pointe was then upon the site of the old French trading post at the southwest corner of Madelaine Island; and there, on the first Sunday afternoon after his arrival, Mr. Hall preached "the first sermon ever delivered in this place by a regularly-ordained Christian minister." The missionaries appear to have been kindly received by the Catholic Creoles, several of whom were now domiciled at La Pointe. The school was patronized by most of the families upon the island, red and white, who had children of proper age. By the first of September there was an average attendance of twenty-five. Instruction was given almost wholly in the English language, with regulation Sunday-school exercises for the children, and frequent gospel meetings for the Indian and Creole adults.

We have seen that the first La Pointe village was at the

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<sup>1</sup>See Davidson's excellent "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., to which I am chiefly indebted for information concerning the modern La Pointe missions. Mr. Davidson has since given us, in his *Unnamed Wisconsin* (Milw., 1895), fuller details of this mission work.

southwestern extremity of the island. This was known as the "Old Fort" site, for here had been the original Chippewa village, and later the fur-trading posts of the French and English. Gradually, the old harbor became shallow, because of the shifting sand, and unfit for the new and larger vessels which came to be used in the fur trade.



CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

The American Fur Company therefore built a "New Fort" a few miles farther north, still upon the west shore of the island, and to this place, the present village, the name La Pointe came to be transferred. Half-way between the "Old Fort" and the "New Fort," Mr. Hall erected (probably in 1832) "a place of worship and teaching," which came to be the centre of Protestant missionary work in Chequamegon Bay.

At that time, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were, in the American Home Missionary Society and the American Board, united in the conduct of Wisconsin mis-

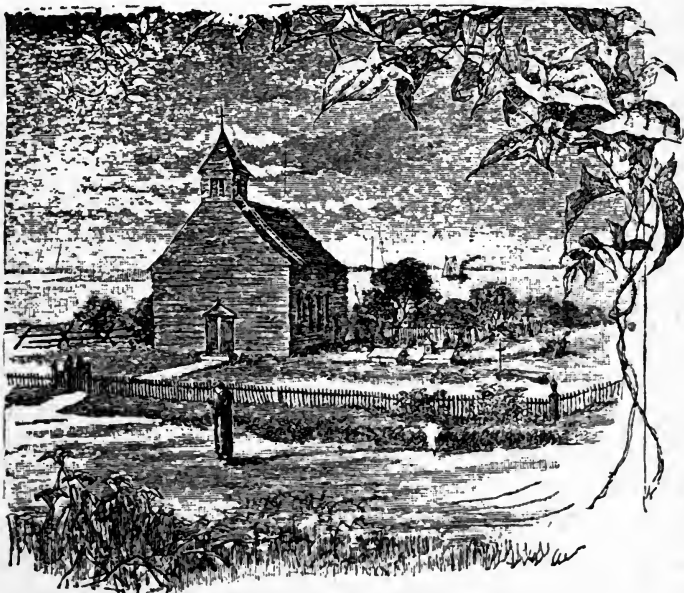
sions, and it is difficult for a layman to understand to which denomination the institution of the original Protestant mission at La Pointe may properly be ascribed. Warren was, according to Neill, a Presbyterian; so also, nominally, were Ayer and Hall, although the last two were latterly rated as Congregationalists. Davidson, a Congregational authority, says: "The first organization of a Congregational church within the present limits of Wisconsin took place at La Pointe in August, 1833, in connection with this mission;"<sup>1</sup> and certainly the missionaries who later came to assist Hall were of the Congregational faith; these were Rev. Leonard Hemenway Wheeler and wife, Rev. Woodbridge L. James and wife, and Miss Abigail Spooner. Their work appears to have been as successful as such proselyting endeavors among our American Indians can hope to be, and no doubt did much among the Wisconsin Chippewas to stem the tide of demoralization which upon the free advent of the whites overwhelmed so many of our Western tribes.

James's family did not long remain at La Pointe. Wheeler was soon recognized as the leading spirit there, although Hall did useful service in the field of publication, his translation of the New Testament into Chippewa (completed in 1836) being among the earliest of Western books. Ayer eventually went to Minnesota. In May, 1845, owing to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., p. 445. Mr. Davidson writes to me that in his opinion Ayer leaned to independency, and was really a Congregationalist; Hall is registered as such in the *Congregational Year Book* for 1859. "As to the La Pointe-Odanah church," continues Mr. Davidson, in his personal letter, "its early records make no mention of lay elders,—officers that are indispensable to Presbyterian organization. In manner of organization it was independent, rather than strictly Congregational. This could not well be otherwise, with no church nearer than the one at Mackinaw. That was Presbyterian, as was its pastor, Rev. William M. Ferry. The La Pointe church adopted articles of faith of its own choosing, instead of holding itself bound by the Westminster confession. Moreover, the church was reorganized after the mission was transferred to the Presbyterian board. For this action there may have been some special reason that I know nothing about. But it seems to me a needless procedure if the church were Presbyterian before."

removal of the majority of the La Pointe Indians to the new Odanah mission, on Bad River, Wheeler removed thither, and remained their civil, as well as spiritual, counselor until October, 1866, when he retired from service, full of years, and conscious of a record of noble deeds for the uplifting of the savage. Hall tarried at La Pointe until 1853, when he was assigned to Crow Wing reservation, on the Mississippi, thus ending the Protestant mission on Chequamegon Bay. The new church building, begun in 1837, near the present La Pointe landing, had fallen into sad decay, when, in July, 1892, it became the property of the Lake Superior Congregational Club, who purpose to preserve it as a historic treasure, being the first church-home of their denomination in Wisconsin.



ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL, AT LA POINTE.

[Cut loaned by The Ashland Press.]

Not far from this interesting relic of Protestant pioneering at venerable La Pointe, is a rude structure dedicated to an older faith. Widely has it been advertised, by poets, romancers, and tourist agencies, as "the identical log

structure built by Père Marquette;" while within there hangs a picture which we are soberly told by the cicerone was "given by the pope of that time to Marquette, for his mission church in the wilderness." It is strange how this fancy was born; stranger still that it persists in living, when so frequently proved unworthy of credence. It is as well known as any fact in modern Wisconsin history,—based on the testimony of living eye-witnesses, as well as on indisputable records,—that upon July 27, 1835, five years after Warren had introduced Ayer to Madelaine Island, there arrived at the hybrid village of La Pointe, with but three dollars in his pocket, a worthy Austrian priest, Father (afterwards Bishop) Frederick Baraga. By the side of the Indian graveyard at Middleport, he at once erected "a log chapel, 50x20 ft. and 18 ft. high," and therein he said mass on the ninth of August, one hundred and sixty-four years after Marquette had been driven from Chequamegon Bay by the onslaught of the Western Sioux.<sup>1</sup> Father Baraga's resuscitated mission,—still bearing the name La Pointe, as had the mainland missions of Allouez and Marquette,—throve apace. His "childlike simplicity," kindly heart, and self-sacrificing labors in their behalf, won to him the Creoles and the now sadly-impooverished tribesmen; and when, in the winter of 1836-37, he was in Europe begging funds for the cause, his simple-hearted enthusiasm met with generous response from the faithful.

Returning to La Pointe in 1837, he finished his little chapel, built log-houses for his half-starved parishioners, and lavished attentions upon them. Says Father Verwyst, himself an experienced missionary among the Chippewas, "In fact, he gave them too much altogether—so to say—spoiled them by excessive kindness." Four years later, his chapel being ill-built and now too small, he had a new one constructed at the modern village of La Pointe, some of the materials of the first being used in the second. This

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<sup>1</sup>See Verwyst's *Missionary Labors*, pp. 146-149. This chapel was built partly of new logs, and partly of material from an old building given to Father Baraga by the American Fur Company.

is the building blessed by Father Baraga on the second Sunday of August, 1841, which to-day is falsely shown to visitors as that of Father Marquette. It is needless to say that no part of the ancient mainland chapel of the Jesuits went into its construction; as for the picture, a "Descent from the Cross," alleged to have once been in Marquette's chapel, we have the best of testimony that it was imported by Father Baraga himself from Europe in 1841, he having obtained it there the preceding winter, when upon a second tour to Rome, this time to raise funds for the new church.<sup>1</sup> This remarkable man, though later raised to a missionary bishopric, continued throughout his life to labor for the uplifting of the Indians of the Lake Superior country with a self-sacrificing zeal which is rare in the annals of any church, and established a lasting reputation as a student of Indian philology. He left La Pointe mission in 1853, to devote himself to the Menomonees, leaving his work among the Chippewas of Chequamegon Bay to be conducted by others. About the year 1877, the white town of Bayfield, upon the mainland opposite, became the residence of the Franciscan friars who were now placed in charge. Thus, while the Protestant mission, after a relatively brief career of prosperity, has long since been removed to Odanah, the Catholics to this day retain possession of their ancient field in Chequamegon Bay.

In closing, let us briefly rehearse the changes in the location of La Pointe, and thus clear our minds of some misconceptions into which several historians have fallen.

1. As name-giver, we have Point Chequamegon (or Shagawaumikong). Originally a long sand-spit hemming in Chequamegon Bay on the east, it is now an island. The

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<sup>1</sup> See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 445, 446, *note*; also, Verwyst's *Missionary Labors*, pp. 183, 184. Father Verwyst also calls attention to certain vestments at La Pointe, said to be those of Marquette: "That is another fable which we feel it our duty to explode. The vestments there were procured by Bishop Baraga and his successors; not one of them dates from the seventeenth century."

most conspicuous object in the local topography, it gave name to the district; and here, at the time of the Columbian discovery, was the Chippewa stronghold.

2. The mission of La Pointe du St. Esprit, founded by Allouez, was, it seems well established, on the mainland at the southwestern corner of the bay, somewhere between the present towns of Ashland and Washburn, and not far from the site of Radisson's fort. The *point* which suggested to Allouez the name of his mission was, of course, the neighboring Point Chequamegon.

3. The entire region of Chequamegon Bay came soon to bear the name La Pointe, and early within the present century it was popularly attached to the island which had previously borne many names, but which to-day is legally designated Madelaine.

4. When Cadotte's little trading village sprang up, on the southwestern extremity of the island, on the site of the old Chippewa village and the early French forts, this came to be particularly designated as La Pointe.

5. When the American Fur Company established a new fort, a few miles north of the old, the name La Pointe was transferred thereto. This northern village was in popular parlance styled "New Fort," and the now almost-deserted southern village "Old Fort;" while the small settlement around the Indian graveyard midway, where Father Baraga built his first chapel, was known as "Middleport."

La Pointe has lost much of its old-time significance. No longer is it the refuge of starveling tribes, chased thither by Iroquois, harassed by unneighborly Sioux, and consoled in a measure by the ghostly counsel of Jesuit fathers; no longer a centre of the fur-trade, with *coureurs de bois* gayly dight, self-seeking English and American factors, Creole traders dispensing largesse to the dusky relatives of their forest brides, and rollicking *voyageurs* taking no heed of the morrow. With the extinction of game and the opening of the Lake Superior country to industrial and agricultural occupation, its forest commerce



has departed; the Protestant mission has followed the majority of the Indian islanders to mainland reservations; the revived mission of Mother Church has also been quartered upon the bay shore. But the natural charms of Madelaine Island, in rocky dell, and matted forest, and somber, pine-clad shore, are with us still; and over all there floats an aroma of two and a half centuries of historic association, the appreciation of which we need to foster in our materialistic West.

HISTORIC SITES ON CHEQUAMEGON BAY.<sup>1</sup>

BY CHRYSOSTOM VERWYST, O. S. F.

