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HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND THE ADVENT OF COMMERCE IN MINNESOTA.*

BY CAPTAIN RUSSELL BLAKELEY.

With the hope that I may add something to what we know of the past, and in compliance with the often-expressed wish of the Council of the Minnesota Historical Society, I have ventured to prepare this paper.

The discovery of the Mississippi river has always been an interesting theme of discussion, and especially so to those who live upon its banks, and all information on this great event should be welcomed to the pages of the collections of the Historical Society.

Prof. J. G. Shea, in his discussion of this subject, brought together all the information within his reach for the purpose of a full illustration of his subject. I shall follow his very judicious example, and my line of discussion, by bringing together the record as I find it, will be very largely an elucidation of what I may present for consideration.

Without a review of antecedent history, it will be sufficient for my purpose to date my inquiry from the year 1627, when Louis XIII., under the inspiration of his great minister, Richelieu, granted to the One Hundred Associates, called the Company of New France, the feudal lordship of Canada for all time, and to the Jesuits the sole religious supremacy as well. The territory embraced in this kingly bounty extended from the Gulf of Mexico on the south to the Arctic ocean on the north, and from the island of Newfoundland to the headwaters of the St. Lawrence river. Richelieu himself was made head of this modest corporation. Quebec was made the chief city for the fur trade, and in 1640 it was supposed to contain about

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two hundred and forty inhabitants, composed of the Governor and staff, Jesuits, nuns, agents of the company, and a few colonists.

The Jesuits set themselves to work to convert the Ottawas and Hurons by establishing missions among them.

For the history of this company and the experience of the Jesuits and their missions, I shall depend upon some quotations from the "Relations of the Jesuits," and from Parkman's series of histories of the early days of New France. The entire income of the country was dependent on the fur trade, and amounted to many thousand francs, until the destruction of the missions of the Hurons and Ottawas in 1649-50, when the Iroquois succeeded in killing the missionaries and destroying and dispersing the Indians, who fled to the western lakes, islands and forests to escape from this fierce people. By this dispersion Quebec and Montreal were reduced to a state of starvation.

Parkman, on pages 424-5 of "The Jesuits in North America," in speaking of this event, says:

The division of the Hurons called the Tobacco Nation, favored by their isolated position among the mountains, had held their ground longer than the rest; but at length they too were compelled to fly, together with such other Hurons as had taken refuge with them. They made their way northward, and settled on the Island of Michilimackinac, where they were joined by the Ottawas, who, with other Algonquins, had been driven by fear of the Iroquois from the western shores of Lake Huron and the banks of the River Ottawa. At Michilimackinac the Hurons and their allies were again attacked by the Iroquois, and, after remaining several years, they made another remove, and took possession of the islands in the mouth of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan. Even here their old enemy did not leave them in peace; whereupon they fortified themselves on the main-land, and afterwards migrated southward and westward. This brought them in contact with the Illinois, an Algonquin people, at that time very numerous, but who, like many other tribes at this epoch, were doomed to a rapid diminution from wars with other savage nations. Continuing their migration westward, the Hurons and Ottawas reached the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Sioux. They soon quarrelled with those fierce children of the prairie, who drove them from their country.

The condition to which the colony had been reduced is stated in a note on page 5 of "The Old Régime in Canada:"

According to Le Mercier, beaver to the value of 200,000 to 300,000 livres were yearly brought down to the colony before the destruction

of the Hurons (1649-50.) Three years later, not one beaver skin was brought to Montreal during a twelvemonth, and Three Rivers and Quebec had barely enough to pay for keeping the fortifications in repair.

In consequence of this stopping of the fur trade, all persons who had been engaged in this occupation were idle, if not starving. The first information of a change in this condition of things is found in a letter of the Superior of the Jesuits, Le Mercier, dated September 21st, 1654, published, in volume 2, "Relations des Jésuites," chapter 4, page 9:

After the capture of the surgeon of Montreal and before his return from captivity, when we were between fear and hope, not knowing what issue the affair would have, a fleet appeared at a distance, which was coming down through the rapids and the waterfalls which are above Montreal. We had reason to fear that the fleet was an army of foes, but we perceived at their approach that they were friends who were coming from a distance of four hundred leagues to bring us some news from their nation and learn some from us. The inhabitants from Montreal and Three Rivers had a double joy by seeing that these canoes were loaded with furs which these nations came to exchange for our French goods.