One of the earliest spots in the Northwest trodden by the feet of white men was the shore of Chequamegon Bay. Chequamegon is a corrupt form of *Jagawamikong*;<sup>2</sup> or, as it was written by Father Allouez in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1667, *Chagaouamigong*. The Chippewas on Lake Superior have always applied this name exclusively to Chequamegon Point, the long point of land at the entrance of Ashland Bay. It is now commonly called by whites, Long Island; of late years, the prevailing northeast winds have caused Lake Superior to make a break through this long, narrow peninsula, at its junction with the mainland, or south shore, so that now it is in reality an island. On the northwestern extremity of this attenuated strip of land, stands the government light-house, marking the entrance of the bay.

W. W. Warren, in his *History of the Ojibway Nation*,<sup>3</sup> relates an Indian legend to explain the origin of this name. Menabosho, the great Algonkin demi-god, who made the earth anew after the deluge, was once hunting for the great beaver in Lake Superior, which was then but a large beaver-pond. In order to escape his powerful enemy, the great beaver took refuge in Ashland Bay. To capture him, Menabosho built a large dam extending from the south shore of Lake Superior across the bay to Madelaine (or La

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<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 419, for map of the bay.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In writing Indian names, I follow Baraga's system of orthography, giving the French quality to both consonants and vowels.

<sup>3</sup> *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.—Ed.

Pointe) Island. In doing so, he took up the mud from the bottom of the bay and occasionally would throw a fist-full into the lake, each handful forming an island,—hence the origin of the Apostle Islands. Thus did the ancient Indians,



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the "Gété-anishinabeg," explain the origin of Chequamegon Point and the islands in the vicinity. His dam completed, Menabosho started in pursuit of the patriarch of all the beavers; he thinks he has him cornered. But, alas,

poor Menabosho is doomed to disappointment. The beaver breaks through the soft dam and escapes into Lake Superior. Thence the word *chagaouamig*, or *shagawamik* ("soft beaver-dam"),—in the locative case, *shagawamikong* ("at the soft beaver-dam").

Rev. Edward Jacker, a well-known Indian scholar, now deceased, suggests the following explanation of Chequamegon: The point in question was probably first named Jagawamika (pr. *shagawamika*), meaning "there are long, far-extending breakers;" the participle of this verb is *jaiagawamikag* ("where there are long breakers"). But later, the legend of the beaver hunt being applied to the spot, the people imagined the word *amik* (a beaver) to be a constituent part of the compound, and changed the ending in accordance with the rules of their language,—dropping the final *a* in *jagawamika*, making it *jagawamik*,—and used the locative case, *ong* (*jagawamikong*), instead of the participial form, *ag* (*jaiagawamikag*).<sup>1</sup>

The Jesuit *Relations* apply the Indian name to both the bay and the projection of land between Ashland Bay and Lake Superior. Our Indians, however, apply it exclusively to this point at the entrance of Ashland Bay. It was formerly nearly connected with Madelaine (La Pointe) Island, so that old Indians claim a man might in early days shoot with a bow across the intervening channel. At present, the opening is about two miles wide. The shores of Chequamegon Bay have from time immemorial been the dwelling-place of numerous Indian tribes. The fishery was excellent in the bay and along the adjacent islands. The bay was convenient to some of the best hunting grounds of Northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. The present writer was informed, a few years ago, that in Douglas county alone 2,500 deer had been killed during one short hunting season.<sup>2</sup> How abundant must have been the chase in olden times, before the white had introduced to this wilderness

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 399, note.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See Carr's interesting and exhaustive article, "The Food of Certain American Indians," in *Amer. Antiq. Proc.*, x., pp. 155 *et seq.* — ED.

his far-reaching fire-arms! Along the shores of our bay were established at an early day fur-trading posts, where adventurous Frenchmen carried on a lucrative trade with their red brethren of the forest, being protected by French garrisons quartered in the French fort on Madelaine Island.

From Rev. Henry Blatchford, an octogenarian, and John B. Denomie (Denominé), an intelligent half-breed Indian of Odanah, near Ashland, the writer has obtained considerable information as to the location of ancient and modern aboriginal villages on the shores of Chequamegon Bay. Following are the Chippewa names of the rivers and creeks emptying into the bay, where there used formerly to be Indian villages:

Mashki-Sibi (Swamp River, misnamed Bad River): About two miles up this river are pictured rocks, now mostly covered with earth, on which in former times Indians engraved in the soft stone the images of their dreams, or the likenesses of their tutelary manitous. Along this river are many maple-groves, where from time immemorial they have made maple-sugar.

Makodassonagani-Sibi (Bear-trap River), which empties into the Kakagan. The latter seems in olden times to have been the regular channel of Bad River, when the Bad emptied into Ashland Bay, instead of Lake Superior, as it now does. Near the mouth of the Kakagan are large wild-rice fields, where the Chippewas annually gather, as no doubt did their ancestors, great quantities of wild rice (*Manomin*). By the way, wild rice is very palatable, and the writer and his dusky spiritual children prefer it to the rice of commerce, although it does not look quite so nice.

Bishigokwe-Sibiwishen is a small creek, about six miles or so east of Ashland. *Bishigokwe* means a woman who has been abandoned by her husband. In olden times, a French trader resided at the mouth of this creek. He suddenly disappeared,—whether murdered or not, is not known. His wife continued to reside for many years at their old home, hence the name.

Nedobikag-Sibiwishen is the Indian name for Bay City Creek, within the limits of Ashland. Here Tagwagané, a celebrated Indian chief of the Crane totem, used occasionally to reside. Warren<sup>1</sup> gives us a speech of his, at the treaty of La Pointe in 1842. This Tagwagané had a copper plate, an heirloom handed down in his family from generation to generation, on which were rude indentations and hieroglyphics denoting the number of generations of that family which had passed away since they first pitched their lodges at Shagawamikong and took possession of the adjacent country, including Madelaine Island. From this original mode of reckoning time, Warren concludes that the ancestors of said family first came to La Pointe *circa* A. D. 1490.

Metabikitigweiag-Sibiwishen is the creek between Ashland and Ashland Junction, which runs into Fish Creek a short distance west of Ashland. At the junction of those two creeks and along their banks, especially on the east bank of Fish Creek, was once a large and populous Indian village of Ottawas, who there raised Indian corn. It is pointed out on N. Bellin's map (1744),<sup>2</sup> with the remark, *Ici était une bourgade considerable* ("here was once a considerable village"). We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of this place. The soil along Fish Creek is rich, formed by the annual overflowage of its water, leaving behind a deposit of rich, sandy loam. There is a young growth of timber along the right bank between the bay and Ashland Junction, and the grass growing underneath the trees shows that it was once a cultivated clearing. It was from this place that the trail left the bay, leading over to the Chippewa River country. Fish Creek is called by the Indians Wikwedo-Sibiwishen, which means "Bay Creek," from *wikwed*, Chippewa for bay; hence the name Wikwedong, the name they gave to Ashland, meaning "at the bay."

According to Blatchford there was formerly another con-

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<sup>1</sup> In *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> In Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*.—ED.

siderable village at the mouth of Whittlesey's Creek, called by the Indians Agami-Wikwedo-Sibiwishen, which signifies "a creek on the other side of the bay," from *agaming* (on the other side of a river, or lake), *wikwed* (a bay), and *sibiwishen* (a creek). I think that Fathers Allouez and Marquette had their ordinary abode at or near this place, although Allouez seems also to have resided for some time at the Ottawa village up Fish Creek.

A short distance from Whittlesey's Creek, at the western bend of the bay, where is now Shore's Landing, there used to be a large Indian village and trading-post, kept by a Frenchman.\* Being at the head of the bay, it was the starting point of the Indian trail to the St. Croix country. Some years ago the writer dug up there, an Indian mound. The young growth of timber at the bend of the bay, and the absence of stumps, indicate that it had once been cleared. At the foot of the bluff or bank, is a beautiful spring of fresh water. As the St. Croix country was one of the principal hunting grounds of the Chippewas and Sioux, it is natural there should always be many living at the terminus of the trail, where it struck the bay.

From this place northward, there were Indian hamlets strung along the western shore of the bay. Father Allouez mentions visiting various hamlets two, three, or more (French) leagues away from his chapel. Marquette mentions five clearings, where Indian villages were located. At Wyman's place, the writer some years ago dug up two Indian mounds, one of which was located on the very bank of the bay and was covered with a large number of boulders, taken from the bed of the bay. In this mound were found a piece of milled copper, some old-fashioned hand-made iron nails, the stem of a clay pipe, etc. The objects were no doubt relics of white men, although Indians had built the mound itself, which seemed like a fire-place shoveled under, and covered with large boulders to prevent it from being desecrated.

Boyd's Creek is called in Chippewa, Namebinikanensi-Sibiwishen, meaning "Little Sucker Creek." A man

named Boyd once resided there, married to an Indian woman. He was shot in a quarrel with another man. One of his sons resides at Spider Lake, and another at Flambeau Farm, while two of his grand-daughters live at Lac du Flambeau.

Further north is Kitchi-Namebinikani-Sibiwishen, meaning "Large Sucker Creek," but whites now call it Bonos Creek. These two creeks are not far apart, and once there was a village of Indians there. It was noted as a place for fishing at a certain season of the year, probably in spring, when suckers and other fish would go up these creeks to spawn.

At Vanderventer's Creek, near Washburn, was the celebrated Gigito-Mikana, or "council-trail," so called because here the Chippewas once held a celebrated council; hence the Indian name Gigito-Mikana-Sibiwishen, meaning "Council-trail Creek." At the mouth of this creek, there was once a large Indian village.

There used also to be a considerable village between Pike's Bay and Bayfield. It was probably there that the celebrated war chief, Waboujig, resided.

There was once an Indian village where Bayfield now stands, also at Wikweiag (Buffalo Bay), at Passabikang, Red Cliff, and on Madelaine Island. The writer was informed by John B. Denomie, who was born on the island in 1834, that towards Chabomnicon Bay (meaning "Gooseberry Bay") could long ago be seen small mounds or corn-hills, now overgrown with large trees, indications of early Indian agriculture. There must have been a village there in olden times. Another ancient village was located on the southwestern extremity of Madelaine Island, facing Chequamegon Point, where some of their graves may still be seen. It is also highly probable that there were Indian hamlets scattered along the shore between Bayfield and Red Cliff, the most northern mainland of Wisconsin. There is now a large, flourishing Indian settlement there, forming the Red Cliff Chippewa reservation. There is a combination church and school there at present, under the



charge of the Franciscan Order. Many Indians also used to live on Chequamegon Point, during a great part of the year, as the fishing was good there, and blueberries were abundant in their season. No doubt from time immemorial Indians were wont to gather wild rice at the mouth of the Kakagan, and to make maple sugar up Bad River.

We thus see that the Jesuit *Relations* are correct when they speak of many large and small Indian villages (Fr. *bourgades*) along the shores of Chequamegon Bay. Father Allouez mentions two large Indian villages at the head of the bay—the one an Ottawa village, on Fish Creek; the other a Huroh, probably between Shore's Landing and Washburn. Besides, he mentions smaller hamlets visited by him on his sick-calls. Marquette says that the Indians lived there in five clearings, or villages. From all this we see that the bay was from most ancient times the seat of a large aboriginal population. Its geographical position towards the western end of the great lake, its rich fisheries and hunting grounds, all tended to make it the home of thousands of Indians. Hence it is much spoken of by Perrot, in his *Mémoire*, and by most writers on the Northwest of the last century. Chequamegon Bay, Ontonagon, Keweenaw Bay, and Sault Ste. Marie (*Baweting*) were the principal resorts of the Chippewa Indians and their allies, on the south shore of Lake Superior.

The first white men on the shores of Chequamegon Bay were in all probability Groseilliers and Radisson. They built a fort on Houghton Point, and another at the head of the bay, somewhere between Whittlesey's Creek and Shore's Landing, as in some later paper I hope to show from Radisson's narrative.<sup>1</sup> As to the place where he shot the bustards, a creek which led him to a meadow,<sup>2</sup> I think this was

<sup>1</sup> See Radisson's *Journal*, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi. Radisson and Groseilliers reached Chequamegon Bay late in the autumn of 1661.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73: "I went to the wood some 3 or 4 miles. I find a small brooke, where I walked by ye sid awhile, web brought me into meddowes. There was a poole, where weare a good store of bustards."—Ed.

Fish Creek, at the mouth of which is a large meadow, or swamp.<sup>1</sup>

After spending six weeks in the Sioux country, our explorers retraced their steps to Chèquamegon Bay, arriving there towards the end of winter. They built a fort on Houghton Point. The Ottawas had built another fort somewhere on Chequamegon Point. In travelling towards this Ottawa fort, on the half-rotten ice, Radisson gave out and was very sick for eight days; but by rubbing his legs with hot bear's oil, and keeping them well bandaged, he finally recovered. After his convalescence, our explorers traveled northward, finally reaching James Bay.

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<sup>1</sup> Ex-Lieut. Gov. Sam. S. Fifield, of Ashland, writes me as follows: "After re-reading Radisson's voyage to Bay Chewamegon, I am satisfied that it would by his description be impossible to locate the exact spot of his camp. The stream in which he found the "pools," and where he shot fowl, is no doubt Fish Creek, emptying into the bay at its western extremity. Radisson's fort must have been near the head of the bay, on the west shore, probably at or near Boyd's Creek, as there is an outcropping of rock in that vicinity, and the banks are somewhat higher than at the head of the bay, where the bottom lands are low and swampy, forming excellent "duck ground" even to this day. Fish Creek has three outlets into the bay,—one on the east shore or near the east side, one central, and one near the western shore; for full two miles up the stream, it is a vast swamp, through which the stream flows in deep, sluggish lagoons. Here, in the early days of American settlement, large brook trout were plenty; and even in my day many fine specimens have been taken from these "pools." Originally, there was along these bottoms a heavy elm forest, mixed with cedar and black ash, but it has now mostly disappeared. An old "second growth," along the east side, near Prentice Park, was evidently once the site of an Indian settlement, probably of the 18th century.

"I am of the opinion that the location of Allouez's mission was at the mouth of Vanderverter's Creek, on the west shore of the bay, near the present village of Washburn. It was undoubtedly once the site of a large Indian village, as was the western part of the present city of Ashland. When I came to this locality, nearly a quarter of a century ago, "second growth" spots could be seen in several places, where it was evident that the Indians had once had clearings for their homes. The march of civilization has obliterated these landmarks of the fur-trading days, when the old French voyageurs made the forest-clad shores of our

The next white men to visit our bay were two Frenchmen, of whom W. W. Warren says:<sup>1</sup> "One clear morning in the early part of winter, soon after the islands which are clustered in this portion of Lake Superior, and known as the Apostles, had been locked in ice, a party of young men of the Ojibways started out from their village in the Bay of Shag-a-waum-ik-ong [Chequamegon], to go, as was customary, and spear fish through holes in the ice, between the island of La Pointe and the main shore, this being considered as the best ground for this mode of fishing. While engaged in this sport, they discovered a smoke arising from a point of the adjacent island, toward its eastern extremity.

"The island of La Pointe was then totally unfrequented, from superstitious fears which had but a short time previous led to its total evacuation by the tribe, and it was considered an act of the greatest hardihood for any one to set foot on its shores. The young men returned home at evening and reported the smoke which they had seen arising from the island, and various were the conjectures

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beautiful bay echo with their boat songs, and when resting from their labors sparked the dusky maidens in their wigwams."

Rev. E. P. Wheeler, of Ashland, a native of Madelaine Island, and an authority on the region, writes me: "I think Radisson's fort was at the mouth of Boyd's Creek,—at least that place seems for the present to fulfill the conditions of his account. It is about three or four miles from here to Fish Creek valley, which leads, when followed down stream, to marshes, 'meadows, and a pool.' No other stream seems to have the combination as described. Boyd's Creek is about four miles from the route he probably took, which would be by way of the plateau back from the first level, near the lake. Radisson evidently followed Fish Creek down towards the lake, before reaching the marshes. This condition is met by the formation of the creek, as it is some distance from the plateau through which Fish Creek flows to its marshy expanse. Only one thing makes me hesitate about coming to a final decision,—that is, the question of the age of the lowlands and formation around Witlesey Creek. I am going to go over the ground with an expert geologist, and will report later. Thus far, there seems to be no reason to doubt that Fish Creek is the one upon which Radisson hunted."—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v., pp. 121, 122, gives the date as 1652.—Ed.

of the old people respecting the persons who would dare to build a fire on the spirit-haunted isle. They must be strangers, and the young men were directed, should they again see the smoke, to go and find out who made it.

"Early the next morning, again proceeding to their fishing-ground, the young men once more noticed the smoke arising from the eastern end of the unfrequented island, and, led on by curiosity, they ran thither and found a small log cabin, in which they discovered two white men in the last stages of starvation. The young Ojibways, filled with compassion, carefully conveyed them to their village, where, being nourished with great kindness, their lives were preserved.

"These two white men had started from Quebec during the summer with a supply of goods, to go and find the Ojibways who every year had brought rich packs of beaver to the sea-coast, notwithstanding that their road was barred by numerous parties of the watchful and jealous Iroquois. Coasting slowly up the southern shores of the Great Lake late in the fall, they had been driven by the ice on to the unfrequented island, and not discovering the vicinity of the Indian village, they had been for some time enduring the pangs of hunger. At the time they were found by the young Indians, they had been reduced to the extremity of roasting and eating their woolen cloth and blankets as the last means of sustaining life.

"Having come provided with goods they remained in the village during the winter, exchanging their commodities for beaver skins. The ensuing spring a large number of the Ojibways accompanied them on their return home.

"From close inquiry, and judging from events which are said to have occurred about this period of time, I am disposed to believe that this first visit by the whites took place about two hundred years ago [Warren wrote in 1852]. It is, at any rate, certain that it happened a few years prior to the visit of the 'Black-gowns' [Jesuits] mentioned in Bancroft's History, and it is one hundred and eighty-four years since this well-authenticated occurrence."

So far Warren; he is, however, mistaken as to the date of the first black-gown's visit, which was not 1668 but 1665.

The next visitors to Chequamegon Bay were Père Claude Allouez and his six companions in 1665. We come now to a most interesting chapter in the history of our bay, the first formal preaching of the Christian religion on its shores. For a full account of Father Allouez's labors here, the reader is referred to the writer's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Allouez, and Ménard in the Lake Superior Region*. Here will be given merely a succinct account of their work on the shores of the bay. To the writer it has always been a soul-inspiring thought that he is allowed to tread in the footsteps of those saintly men, who walked, over two hundred years ago, the same ground on which he now travels; and to labor among the same race for which they, in starvation and hardship, suffered so much.

In the Jesuit *Relation* for 1667, Father Allouez thus begins the account of his five years' labors on the shores of our bay: "On the eighth of August of the year 1665, I embarked at Three Rivers with six Frenchmen, in company with more than four hundred Indians of different tribes, who were returning to their country, having concluded the little traffic for which they had come." His voyage into the Northwest was one of great hardships and privations. The Indians willingly took along his French lay companions, but him they disliked. Although M. Tracy, the governor of Quebec, had made Father Allouez his ambassador to the Upper Algonquins, thus to facilitate his reception in their country, nevertheless they opposed his accompanying them, and threatened to abandon him on some desolate island. No doubt the medicine-men were the principal instigators of this opposition. He was usually obliged to paddle like the rest, often till late in the night, and that frequently without anything to eat all day.

"On a certain morning," he says, "a deer was found, dead since four or five days. It was a lucky acquisition for poor famished beings. I was offered some, and although the bad smell hindered some from eating it, hunger

made me take my share. But I had in consequence an offensive odor in my mouth until the next day. In addition to all these miseries we met with, at the rapids I used to carry packs as large as possible for my strength; but I often succumbed, and this gave our Indians occasion to laugh at me. They used to make fun of me, saying a child ought to be called to carry me and my baggage."

August 24, they arrived at Lake Huron, where they made a short stay; then coasting along the shores of that lake, they arrived at Sault Ste. Marie towards the beginning of September. September 2, they entered Lake Superior, which the Father named Lake Tracy in acknowledgment of the obligations which the people of those upper countries owed to the governor. Speaking of his voyage on Lake Superior, Father Allouez remarks: "Having entered Lake Tracy, we were engaged the whole month of September in coasting along the south shore. I had the consolation of saying holy mass, as I now found myself alone with our Frenchmen, which I had not been able to do since my departure from Three Rivers. \* \* \* We afterwards passed the bay, called by the aged, venerable Father Ménard, Saint Theresa [Keweenaw] Bay."

Speaking of his arrival at Chequamegon Bay, he says: "After having traveled a hundred and eighty leagues on the south shore of Lake Tracy, during which our Saviour often deigned to try our patience by storms, hunger, daily and nightly fatigues, we finally, on the first day of October, 1665, arrived at Chagaouamigong, for which place we had sighed so long. It is a beautiful bay, at the head of which is situated the large village of the Indians, who there cultivate fields of Indian corn and do not lead a nomadic life. There are at this place men bearing arms, who number about eight hundred; but these are gathered together from seven different tribes, and live in peaceable community. This great number of people induced us to prefer this place to all others for our ordinary abode, in order to attend more conveniently to the instruction of these heathens, to put up a chapel there and commence

the functions of Christianity." Further on, speaking of the site of his mission and its chapel, he remarks: "The section of the lake shore, where we have settled down, is between two large villages, and is, as it were, the center of all the tribes of these countries, because the fishing here is very good, which is the principal source of support of these people."

To locate still more precisely the exact site of his chapel, he remarks, speaking of the three Ottawa clans (Outaouacs, Kiskakoumacs, and Outaoua-Sinagonc): "I join these tribes [that is, speaks of them as one tribe] because they had one and the same language, which is the Algonquin, and compose one and the same village, which is opposite that of the Tionnontatcherons [Hurons of the Petun tribe] between which villages we reside." But where was that Ottawa village? A casual remark of Allouez, when speaking of the copper mines of Lake Superior, will help us to locate it. "It is true," says he, "on the mainland, at the place where the Outaouacs raise Indian corn, about half a league from the edge of the water, the women have sometimes found pieces of copper scattered here and there, weighing ten, twenty or thirty pounds. It is when digging into the sand to conceal their corn that they make these discoveries." Allouez evidently means Fish Creek. About a mile or so from the shore of the bay, going up this creek, can be seen traces of an ancient clearing on the left-hand side, where Metabikitigweiag Creek empties into Fish Creek, about half-way between Ashland and Ashland Junction. The writer examined the locality about ten years ago. This then is the place where the Ottawas raised Indian corn and had their village. In Charlevoix's *History of New France*, the same place is marked as the site of an ancient large village. The Ottawa village on Fish Creek appears to have been the larger of the two at the head of Chequamegon Bay, and it was there Allouez resided for a time, until he was obliged to return to his ordinary dwelling place, "three-fourths of a league distant." This shows that the ordinary abode of Father

Allouez and Marquette, the site of their chapel, was somewhere near Whittlesey's Creek or Shore's Landing. The Huron village was most probably along the western shore of the bay, between Shore's Landing and Washburn.