These people were part of them Tionnontatehronnons, whom we call La Nation du Petun, of Huron language, and part of them Ondataouaouat, of Algonquin language, whom we call Les Cheveux Releve (the Straight Hairs), because their hairs do not come downwards, and that they make them straight like the comb of a cock which points upwards. All these people have quitted their old country, and have gone to fix their abode with the more distant nations towards the great lake which we call Des Puants (Stinkers), because they live near the sea which is salt and which our Indians call L'Eau Puante (the Stinking Water). It is in the direction of the north.

The devastation of the Huron country having caused them to apprehend like misfortune, and having been pursued everywhere by the fury of the Iroquois, they thought that they could be safe only by removing themselves to the upper end of the world.

On page 30, the same subject is continued in the following words:

Another says that in some of the islands of the lake called Lac des Gens de Mer (Lake of the People of the Sea), whom some improperly call Les Puants (the Stinkers), there is a multitude of people speaking a language which has a great resemblance with the Algonquin language; that there is only nine days' journey from this great lake to the sea which separates America from China, and that if there was somebody who would be willing to send thirty Frenchmen to that country, not only would we convert to God many souls, but we would get a profit which would surpass the expense that we would be obliged to

incur for the keeping of the Frenchmen whom we would send there, because the best furs come more abundantly from these countries. Time will tell us what we know now only by the reports of some Indians, who affirm that they have seen by their own eyes what they express by their mouth.

In volume 3, "Relations des Jésuites," page 2, the Father Superior makes a further allusion to this subject evidently so near his heart:

Towards the end of the month of August we see fifty canoes and two hundred and fifty Indians, loaded with the riches of the country, coming to trade with us, and to ask for some fathers from our Company to go to teach them in the thick forests of their own country, distant five hundred leagues from Kebec. In the presence of so bright a day we forget all the past bad nights. Two of our fathers and one of our friars take passage with thirty Frenchmen; but the Agnieronons, whom we call the lower Iroquois, who have always refused to make peace with our allies, cut in one moment the thread of our hope by assaulting these poor people on their return, and by killing one of the two fathers who were going to preach the gospel in their country.

I have here given what I deem a necessary preliminary, for the purpose of introducing the two persons of all others who appear to have been the first civilized or Christian people who set foot on the soil of what is now Minnesota.

VOYAGE OF GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON TO THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

The two Frenchmen, Groseilliers and Radisson, who have occasionally been alluded to in the early days of New France, and who have also been referred to by Rev. E. D. Neill in his history of the Ojibways and their connection with fur traders, in volume 5 of the Collections of the Historical Society of Minnesota, are, I think, entitled to still further consideration by all who are interested in the past history of this state and the valley of the Mississippi river. Fortunately we are in possession of an authentic account of the travels of these men in the language of one of them.

The volume in which the narratives of Radisson appear is entitled: "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations, and an introduction, by Gideon

D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. - 1885."

The Prince Society has endorsed this work over the name of its President by the following preface:

It may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that we are able to add to the Society's publications this volume of Radisson's Voyages. The narratives contained in it are the record of events and transactions in which the author was a principal actor. They were apparently written without any intention of publication, and are plainly authentic and trustworthy. They have remained in manuscript more than two hundred years, and in the mean time appear to have escaped the notice of scholars, as not even extracts from them have, so far as we are aware, found their way into print. The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The journals, with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed, and, in justice both to the author and the reader, they have been printed *verbatim et literatim*, as in the original manuscripts. We desire to place upon record our high appreciation of the courtesy extended to the Editor of this volume by the governors of the Bodleian Library and of the British Museum, in allowing him to copy the original manuscripts in their possession. Our thanks likewise are here tendered to Mr. Edward Denham for the gratuitous contribution of the excellent index which accompanies the volume.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
November 20, 1885.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,
President of the Prince Society.