Father Allouez did not confine his apostolic labors to the two large villages at the head of the bay. He traveled all over the neighborhood, visiting the various shore hamlets, and he also spent a month at the western extremity of Lake Superior—probably at Fond du Lac—where he met with some Chippewas and Sioux. In 1667 he crossed the lake, most probably from Sand Island, in a frail birch canoe, and visited some Nipissirinien Christians at Lake Nepigon (*Allimibigong*). The same year he went to Quebec with an Indian flotilla, and arrived there on the 3d of August, 1667. After only two days' rest he returned with the same flotilla to his far distant mission on Chequamegon Bay, taking along Father Louis Nicholas. Allouez continued his missionary labors here until 1669, when he left to found St. Francis Xavier mission at the head of Green Bay. His successor at Chequamegon Bay was Father James Marquette, discoverer and explorer of the Mississippi. Marquette arrived here September 13, 1669, and labored until the spring of 1671, when he was obliged to leave on account of the war which had broken out the year before, between the Algonquin Indians at Chequamegon Bay and their western neighbors, the Sioux.



## ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS AT GREEN BAY, IN 1816.

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The following, attributed to *The Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, appeared in *The\* (Winchester) Kentucky Advertiser* for November 9, 1816:

The following is an extract of a letter from Dr. William Henry Hening of this city, now regimental surgeon to the detachment of troops commanded by col. Miller, of the 3d regiment,<sup>1</sup> to his father, W. W. Hening, Esq. of this city, which contains some interesting information relative to the *Western Interests* of the United States— The observations are judicious, and we take much pleasure in submitting them to our readers.

The letter, too, enclose[s] the speech of a chief of the Winnebago tribe of Indians; marked with that peculiar vein of thought and expression, which distinguishes the *long talk* of the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

“CAMP ON FOX RIVER GREEN BAY August 29, 1816.

“In a letter which I addressed you previous to my leaving Mackinaw, you were informed of the route which I probably would pursue, in returning to Virginia. These anticipations seem thus far realized. In conformity to my ex-

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<sup>1</sup> Col. John Miller, of the 3d U. S. infantry, arrived at Green Bay in July, 1816, to take possession of the country upon the conclusion of the War of 1812-15. The manner of his coming is graphically related in Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* (Milw., 1893), pp. 150-155. He built Fort Howard, named “in memory of General Benjamin Howard, U. S. A., who was in command of the western country during the early part of the war just concluded.”— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> This is the speech alluded to in *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 154.— Ed.

pectations, early in July the detachment of riflemen stationed at Mackinaw, received orders to repair to Green Bay, and there establish a fort with all convenient expedition: to look down all expected opposition, from the Indians residing in this country. We sailed from Mackinaw on the 26th of July last, with the schooners Washington, Wayne, Mink, and sloop Amelia, having on board col. Miller, of the 3d regiment, col. Chambers<sup>1</sup> of the Rifle, major Gratiot,<sup>2</sup> of the engineers, a detachment of artillery under captain Pierce,<sup>3</sup> and four companies of the 3d infantry, amounting in the whole to 500 men. We entered the mouth of the river on the 7th of Aug.; and, contrary to expectations, received from the French inhabitants and Indians a very friendly reception. Whether these professions were sincere, or proceeded from their fears, time will determine. After looking on for some days for a proper scite, the engineer has finally fixed on the position, where the old French fort (Le Bay) formerly stood. It will be a stockade with strong pickets, a bastion at each angle, with a piece of artillery on each, amply sufficient to beat off any Indian force that can be brought against it.— The garrison will consist of two companies of riflemen and two companies of infantry, all under the command of colonel Chambers. Some account of this very delightful country may prove not uninteresting. When the French first established themselves here, they found the contrast between it and Mackinaw very striking; for on leaving the latter place, vegetation was scarcely apparent; whereas, on arriving at the Bay, they found the woods & fields clothed in the most luxuriant verdure. At that time the country was inhabited by two tribes of Indians, the Winnebagoes, (called by the French 'Puons,' or stinking) and the Manomenies, (called 'Faulsavoins,' or

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<sup>1</sup> For sketch of Talbot Chambers, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 393.— ED.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Gratiot, Jr., son of the famous fur-trader, Charles Gratiot, who established posts on the Mississippi, during the Revolutionary War. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 239 *et seq.*— ED.

<sup>3</sup> John S. Pierce. See *ante*, p. 177, note 1.— ED.

eat-ers of wild rice). The Winnebagoes, proving most troublesome, the French and Manomenies turned their arms against them, and having killed a number, drove them to the Winnebago Lake and the Rock river, where they have ever since resided. The soil on both sides of the river is very fine and the fine wheat fields and gardens give it every appearance of a rich and fertile country. The river abounds with fish, particularly a species of sturgeon, which exceeds that of James river,<sup>1</sup> in the richness and delicacy of its flavor, and in the spring and fall myriads of water fowl, attracted by the wild rice, darken the air. This plant springs up in water six or seven feet deep, so thick, as in many places to impede the progress of boats and canoes. The Indians call it Ma-no-men<sup>2</sup> and living almost entirely on it, they have received from the French the appellation of Faulsavains, or Wild Rice Eaters. When the head becomes ripe they pass through it with their canoes, and bending them over, strike them with small sticks, and in a very short time nearly fill their canoes with the grain. This, when cleaned, becomes an excellent article of diet, scarcely inferior to the rice of the south. Everything at present bears a peaceable aspect, but how long this state of things will continue is very uncertain. Without a great deal of circumspection on the part of the Indian department, and a chain of posts always properly garrisoned, I have little hesitation in saying, that our frontier again will witness the horrors of savage warfare.— The Winnebagoes, it is manifest, are decidedly opposed to our making any establishment in this country, as are also a part of the Faulsavains. Nothing, I believe, but the strong force they have to combat, keeps them quiet.—The storm is murmuring at a distance, which I am fearful will, sooner or later, burst on us with all the accumulated horrors of savage vengeance. To give you an idea of the present feelings of the Indians, I enclose a

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<sup>1</sup> In Virginia.— ED.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 429.— ED.

speech of Nat-aw-pin-daw-qua, or the Smoker, a Winnebago chief, delivered before colonel Boyer,<sup>1</sup> the Indian agent.

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SPEECH

*Of Nataw-pindawqua Smoker, a Winnebago Chief, delivered at Green Bay, on the 23d of August, before col. Bowyer, the Indian agent.*

*Father*—you fancy, father, that I am of a nation, who are in the habit of telling lies, because other tribes give us that character; but all I am going to say now shall be the truth.

*Father*—It is true that we have committed faults, but the white people are the cause of it. We red skins believe all that you say, and if your intentions are to attack us, we are not alone.

*Father*—When at Mackinaw, I there told you the general thought of the Indians, and that they were in dread of you. We are afraid that your intention in coming here, to build forts was with a view to do us harm.

*Father*—On your arrival here, we were much troubled, because we were apprehensive you had come to injure the Red Skins, but we beg that you may take us under your wings.

*Father*—You know that the Master of Life governs us all. It is him who placed us on the earth and is our Master. Should your intentions be to destroy us, I doubt if you could succeed, because he *protects us as well as you*.

*Father*—The words that are issuing from my mouth are the words of truth. I am always seeking good.—When at Mackinaw we told you the opinions of the Red Skins. There are many words, my Father, that are repeated with false meaning. I beg you will not listen to those words.—I am desirous that the children of the same great Father should always be friends. Be charitable and listen to the words I am telling you. We hope that our father will conform to the promise he has made to us.

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<sup>1</sup> For sketch of Bowyer, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi., p. 393, note 3.—Ed.

*Father*—Believe not that if you should have any troubles with the Red Coats,<sup>1</sup> that any of us will mix in them. We first saw the French; they were our first Father; Next to them, came the Red Coats. Now, our determination is not to listen; and should you have any shock among you, we shall remain neutral.

*Father*—I tell you no lies—All the other nations think as we do, and it is my reason for repeating it now. You have doubts respecting your children the Red Skins. Why have you brought big guns along with you? Certainly it must have been with a view of using them against us. We hope that you will have no use for them, but we do not like to see them in the country.

*Father*—All that I am telling you is the truth. The French inhabitants residing in this country, who are acquainted with us, and who assist us in our wants, were you to drive them away from the lands they occupy, as well as those at the Prairie du Chien, you would indeed reduce us to charity. We are desirous that our Father would send these words to our great Father (the President) and we should be happy in soon hearing from him.

*Father*—Do not believe that I tell you any false words. When the French agent for Indian affairs resided among us, we were comparatively happy. He treated us with victuals, and clothed us. If I tell lies, the French inhabitants who are present, can contradict me.

*Father*—I conceive myself an object of pity, as are also the young men who accompany us. Your American agents have always cheated us—I will not believe that you (Col. Bowyer), will do the same. The English have also cheated us, and led us wrong. We are not, as other tribes, in the habit of incommoding our father at every moment. All that you have promised our chiefs, I hope you will perform, in order that they will inform their young men of the real character of their father.

*Father*—The master of life is above us, and who is our master? You see me almost naked, and because I am not

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<sup>1</sup> English troops, — ED.

as well dressed as you are, you no doubt fancy me an object of pity.—It is him who has willed it so. He has put something in your heads, to give you more ideas and intelligence than we possess. But we wish to set off, and see what our father will do for us, that we may show it to the other nations, as we pass through them. The master of life is present—he listens to us. You know, my father, that he is on earth, in the Heavens; in fact, that he fills all matter. I hope that we are not here for the purpose of telling each other lies. You my father, can you, like us, bore your ears, and suspend bobs to them? Can you put bands of silver on your arms, or bedaub your faces as we do? No, you cannot; because the master of life would punish you were you to do it.—You see, every day, nations painted in different colors; he has ordered it so, to show the whites that we are objects of charity, and that they are to assist us.

*Father*—You see that I tell no lies. It is true that I am a fool. Our fathers received counsel from the French, then from the English, and finally from you Americans. We have abandoned the red coats because they cheated us,<sup>1</sup> and our eyes are now opened. We are to reside among you. It is true that they (the red coats), give us fine guns and goods; but we do not like their guns as well as your rifles. We hope that our father will supply us soon, and, as you have promised, you will cause our hoes and hatchets to be mended, that our wives may cultivate their fields without difficulty.

*Father*—You see me now speaking, and were I to continue for the whole day, or as it frequently happens in large councils, for three or four, you would still hear but the truth.—Your arms (rifles) please us. They shoot well, and with them we should be certain of making good hunts. If our father would furnish us with some of them, we should be able to obtain an easy subsistence for our wives and children, and a sufficiency of skins to exchange with the traders for goods, and occasionally bring our father a piece of fresh meat.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Bulger Papers," *ante, passim*.—Ed.

*Father.*— There are tribes of Indians who left this yesterday; you opened your breasts (barrels) and gave them your milk (whiskey). They had not gone far before they drank the whole. I am fearful that those people, after having drunk their father's milk in that way, may carry bad words to their villages. It is true, our father promised us some, and if we get it, we will carry it to our villages, shew it to our young men and old men, that they may have a taste of it, and at the same time hear the words of their father. Under our French father, we lived well; afterwards, the English helped us profusely at first, in order to make us foolish. But, for the two or three years past, they do not give us one-third what they are indebted to us. What you have told us, proves true, and we hope you will not treat us as the English have done."

NARRATIVE OF SPOON DECORAH.<sup>1</sup>IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.<sup>2</sup>

I was born at my father's village near the Caffrey school-house at the mouth of the Baraboo River, a few years before the Tecumseh war. My father's name, among the French, was Zhuminaka [Fire-water], which I am told is from a French word having something to do with wine. His Winnebago name was Warrahwikoogah, or Bird Spirit. The

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<sup>1</sup> Spelled also: Day Korah, Dacorah, DeKaury, DeKauray, Day Kauray, and De Corrah; I have retained the orthography of the neighborhood.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> At the home of Spoon, in the town of Big Flats, Adams county, some ten miles north of Friendship, March 29, 1887. Moses Paquette, of Black River Falls, acted as interpreter. Spoon, who died in a cranberry marsh northwest of Necedah, Oct. 13, 1889, was a tall, well-formed, manly-looking fellow, with a well-shaped head, pleasant, open features, and dignified demeanor—quite superior in appearance to the majority of Wisconsin Winnebagoes. He was living with his aged squaw in a reasonably neat small frame cottage, while his progeny, reaching to the fourth generation, were clustered about the patriarchal lodge in family wigwams. The old man told his story in a straightforward, dignified manner, his memory being occasionally jogged by Doctor Decorah, his nephew. The Doctor is a medicine-man, held in high esteem by the Decorah, or mixed-blood element of the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, who live chiefly upon homesteads in Adams, Marquette, and Jackson counties. Spoon took pride in exhibiting a well-thumbed and much-battered copy of vol. vi. of these *Collections*, presented to him by Dr. Draper in 1379. He regarded it as "big medicine," and it was his constant companion upon the hunt as well as at home.

To those familiar with the Indian character, it is not necessary to explain that much of the material in this interview, as well as that with Walking Cloud, *post*, was obtained by means of elaborate cross-questioning. Paquette is a faithful and intelligent interpreter, and in each case



Americans called him Grey-headed Decorah.<sup>1</sup> He was a brother<sup>2</sup> of One-eyed Decorah, or Big Canoe.

I remember hearing of the British attack on the American fort at Prairie du Chien [in 1814]. Some of our relatives joined in it. Their names I do not now remember; I am getting very old; my memory is not as good as it was. My father's party were at Little Green Lake at the time of

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carefully rendered both questions and answers. The result I have formulated into two continuous narratives, following as closely as possible the Indian manner of speech; as here printed, they meet with Paquette's approval. It is not because of any fresh data herein contained, that these simple "talks" are awarded a place in the *Collections*: but they present the Indian view of several important historical events, thus giving us an insight into what Wisconsin savages themselves are thinking and talking about, in their camp-fire reminiscences of early experiences with the white man. The scraps of folk-lore which I was enabled to gather from these two Winnebago head-men are neither numerous nor important; but, such as they are, seem worth preserving. The Winnebagoes have been confronted with white men since Nicolet's visit, in 1634; two and a half centuries of such contact have almost entirely eliminated from their minds the prehistoric traditions of the tribe; their lodge tales of to-day have little to do with the myths of their forebears, and even when revived by the old men are hopelessly although unconsciously incrustated with a later growth, the result of missionary teaching. The bulk of the Winnebagoes have borrowed little else from the Christian instruction which has so long been lavished on them; of all Wisconsin Indians, they have been the least influenced in their religious belief.

See article, "Wisconsin Winnebagoes," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 399 et seq.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Called also Schachipkaka (White War Eagle), and Old Decorah. He was the son of The Ladle, repeatedly mentioned in previous volumes of the *Collections*. He died at Peterwell, on the Wisconsin River, April 20, 1836, said to be 90 years of age. He had fought in the battle of the Thames, and against Sandusky; and had been held as a hostage at Prairie du Chien for the delivery of Red Bird, in 1827. For sketches of the Decorah family and this exemplary individual member of it, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 178; iii., pp. 286-289; v., pp. 153, 155; vi., p. 224; vii., pp. 346, 347; also Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau Bun* (1856), pp. 89, 486; and Gale's *Upper Mississippi* (1857), pp. 81, 82, 189.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Cousin, in fact. The Winnebagoes make no distinction, in common speech, between brother and cousin.—ED.

the attack. My father was a peaceable man. He did not like to be at war with the whites. So our people did not go. I was only a boy, then. I think the first time I ever went to Green Bay, was when I was eight years old. I went to visit my aunts, who were living there. I went twice to see them.

During what the whites call the Winnebago War, at Prairie du Chien [in 1827], I was living with my people on Little Green Lake. There was among us no general hatred of the whites. Red Bird had some private revenge to satisfy, and murdered the white family at the prairie of his own accord. We were all very sorry. We had no sympathy with him. We felt that he was a bad Indian. He tried to get the rest of his tribe into trouble. I have heard of some white people who enjoy getting their neighbors into any trouble they have themselves got into. There was no feeling among the rest of the tribe, over Red Bird's conduct, except that of anger. We willingly gave him up to the whites.<sup>1</sup>

During the Black Hawk War [1832], I lived at the Portage. When we heard of the trouble, I wanted very much to go and join the Americans. I knew the officers at Fort Winnebago, and was friendly to them. But my friends got around me and said that the Sacs were friends of the Winnebagoes. So I was persuaded not to go. In July, ten families of us started out on our summer's hunt, on the Roche-a-Cri River. We had got as far as Friendship, when Ochpiyoka (The Spaniard),<sup>2</sup> one of our friends, came into camp much excited and told us what had happened down in the Illinois country, saying that the Sacs were headed our way. We had gone out on our hunt in strong numbers. Knowing that the war was going on,

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<sup>1</sup> See account of this uprising, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, pp. 253 *et seq.* — ED.

<sup>2</sup> "L'Espagnol, or the Spaniard, was a Menomonee chief, having his village almost opposite where Mauston is now situated." — *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 351. He fought under the British in 1812-15; at the attack on Mackinaw, he contested with Yellow Dog the credit of killing Major Holmes. — *Id.*, iii., p. 270. — ED.

we feared that the Sacs might come into our territory. For there was some fear of the Sacs, all the while, although we had been told of their friendliness. They knew that some of our people were with the Americans. We felt that if the Sacs were driven into our hunting-grounds they might be revengeful, and then it would go hard with our hunting parties unless we were prepared for attack. So when The Spaniard came and told us that the Sacs were really headed our way, we were much afraid. He told us that the center of attack would be Portage. We had left many of our old people and women here. So we at once returned to Portage. The other hunting parties, to which runners had also been sent out, did so too. This was a few days before the battle on the Sauk bluffs [Wisconsin Heights].

Our party camped on the rise of ground just back of what is now the city end of the Wisconsin River bridge, in Portage. Nearly the whole tribe was camped about Portage. There were three large camps, on both sides of the river, about where the bridge now is. The principal chiefs in these camps were: Black Wolf,<sup>1</sup> his son Dandy,<sup>2</sup> Tahneekseeickseega (Fond of Tobacco), White Eagle, White Crow,<sup>3</sup> and Ahsheeshka (Broken Arm). Black Wolf was

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<sup>1</sup> *Wau Bun*, p. 89. Black Wolf's village was on the west shore of Lake Winnebago, south of the site of Oshkosh. He served under the British in the War of 1812-15, being at the captures of Mackinaw and Prairie du Chien. He died at Portage, previous to 1848. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Wau Bun*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaukishkaka* (White Crow), a Winnebago chief, who had but one eye, and something of a reputation as an orator. His village, which comprised about 1,200 persons, housed in tepees covered with red-cedar bark, appears to have been situated about where is now the little village of Pheasant Branch, at the west end of Lake Mendota, Dane county; the paper City of the Four Lakes was to have occupied about the same ground, a few years after the Black Hawk War. Major Henry Dodge held a council with White Crow at the latter's village, May 25, 1832, and secured his promise to be friendly to the whites, or at least neutral. June 3, White Crow brought in the Hall girls to Blue Mounds, and restored them to Indian Agent Henry Gratiot, having been actuated by a reward offered for their recovery. He had purchased their release

the uncle of Gray Eagle's Eye, my present squaw; Dandy was her cousin; White Crow was a one-eyed chief, who had a village at the Four Lakes,—he died a few years after the Black Hawk war; Broken Arm fought under Tecumseh, and also died a few years after the Black Hawk War.<sup>1</sup>

Pierre Paquette was the trader at the Portage, in those days. He was a large, powerful man. His squaw was a daughter of Joseph Crélie. Our tribe had great respect for him. His mother was a Winnebago woman, and he was a good man in every way,—very friendly to our people. I was his friend, and he once gave me a pony. The white captains [Dodge and Henry] were in Portage when we got there; they had brought the news from White Beaver's [General Atkinson's] camp, that caused our return. Paquette was engaged by the white captains to take them

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from the Sacs. That night, he attempted to stir the Indians at the Mound into a conspiracy against Dodge's militiamen, who were present at the transfer of the prisoners. But the Crow talked too freely, and the plot came to the ears of Dodge, who at once imprisoned the conspirator and five of his fellow chiefs, and marched them, June 4, across country to Morrison's Grove. White Crow was released, but two of the others were retained as hostages. June 30, he joined Dodge's squadron, with thirty of his braves, at First (Kegonsa) Lake, and essayed to guide them to Black Hawk's camp. It proved, however, that White Crow was endeavoring to lead the whites into a well-prepared snare at the Hustisford ford, on Rock River, where Black Hawk was prepared to demolish all comers. But this plot failed. White Crow was one of Pierre Paquette's party, to guide Majors Henry and Dodge from Ft. Winnebago to Black Hawk's camp. When it was found that Black Hawk had flown and was retreating to the Wisconsin, White Crow accompanied the whites on the chase. The fortunes of Black Hawk being now in the descendant, White Crow became a good friend of the victorious Americans, and won much credit by brave conduct in the battle of Wisconsin Heights, where it is recorded that he "fought like a white man, without cover." The Winnebagoes, who played fast and loose during the war, so long as the result seemed doubtful to them, were unanimously converted into enemies of the Sacs, when the defeat of the latter seemed well assured. White Crow's conduct was a fair sample of that of his fellow tribesmen. See also, *Wau Bun*, p. 91; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 253; and "Story of the Black Hawk War," in *Id.*, xii. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 185, 190. — Ed.

across the country to Black Hawk's camp, on the headwaters of the Rock River. Paquette wanted a party of Winnebagoes to go with him as guides. He sent Nahheesanchonka (Man Who Thinks Himself of Importance) into the camp to get volunteers. Nahheesanchonka told us that if we would go into the war we would make a name for ourselves, and get presents; also win the good opinion of White Beaver, and the Big Father at Washington. But there was still among us a strong feeling of friendliness toward the Sacs. This feeling was of friendly pity, not a desire to help them fight. So only six young men, none of them chiefs, went with Paquette as guides. Of these were Pawnee (Pania Blanc), Nahheesanchonka, Notsookega (Bear that Breaks up the Brush), Ahmegunka, and Tahnichseeka (The Smoker). As I think again, perhaps White Crow went with Paquette on this expedition, but of this I am not sure.<sup>1</sup> Anyway, White Crow fought on the American side, at the Sauk bluffs [July 21, 1832].