I fully agree with what the President of the Prince Society has said in speaking of the orthography, use of words, and structure of sentences, and will add that the utter confusion manifest, in the way in which the narrative is told, has, I think, served to mislead all who have attempted to review the work. The incidents as placed in the text are without order or coherent connection. In my review of the story, I shall endeavor to bring into harmonious connection those parts of this history which I think belong together, without regard to the places where I find the paragraphs placed; and it is my hope to make an intelligible and very interesting and manifestly truthful statement of facts. My review will be confined to the third and fourth voyages, and to matters wholly connected with them. I shall not attempt to give the *verbatim* language, nor the orthography of the author, but will

conscientiously render the meaning of the text. Commencing on page 134 of the Prince Society's publication, we read:

So my brother seeing me back from those two dangerous voyages, so much by the cruelties of the barbarians as for the difficulties of the ways, for this reason he thought I was the fitter and more faithful for the discovery that he was to make. He plainly told me his mind; I knowing it longed to see myself in a boat. There were several companies of wild men expected from several places, because they promised the year before, and (to) take the advantage of the spring (this to deceive the Iroquois who are always in wait to destroy them), and of the rivers which is by reason of the melting of the great snows which is only that time, for otherwise no possibility to come that way, because for the swift streams that run in summer, and in other places the want of water, so that no boat can come through. We soon see the performance of that people, for a company came to the Three Rivers where we were. They told us that another company was arrived at Mont Royal, and that two more were to come shortly, the one to the Three Rivers, the other to Saegne, a river of Tudousack, who arrived within two days after. They divided themselves, because of the scant of provisions, for if they were together they could not have victuals enough. Many go and come to Quebec for to know the resolution of the Governor, who, together with the fathers, thought fit to send a company of French to bring back, if possible, those wild men the next year, or others, being that it is the best manna of the country by which the inhabitants do subsist, and makes the French vessels to come there and go back loaded with merchandise for the traffic of furriers who come from the remotest parts of North America.

As soon as the resolution was made, many undertake the voyage; for where there is lucre there are people enough to be had. The best and ablest men for that business were chosen. They make them go up the Three Rivers with the band that came with the Sacques. They take those that were the most capable for the purpose. Two fathers were chosen to conduct the company, and endeavored to convert some of those foreigners of the remotest country, to the Christian faith. We no sooner heard their design, but saw the effects of the business, which effected in us much gladness for the pleasure we could do to one another, and so abler to oppose an enemy, if by fortune we should meet with any that would do us hurt or hinder us on our way.

About the middle of June we began to take leave of our company and venture our lives for the common good. We find 2 and 30 men, some inhabitants, some Gailliards that desired but do well. What fairer bastion than a good tongue, especially when one sees his own chimney smoke, or when we can kiss our own wives or kiss our neighbor's wife with ease and delight? It is a strange thing when victuals are wanting, work whole nights and days, lie down on the bare ground, and not always that hap, the breach in the water, the fear in the buttocks, to have the belly empty, the weariness in the bones, and drowsi-

ness of the body by the bad weather that you are to suffer, having nothing to keep you from such calamity.

At last we take our journey to see the issue of a prosperous adventure in such a dangerous enterprise. We resolved not to be the first that should complain. The French were together in order, the wild men also, saving my brother and I, that were accustomed to such like voyages, have fear for what happened afterwards. Before our setting forth we made some gifts, and by that means we were sure of their good will, so that he and I went into the boats of the wild men. We were nine and twenty French in number and six wild men. We embarked our train in the night, because our number should not be known to some spies that might be in some ambush to know our departure; for the Iroquois are always abroad. We were two nights to get to Mont Royal, where eight Ottawas stayed for us and two French. If not for that company, we had passed the River of the Meadows which makes an isle of Mont Royal and joins itself to the lake of St. Louis, three leagues further than the height of that name.

We stayed no longer there than as the French got themselves ready. We took leave without the noise of guns. We cannot avoid the ambush of that eagle, which is like the owl that sees better in the night than in the day. We were not sooner come to the first river, but our wild men see five sorts of people of divers countries, laden with merchandise and guns, which served them for a show than for a defence, if by chance they should be set on. So that the glory begins to show itself. No order being observed among them, the one sings, the other before goes in the posture. Without bad encounter we advanced three days. There was no need of such silence among us. Our men composed only of seven score, we had done well if we had kept together, not to go before in the river, nor stay behind two or three leagues. Some three or four boats now and then to land to kill a wild beast, and so put themselves in danger of their lives, and if there were any precipice the rest should be impotent to help. We warned them to look to themselves. They laughed at us, saying we were women; that the Iroquois durst not set on them. That pride had such power that they thought themselves masters of the earth; but they will see themselves soon mistaken. How that great God that takes great care of the most wild man created, and wills that every man confess his faults, and gives them grace to come to obedience for the preservation of their lives, sends them a remarkable power and ordinance which should give terror and return to those poor misled people from the way of assurance!