The return of Paquette's party, a week or so later, told us of the defeat at the Sauk bluffs. We heard that those Sacs who had escaped the white bullets had crossed the Wisconsin River in a body. There was now great excitement in our camp. We feared that Black Hawk, thinking us now to be his enemies, would turn up the river and attack us at Portage. Our sympathies were strongly with the whites. Our trading interests were with them, and we were bound to them by treaties. Yet we did not like to be fighting old neighbors like the Sacs. Some of our people wanted to move out of the way, but others wanted to stand ground against Black Hawk. And thus we argued the matter between ourselves, till the danger was passed. Black Hawk fled before White Beaver, on his way to the Bad Ax. Two men from our camp went as guides to White Beaver, on this chase. They were Nahreechsecochkeshica (Lame Ankle) and Mahheenibahka (Double Knife). These were the only guides that White Beaver had.

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<sup>1</sup>All white narrators agree that he was with Paquette's party. — Ed.

It was only a day's trip with fast ponies between Portage and Prairie la Crosse. There was much traveling between the two places during all this great excitement. So we soon got news of the battle at the Bad Ax [Aug. 2, 1832].

We soon afterwards learned how Black Hawk came to be made a prisoner. You have explained to me what the white men have set down in their books about Black Hawk's capture. It is not as they say. He was not captured at the Dells of the Wisconsin River. He never was at the Dells, in his life. There was no reason for his going there. Now I shall tell you the story I have always heard from those who know; it is the way all our people tell it; it is the true story. During the battle of the Bad Ax, Black Hawk saw a steamer coming up the river, with white warriors on board. Being afraid he would be taken, he turned back into the woods. He ran away towards the north, intending, I have heard, to go to the Chippewa country. I do not know whom or how many he took with him. I never heard Big Canoe say, as to that. After the Bad Ax battle, Big Canoe went off on a hunting expedition, up to the head waters of the La Crosse River,—which we call Enookwasaneenah; or, the River of the Woman's Breasts, because of the pair of sloping bluffs near the mouth. A few of Big Canoe's hunters were out one day, when they saw some Sacs in hiding. The Winnebagoes were afraid, and hurried back to Big Canoe's camp. The camp was on the river, near where is now the white village of Bangor, below Sparta. The party reported that they thought the Sacs were Black Hawk and his companions. Nobody in the camp knew the Sac speech except Big Canoe, who said, "I will go and see him." After he got to the place told of by his young men, Big Canoe saw Black Hawk, and said to him: "I am a great friend to the whites, and if you will surrender to me peaceably I will deliver you to the captain at Prairie du Chien, and you shall not be harmed." Black Hawk consented, and went peaceably along. I never heard of the man named Chætar, who the white men say was with Big Canoe. Very likely

there may have been some one with him as a companion, but I never heard any name given. Big Canoe got Black Hawk's promise to go along. So he went with his prisoner to General Street, and delivered him up. And that is how it was. Any other story is nonsense.<sup>1</sup>

I never saw White Beaver, but have always heard he was a big warrior among the whites. My father knew General Dodge very well, and he always claimed him as his brother, in talking with him,—which was a great honor; but General Dodge was a good friend to our people, and deserved to be well treated by them. I met the general twice, and spoke a few words with him each time. The first time was at Blue Mounds, during the Black Hawk War. He had come to the Mounds for supplies. After the war I met him there again.

I remember Karrymaunee, who was among those who signed the treaty of 1832.<sup>2</sup> He was then the head of the tribe. I saw him often, for one of his daughters was my first squaw. She was named Flight of Geese, and died on the Nebraska reservation two years ago. We had parted many years before. Karrymaunee was large and powerful,—fully six feet high, and very broad. He was a fine man, every way. We never selected any but fine men for our chiefs.

In 1840, we were all moved to Turkey River;<sup>3</sup> but in the spring our party went to Iowa River, where Little Decorah had a village. We went down, soon afterwards, to Turkey River, to get our ammunition; but for some reason,—perhaps because we had moved to Iowa River without consent of the agent,—we could not get any. So my father and I came back to Wisconsin and met General Dodge at Blue Mounds. He spoke to us, and said that we were all certainly entitled to the annuities, even to the youngest child. But when

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 316; the narrative of Walking Cloud, *post*, p. 465, *note*; article, "Wisconsin Winnebagoes," in vol. xi.; and *Mag. West. Hist.*, v., p. 194.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 181.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 405, 406.—ED.

we went back to the agency, we again failed to get the payment; we had neglected to have General Dodge put his words in writing.

We stayed out on the Iowa River for ten years. In 1848, the Big Father arranged for moving all the Winnebagoes to Sauk Rapids, Minnesota, in the Long Prairie agency. We had gone as far north as Winona on our way to Long Prairie, when our party became afraid, from the reports that reached us of the number of Sioux who were in the neighborhood of the new reservation. We wanted to stop. At Winona there were some white soldiers, whose captain told us we must go along peaceably with the rest of the tribe, or there would be trouble. We didn't pay much attention to this. We were enjoying ourselves in dancing, when the soldiers turned a cannon on us. It seems that the white captain thought our dance was a war dance. But we were peace Indians, and were merely determined not to go any farther towards the new home they had made for us; for the Sioux were not good neighbors. A soldier stood at the cannon, with a torch in his hand, and was going to touch it to the powder, when Big Wave, of White Eagle's band, went up and knocked the torch out of his hand. The soldiers were much excited, though they soon saw we meant no harm, but would not be fired on if we could help it.<sup>1</sup>

I went up to the officer and told him that I did not like this treatment. I said I wanted to get back to Wisconsin. There was a good deal of talk, but finally H. M. Rice and H. L. Dousman, who were traders, following us up from Prairie du Chien, spoke for me. They gave me a paper, saying that I was a good Indian, and that my father lived on the Wisconsin River at Portage. So I crossed the Mississippi River in a borrowed canoe, swimming my pony behind. I left the canoe on the Wisconsin side, and went down to LaCrosse on my pony, stopping on the way to hunt elk on the Black River. There I found a good many of my friends who had hid themselves so as

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<sup>1</sup> Neill, *Hist. of Minn.* (4th ed., 1882), pp. 483, 487.—Ed.



not to be removed from their hunting grounds. Black Hawk<sup>1</sup> was the leader of this band. From La Crosse I went across the country to Portage, and have never since been troubled by the Big Father or his soldiers, about removing to west of the Mississippi River.

I have camped with my family on my hunting and fishing journeys, all along the Wisconsin River. I was at Elroy for several seasons, and have been near Friendship for a good many years. In 1873, I took up a homestead of 40 acres near Pike Lake, but was never there.<sup>2</sup> The forty-acre piece I now live on, I bought in 1883. It is in the northeast quarter of section 1, town 18, range 5, about ten miles north of Friendship. I have broken 20 acres, and the rest is scrub-oak woods. The soil is poor, and I make but little money, having many orphan children and grandchildren and one great-grandchild to support. I am getting old and feeble, and I cannot see to hunt any longer, although I do some trapping on the Roche-a-Cri River.<sup>3</sup>

You ask me to tell you of the traditions of my tribe, and some of the old chiefs I have known. My memory is getting very poor; but I will do the best I can. It has been told me, by my father and my uncles, that the Winnebagoes first lived below the Red Banks, on the east shore of Green Bay.<sup>4</sup> There was a high bluff there, which enclosed a lake. They lived there a very long time. From there they moved to the Red Banks, and met at that place the first Frenchmen whom they ever saw. The Winnebagoes were in a very bad condition; they had nothing but bows and arrows with which to kill game. The French-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Winnebago chief who signed the treaty of 1832, and whose descendants claim for him the honor, such as it is, of discovering the fugitive Sac leader of the same name. See Spoon's own account of this affair, *ante*, pp. 453-455; narrative of Walking Cloud, *post*; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 261, *note*, 430, 431.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See Paquette's comment on Winnebago homesteading, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 418, 419.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Spoon Decorah was declared by his friends to have been, in his prime, one of the crack hunters of the tribe.—ED.

<sup>4</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 491; iii., p. 203.—ED.

men gave them guns, powder, blankets, kettles, and other goods. After that, my ancestors lived in better condition, and could kill all the game they needed. The Frenchmen were very good to our people, and bought all the furs they could get from them, at a good price. The Winnebagoes lived a long time at the Red Banks, and then moved to Lake Winnebago. They afterwards spread along the Upper Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers, and down to the Rock River, in the Illinois country.

Our people were always friendly with the French. They assisted them at the Fox River rapids, in getting their canoes over. I never heard that there was any trouble between the French and the Winnebagoes. My father told me the two nations were always at peace. When my tribe was at Lake Winnebago, in early days, they fought a good deal with other nations of Indians, — with the Sioux, the Pawnees, and the Osages; but they were always friendly with the Chippewas, Menomonees, and Pottawattomies.

I have heard my father say that his father often told him about certain white medicine-men in black gowns<sup>1</sup> being among our people; but I never heard the names of any of them. In my day, we have not been much troubled by white medicine-men, but have been allowed to keep to the religion of our fathers. Very few of my friends are Christians. Our spirits are the same spirits our fathers believed in.

Our people once owned the lead mines in Southwestern Wisconsin. I have seen Winnebagoes working in them, long before the Black Hawk War. There were a good many at work in this way, nearly all the time in summer. Some dug lead for their own use, but most of them got it out to trade off to other Indians for supplies of all sorts. They made lead-mining their regular work. Every fall and spring hunters would go down to the mines and get a stock of lead for bullets, sometimes giving goods for it and sometimes furs.<sup>2</sup> When the whites began to come

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<sup>1</sup> Jesuit missionaries.— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Notes on Early Lead-Mining in the Fever-river Region," in this volume.— Ed.

among the mines, the Big Father<sup>1</sup> said to his Winnebago children: "I want this land and will have my own people to work it, and whenever you go out hunting come by this way, and you will be supplied with lead." But this agreement was never carried out by the Big Father or his agents. Never was 'a bar of lead or a bag of shot presented to us. This was a very great sorrow to our people. For many years there was much sorrowful talk among the Winnebagoes, at the manner in which the Big Father had treated them, with regard to the mines. No, we never saw any of our lead again, except what we paid dearly for; and we never will have any given to us, unless it be fired at us out of white men's guns, to kill us off.

Our old people talk much about Tecumseh. Some Winnebagoes once fought under him, but none of my relations ever did. Tecumseh's skin was bullet-proof. When he went into battle, he always wore a white deer-skin hunting shirt, around which was girt a strap. The bullets shot at him would go through his shirt, and fall harmless inside. When the weight of the bullets inside the shirt became too great, he would unstrap his belt and let them fall through to the ground. He was a brave man, as a man whom bullets could not wound would of course be; he never used a gun in battle, only a hatchet. Tecumseh had but one son. One day, when the great warrior had grown old and feeble, he called his son to him and said: "I am getting old. I want to leave you what has made me proof against bullets." Thereupon Tecumseh commenced to retch, and try to vomit. He repeated this several times and finally threw up a smooth, black stone, about three inches long. That stone was Tecumseh's soul.<sup>2</sup> Handing it to his son, he said: "I could not be killed by a bullet, but will die only of old age. This is to be your charm against bullets, also." And

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning the president of the United States. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Spoon's language was, literally: "That part of Tecumseh which was to live after the rest of his body was dead." — Ed.

so his son swallowed it, that he, likewise, might never be killed by a bullet. And he never was.<sup>1</sup>

Hootschope (Four Legs)<sup>2</sup> was one of the big chiefs of our tribe, when it was at Lake Winnebago. I have often heard of him as a great man and a mighty warrior. There are only two descendants of his, now living. One of these is a woman, named Good Cloud, who lives near Tomah; she has a son named Good Bear. The other descendant of Hootschope is a boy, Will Dandy, who goes to school at the Wittenberg mission on the Lake Shore railroad. Will Dandy has two cousins, also living at Wittenberg.

Black Wolf had a village on Lake Winnebago, near Fond du Lac, when I was a boy. He was a large man, much respected, and the war-chief of the tribe. He died at the Portage, many years ago.

Karrymaunee, of whom I have spoken before, has but one descendant now living; and he lives at Stevens Point. Little Elk, the uncle of Karrymaunee, was a big man, a wise man, an orator. Little Elk was a good Indian. I knew him well.

Waukoncauhaga (Snake Skin), whom the whites called Washington Decorah,<sup>3</sup> had a village in early times, at the head waters of De Soto Creek, below La Crosse. He died at the Blue Earth agency many years ago,—perhaps 25 years ago, when the white men were fighting each other.<sup>4</sup>

Grizzly Bear was another chief whom I knew. He had a village in the neighborhood of Fox Lake. But that is so long ago, that I scarcely remember him.

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<sup>1</sup>The reader will not fail to notice this practical example of the curiosities of myth-making. Tecumseh was killed by a bullet at the Battle of the Thames (Oct. 5, 1813), and did not die of old age; many Winnebagoes from Wisconsin, friends of Spoon, saw him die, and yet here is a Winnebago tale-teller who remembers only a mythical Tecumseh, who resembles a Greek god. This Tecumseh myth is equaled by the Black Hawk myths referred to *post*, p. 465, *note*.—ED.

<sup>2</sup>*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 114, *note*.—ED.

<sup>3</sup>*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., pp. 260, 262; v., pp. 156, 297, 307. In 1832 he was reported to be 84 years of age.—ED.

<sup>4</sup>During the War of Secession.—ED.

Joseph Crélie and I were great friends. I knew him at Portage for many years, and used to visit him. With those whom he liked, he was very friendly; but he was a rough man with others. Crélie died when he was a very old man. I am a very old man,—93 years,<sup>1</sup>—but Crélie was an older man than I.

I never saw the Winnebago prophet, who was the friend of the Sacs, but I have heard my people tell about him. His father was a Sac, and his mother a Winnebago woman. He had a village on the Rock River. During the Black Hawk War, he came over to the Winnebagoes and remained until the war was over, when he returned to the Sacs. I have never heard when or where he died.

The Spoon Decorah who signed the treaty of 1825, at Prairie du Chien, was not I. That one was my cousin, and a son of Big Canoe. I am the nephew of Big Canoe; and Doc Decorah the medicine man, who lives near me, is my nephew. Doc's father, who was named Bad-Spirit Killer, was my brother-in-law. Bad-Spirit Killer died of small-pox, when [in 1832-33] so many of our people were taken away by that disease. We were at Mauston, then, picking blueberries. Several of our party died.

I remember the different officers at Fort Winnebago; but only the names of one or two of them. They were all of them simply white captains to me. I do, however, remember the name of Captain Low. He was a good friend of the Indians; and a great friend of my father. He gave my father plenty of provisions, and whenever we had any fresh venison we always gave the captain some. I remember Major Twiggs, who was also a good man. He very often furnished us shot and powder to shoot geese with.

I am getting very old. My memory is poor. But what I have told you I know to be true. I wish you had come when I was younger. I could have told you much about my tribe. I could have told you more about the old chiefs and our traditions. When I was a boy we were proud of

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<sup>1</sup>Spoon stoutly contended that this was his age, but a careful computation made him but 84.—ED.

them. My father gave me good talk about our tribe. He liked to speak of those things. Now the Winnebagoes are poor. They have not so much pride. Very few of them care about the old times. Most of them care only for fire-water. We get a very poor living, now. Our farms have not good soil. The game is not as plenty as it was. The white traders cheat and rob us. They make our young men drunk. It would be better if we had an agent.<sup>1</sup> We think the Big Father does not care for us any longer, now that he has all our best land. Perhaps it will not be long before he will want the poor land we now live on. Then we must go to the reservation.<sup>2</sup> Life on the reservation is hard. The Winnebagoes in Wisconsin do not want to go there. They want to die on their own land. They like best the streams and woods where their fathers and uncles have always hunted and trapped. If we had an agent given us, we would do better. My people are like children, and need to be looked after. They want to be encouraged. I am too old to travel much; but some day I will go and see the captain at the Four Lakes.<sup>3</sup> I will ask him to see the Big Father, and procure for us an agent who shall be a good man.<sup>4</sup> We had better have no agent, than such as I hear they sometimes have on the reservation.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1886, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended to Congress the appointment of an agent for the Wisconsin Winnebagoes, but no action was taken. See remarks on this subject, in article, "Wisconsin Winnebagoes," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> In Dakota county, Nebr., where about half of the Winnebago tribe are now living.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the governor of Wisconsin, at Madison. "Taychoperah" (literally, *four lakes*) is the old Winnebago name for the country round about Madison.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> In June, 1887, Spoon Decorah, Four Deer, and Doctor Decorah, with a half-breed interpreter, John la Ronde, of Portage, came to Madison upon this errand, but Governor Rusk was not in the city at the time, and they failed to see him. The party spent the day in the State Historical Society's rooms in the capitol, and then left for home. This was Spoon's last visit to Madison, for in the succeeding autumn he died.—Ed.

## NARRATIVE OF WALKING CLOUD.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.<sup>1</sup>

My name is Mauchhewemahnigo (Walking Cloud). I was born on the Wisconsin River. I was about ten years of age when the treaty was held at Prairie du Chien,<sup>2</sup> where they fixed the boundaries between the Winnebagoes and the Chippewas and our cousins the Sioux. I went with my father to that treaty. My squaw's name is Champchekerinwinke (Flash of Lightning). Her uncle was Hootschope (Four Legs).<sup>3</sup> She was born at his village on Lake Winnebago.

During the Black Hawk War, my father had his lodge near La Crosse. I did not go to the war; I was too young. But my brother did. His name was Seeorouspinka. General Dodge sent a messenger down to Prairie du Chien, and said he wanted the Winnebagoes to go into the war and help the Great Father punish the Sacs. Our

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<sup>1</sup> The interview took place May 18, 1887, at the Winnebago settlement in the town of Albion, Jackson county. Moses Paquette was the interpreter, and afterwards revised the MS. of the narrative, which I have given as nearly as possible as it fell from Walking Cloud's lips. As with that given by Spoon Decorah, this story has ethnographical rather than historical importance. I think that these two narratives are the last of any value which may be obtained from the Winnebagoes of Wisconsin, for the reason that the younger generation of men have no traditions to which we can attach any scientific importance. Spoon and Walking Cloud were regarded by their fellows as practically "the last of the Mohicans," and their offspring are allowing the old tales to die with them. Spoon died in 1889, but Moses Paquette writes me (Black River Falls, Nov. 6, 1895) that Walking Cloud still lives; his squaw, however, is dead.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. 19, 1825.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 114, note; *Wau Bun* (1856), p. 85.—ED.

people, who were named in this call, did not want to go to war. But the messenger, after we had all arrived in Prairie du Chien, picked out Winnebago Black Hawk (my father), and my brother, and they went up the Wisconsin River with a party of white soldiers and officers from Fort Crawford. They met a number of Sacs coming down on a raft made of canoes tied together. The Winnebagoes and the whites killed most of the Sacs in this party.<sup>1</sup> Winnebago Black Hawk was the guide of this expedition.

After the battle of the Bad Ax, the Winnebagoes went on their fall hunt. My father, Winnebago Black Hawk, had a hunting village on the La Crosse River, near where Bangor now is.<sup>2</sup> There were about eighteen hunters in the camp. One day a party of young men were on the chase, having gone up one of the branches of the La Crosse River, towards the head of the Kickapoo. On their return, they came across the camp of the Sac chief, near a little lake. There was much excitement among the hunters. They knew the Great Father had ordered all Winnebagoes to capture the head man of the Sacs, and they did not at first know what to do. They concluded, without talking to the Sacs, to go to their village and report to Winnebago Black Hawk. There was a council held that night in the Winnebago village. It lasted all night and all next day. I remember this council very well. Both Red Wing, here, and I were young men and stood by while the old men talked. The day after the council was over, Winnebago Black Hawk asked three young men to go to the Sac chief, Black Hawk, and tell him that the Winnebagoes had been ordered by General Street, the agent at Prairie du Chien, to take him whenever they saw him and bring him in to Fort Crawford. The three young men were Neno-

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<sup>1</sup> During this interview, an old Winnebago named Red Wing was present. He said that he took part in this affair, and killed four Sacs. In the recital of his alleged achievement, he seemed to take a lively satisfaction. See reference to this butchery, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 254, 255.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spoon Decorah, *ante*, p. 454.—Ed.



hamphega (Lighting the Water), Wakuntschapinka (Good Thunder), and Chatschunka (Wave). Wave was an interpreter, being one-half Sac and one-half Winnebago. These three went through the woods to the camp of the Sac Black Hawk, and delivered to him the speech of Winnebago Black Hawk. They advised the Sac chief to go peaceably to Prairie du Chien, and doubtless he would not be harmed. The Sac chief said: "You want us to be killed by the whites; as you so wish it, we will go."

So the Sac Black Hawk, and those who were with him, were brought back to our village; and a number of our warriors went down to Prairie du Chien with them, and delivered them up to General Street. One-eyed Decorah was not of this party. I am positive of it.<sup>1</sup> He remained at our village all the time. He was not a good man, and not then a chief. After the treaty and the payment, he was made a chief through the influence of the American Fur Company and the Indian agent, General Street. The agents and traders had a way of putting aside old chiefs, for

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Karrymaunee's statement in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 332; Clark's statement in viii., p. 316; and Dr. Draper's note on the last citation. Indian Agent J. M. Street made official report that upon Aug. 27, 1832, at 11 a. m., "Black Hawk and the Prophet were delivered \* \* \* by the One-eyed Decorah and Chaetar, Winnebagoes, belonging to this agency." Official contemporaneous documents are our only reliable sources of information. Indians are phenomenal boasters, and when an act of importance, that may win white men's favor, has been achieved by any of them, there are not lacking those who claim a share in the proceeding. It does not take long among the aborigines for an historical event to pass into shadowy tradition, fit material for any story-teller among them who has an active imagination. Thus it has come about, for instance, that there are as many burial-places of the Sac Black Hawk, in Wisconsin, as Homer had native towns; and any well-informed Winnebago can show you, in his neighborhood, some cave or bluff or ravine where Black Hawk hid during his flight. White historians are thoroughly informed as to the burial place of Black Hawk, in Iowa; but the unlettered savage tale-bearers are as mystified over him and his deeds as though he were a tenth-century hero. I have been surprised, in visiting among old Wisconsin Winnebagoes, to find that only a few of them seem to remember having heard anything about the Prophet, one of the most marked characters in the tragedy of 1832.—Ed.

new ones whom they had gained to their interest. After the Black Hawk War, One-eyed Decorah married two women, and then went off and started a village of his own, on the Black River. He was always afraid somebody would entice his women away. He was ugly and jealous.<sup>1</sup>

H. M. Rice got me [in 1850, or 1851] and many of my friends to go to Long Prairie, Minn., and make up our minds about that country.<sup>2</sup> We were to see if we would like it as a home. We went there and did not like it, so returned home that same fall.

Captain Hunt got us [in 1873] to go to Nebraska. He promised me a span of horses, a wagon, and \$200; and said I should get them when I arrived in Nebraska. But I never received them. We soon came back.<sup>3</sup>

I have been living for thirteen years on my present homestead, in the town of Albion, Jackson County.

The Winnebagoes came from the sky, the old Indians say. They settled first at the Red Banks. They first met the French, who came in large boats to trade with them, near Green Bay. The French were always our good friends. We never had any trouble with them.

All of the other tribes of Indians have tried to kill off the Winnebagoes. The Sioux were the most ugly towards us, though I am told they are our cousins. In old times we had much fighting with the Chippewas, but not in my recollection. We have been at peace with everybody, since the Great Father at Washington commanded us to be at peace or he would take away all our guns. The Menomonees have always been our good friends.

Our fathers used to fast and pray, that the spirits might appear to them. Sometimes they would pray that the water spirit might come and wet the corn-fields. This he would do when he was in good humor; but when he was in bad humor he would bring a good deal of water on the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spoon Decorah, on the One-eyed Decorah (Big Canoe), *ante.*— Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moses Paquette in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii., pp. 407-409.— Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 412-414.— Ed.

land and make a flood. The water spirit, I am told, has a long tail winding around his body, and has two horns. But in my day he has not appeared to any of our people, and we no longer pray to him.

You ask me about a future life. I cannot see how a person may be taken to another world and come back and tell about it. Old people used to tell us that the dead, when washed clean by the Great Spirit, could be sent back to earth. And some believe this, even now.

One thing is certain. The body rests in the earth four days. During that time we take food and place it on the grave, that the body [soul] may not starve. After four days, the body rises and starts out alone, to the happy hunting-ground. A spirit comes to guide the body on its way, unseen. They come to a swift-running stream. They must cross it on a slender pole. If the body is that of a bad Indian, it sinks in the river and never lives more. If it is a good Indian, it walks steadily and crosses the pole. A woman stands on the farther bank, and receives the new comer. The woman asks the stranger his name. When she receives it, she says: "You are good; you shall always live in the happy hunting-ground." This woman is neither old nor young, nor will she ever be old; for the Great Spirit placed her there at the beginning of the world, and she has always looked the same.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schoolcraft, *History of Indian Tribes*, ii., p. 48.—ED.

## POPULATION OF BROWN COUNTY, JUNE, 1830.

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BY THE EDITOR.

As will be seen upon reference to the article, "The Boundaries of Wisconsin," in Volume XI. of these *Collections*, the country now comprised within the State of Wisconsin was, from May 7, 1800, a part of Indiana Territory; it then became a part of Illinois Territory; when Illinois became a State, under act approved April 18, 1818, and was cut down to her present limits, the trans-Lake Michigan country was assigned "for temporary purposes only" to Michigan Territory. October 26, 1818, Lewis Cass, governor of the Territory, issued a proclamation dividing that part of the trans-lacine district which extended from the Illinois boundary ( $42^{\circ} 30'$ ) northward to Michillimackinac County, into two counties, to be separated by the meridian running "through the middle of the portage between Fox river and the Ouissin<sup>1</sup> river:" the portion lying east of that meridian being Brown County, with its seat of justice "within six miles of the mouth of Fox river," and that lying to the west Crawford County, with Prairie du Chien as its seat of justice. These two counties remained thus bounded until September 6, 1834, when the legislature of Michigan Territory passed an act setting off Milwaukee County from the southern part of Brown, and Iowa County from the southern part of Crawford. Thus divided, Wisconsin Territory came into being under Act of Congress approved April 20, 1836. See county map, *ante*, p. 249.

We have already given (*ante*, pp. 247-270) the details of the first census of Wisconsin Territory, taken in July,

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<sup>1</sup>A misprint for Ouisconsin, or Wisconsin.

1836, obtained from official returns in the office of the secretary of state. Since going to press with that portion of the volume, however, there has been discovered among the archives of this Society the official autograph schedule of the inhabitants of Brown County (the eastern half of what is now Wisconsin), made in June, 1830, by the district enumerator, Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay;<sup>1</sup> this enumeration, intended for the national census of that year, was taken on printed broadside blanks furnished from Washington, and is, therefore, in better form than the unmethodical count made in 1836, merely for purposes of Territorial apportionment.

It being impracticable to reproduce these broadsides in the present volume, the same editorial treatment has been given to this Brown County enumeration for 1830, as was given to the Territorial census of 1836. The names have been copied verbatim from the rolls, but for more ready reference have been arranged alphabetically, and classified by towns,—the original being without system, in these regards; in place of the explanatory footnotes presented in connection with the census of 1836, the correct rendering of misspelled names is given in accompanying brackets; the sum of each family is given, with the name of the "head of family;" we have omitted the age classification of each family; but data as to aliens, slaves, and free colored persons have been preserved.

### Summary.

*Total population*—1,154, of whom 474 were members of the garrisons of Forts Howard (Green Bay) and Winnebago (Portage), thus leaving 680 as the number of regular inhabitants. In the schedule of details, however, we can count up but 676, a discrepancy of 4; these consisted of 402 males and 274 females:

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<sup>1</sup> Presented to the Society by Mr. Baird, January 2, 1870. It was, at the time, through some clerical oversight, filed away in an envelope bearing another inscription, and came to light while the present editor was rearranging the archives with a view to "taking account of stock."

*Ages of males*—62, under 5 years of age; 32, of 5 and under 10; 28, of 10 and under 15; 25, of 15 and under 20; 118, of 20 and under 30; 83, of 30 and under 40; 24, of 40 and under 50; 15, of 50 and under 60; 10, of 60 and under 70; 2, of 70 and under 80; 2 (one each, in families of John B. Somvine and Amable Gervais), of 80 and under 90; 1 (in Louis Rouse's family), of 90 and under 100; none over that age.

*Ages of females*—62, under 5 years of age; 47, of 5 and under 10; 26, of 10 and under 15; 30, of 15 and under 20; 62, of 20 and under 30; 24, of 30 and under 40; 15, of 40 and under 50; 1 (in John B. Somvine's family), of 50 and under 60; 2, of 60 and under 70; 2, of 70 and under 80; none, of 80 and under 90; 3 (one each in families of Louis Beaupré, Pèriche Grignon, and Charles Miller), of 90 and under 100.

*Blind*—2 (one each, in families of Amable Gervais and Pierre Chalifoux).

*Aliens*—45.

**Bay Settlement**—Isaac Jacques, 3; Amable Jerva [Gervais], 5 (inc. 1 alien and 1 blind).

**Fort Howard**—Colonel William Lawrence, of the 5th Regiment U. S. Infantry, commanding Fort Howard, at Green Bay, M. Ty., 273 (inc. 31 aliens, 16 women, and 23 children under 15). Of the men, 4 were of 15 and under 20; 171, of 20 and under 30; 55, of 30 and under 40; and 4, of 40 and under 50.

**Fort Winnebago**—Major D. E. Twiggs, of the 1st Regiment U. S. Infantry, commanding Fort Winnebago, Portage Wisconsin, M. Ty., 201 (inc. 2 slaves, 7 free colored persons, 13 women, and 16 children under 15 years). Of the men, 118 were of 20 and under 30; 44, of 30 and under 40; and 1, of 40 and under 50.

**Grand Kakalin**<sup>1</sup>—Augustus [Augustin] Grignon, 31 (inc. 5 aliens).

**Green Bay Township**<sup>2</sup>—John P. Arndt, 25 (inc. 1 alien and 2 free colored persons); Gabriel Bailey, 2; Henry S.

<sup>1</sup>The Kaukauna of to-day.

<sup>2</sup>By act of the Territorial legislature of Michigan, approved Sept. 6, 1834, all that part of Brown County "to which the Indian title is or may

Baird, 8; Samuel W. Beall, 2; Clifford Belden, 1; Luke Besom, 3 (inc. 1 alien); John Bevans, 6; Augustus Bisson, 3 (inc. 1 alien); Frederic Blue, 2; François Bodion, 7; Louis Boprè [Beaupré], 12; Dominique Brunet, 18; Richard F. Cadle, 3; Antoine Carbonno [Carbonneau], 5; Pierre Carbonno [Carbonneau], 8; Pierre Carbonno [Carbonneau], Jr., 4; Pierre Chalifout [Chalifoux], 11 (inc. 1 blind); Charles Chapman, 1; Ebenezer Childs, 2; Increase Claffin, 13 (inc. 2 aliens); James Clarke, 6; Louis Courbielle, 5; François Dashua, 4 (inc. 1 alien); Francis Dashua, Sr., 1; Alexander Dejardin, 6 (inc. 1 alien); Amable Derocher, 5; William Dickinson, 11; James D. Doty, 8; Rosalie Dousman, 10; Joseph Ducharm[e], 7; Robert M. Eberts, 1; Albert G. Ellis, 1; John B. Fauvel, 4 (inc. 3 aliens); Simeon Gammon, 6; Alexander Gardipier, 10; Bonaventure Gardipier, 1; John B. Genor, 4 (inc. 1 alien); William T. Gilbert, 2; Luther Gleason, 5; Nathan Gooddell, 6; Adeline Gorham, 7 (inc. 1 alien); Jean B. Grignon, 12; Paul and Amable Grignon, 24; Perish [Pèriche] Grignon, 9; John Gunn, 4; Moses Hardwicke, 6; Edwin Hart, 1; John Hogarthy, 10 (inc. 1 alien); John Horndorf [Orendorf?], 1; Joseph Hould, 10 (inc. 1 alien); Hiram Hurd, 5; John Ingram, 1; Alexander J. Irwin, 5; Robert Irwin, 4; Robert Irwin, Jr., 13; Samuel Irwin, 3; David Johnston, 1; George Johnston, 16; Joseph Jourdain, 9; Henry B. Kelso, 5; John H. Kinzie, 10 (inc. 2 aliens); Alexander Labord, 3; Jean B. Laborde, 8; Ira Ladd, 2; John Lawe, 35 (inc. 9 aliens); Joseph Lemeur, 6 (inc. 1 alien); François Martan [Martin], 4; Morgan L. Martin, 2; John McCarty, 7; David McClary, 1; Charles Miller, 1 (alien); Chester Mills, 1; J. B. Moncreve [Moncrieff?], 2 (inc. 1 alien); Elijah Murray, 1; John Nichols, 5 (inc. 1 alien); Daniel Olds, 9; Nathaniel Perry, 4; Oliver W. Phelps, 2; Joseph Pillegore [Peligord], 7; Richard Pricket, 8 (inc. 1 alien); John T. Reed, 3; James Riley, 6 (inc. 1 alien); Elijah E. Robinson, 11 (inc. 2 aliens); John Roe, 1; Louis Rouse, 14 (inc. 2

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be extinguished, shall be attached to and constitute a part of the township of Green Bay." The present (1895) township of Green Bay comprises but a small territory in the northeast corner of Brown County.

aliens); Samuel Ryan, 6; Jean B. St. Vincent, 5 (inc. 1 alien); Jesse Saunders, 5; Benjamin Smith, 1; John Smith, 1; John C. Smith, 1; Ezekiel W. Solomons, 5; John B. Somvine, 11; Augustus Thibault, 5 (inc. 1 alien); Linus Thompson, 6 (inc. 1 alien); Stephen K. Walker, 3; Levi Warrington, 5; John Whistler, 1; Daniel Whitney, 16; Thomas Wickline, 1; William Wilson, 1.

**Menominee riv.**—William Farnsworth, 13.

**Mill Creek**—Amos Ames, 2; Ransalear [Rensselaer] Marshall, 8.

**Portage**—Luther Leonard, 3 (inc. 1 free colored person).



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