As we wandered in the aforesaid manner all asunder, there comes a man alone out of the woods with a hatchet in his hand, with his brayer, and a cover over his shoulders, making signs aloud, that we should come to him. The greatest part of that flock showed a palish face for fear at sight of this man, knowing him to be an enemy. They approached not without fear and apprehension of some plot. By this you may see the boldness of those braggards that think themselves hec-tors when they see but their shadows, and tremble when they see an Iro-

quois. That wild man, seeing us nearer, sets himself down on the ground and throws his hatchet away, and rises again all naked to show that he has no arms, desires them to approach nearer, for he is their friend and would lose his life to save theirs. He showed indeed a right complaisance for saving men that ran to their ruin by their indiscretion and want of conduct; and what he did was out of mere piety, seeing well that they wanted wit, to go so like a company of bucks, every one to his fancy, where his little experience leads him, nor thinking of that danger wherein they were, showing by their march they were no men, for not fearing. As for him, he was ready to die to render them service and prisoner into their hands freely. "For," saith he, "I might have escaped your sight, but that I would have saved you. I fear not death," saith he,—so with that comes down into the water to his middle. There come many boats around him, takes him into one of the boats, tying a cord fast about his body. There is he fastened. He begins to sing his fatal song that they call a nouroyall. That horrid tone being finished, he makes a long, a very long speech, saying, "Brethren, to-day the sun is favorable to me, appointed me to tell you that you are witless before I die, neither can they escape their enemies that are spread up and down everywhere, that watch all moments their coming to destroy them. Take great courage, brethren, sleep not; the enemy is at hand. They wait for you; they are so near that they see and hear you, and are sure that you are their prey. Therefore I was willing to die to give you notice. For my part, that what I have been, I am a man and commander in the wars, and took several prisoners; yet I would put myself in death's hands to save your lives. Believe me; keep you altogether; spend not your powder in vain, thinking to frighten your enemies by the noise of your guns. See if the stones of your arrows be not bent or loose; bend your bows; open your ears; keep your hatchets sharp to cut trees to make you a fort; do not spend so much grease to grease yourselves, but keep it for your bellies. Stay not too long in the way, it is robbery to die with conceit."

That poor wretch spoke the truth and gave good advice, but the greater part did not understand what he said, saving the Hurons that were with him, and I, that told them as much as I could perceive. . . . We call him a dog, a woman, and a hen. We will make you know that we were men, and for his pains we should burn him when we came to our country. Here you shall see the brutishness of those people that think themselves valiant to the last point. No comparison is to be made with them for valor, but quite contrary. They pass away the rest of that day with great exclamations of joy, but it will not last long.

That night we lay in our boats and made not the kettle boil, because we had meat ready dressed. Every boat is tied up in the rushes, whether out of fear for what the prisoner told them, or that the prisoner should escape, I know not. They went to sleep without any watch. The French began to wish and moan for the place they came from. What will it be if we hear yet cries and sorrows after all? Past the break of day everyone takes his oar to row; the foremost oars have

great advantage. We heard the torrent rumble, but could not come to land that day, although not far from us. Some twelve boats got before us. These were saluted with guns and outcries. In the mean while one boat runs one way, one another; some men land and run away. We are all put to it; none knows where he is, they are put to such a confusion. All those beasts gather together again frightened. Seeing no way to escape they got themselves all in a heap like ducks that see the eagle come to them.

That first fear being over a little, they resolved to land and to make a fort with all speed, which was done in less than two hours. The most stupid and drowsy are the nimblest for the hatchet and cutting of trees. The fort being finished, everyone maketh himself in readiness to sustain the assault if any had attempted. The prisoner was brought, who soon was dispatched, burned, roasted and eaten. The Iroquois had so served them, as many as they have taken. We missed twenty of our company, but some came safe to us, and lost thirteen that were killed and taken in that defeat. The Iroquois finding himself weak would not venture, and was obliged to leave us lest he should be discovered and served as the other. Nevertheless they showed good countenances, went and builded a fort as we have done, where they fortified themselves and fed on human flesh which they got in the wars. They were afraid as much as we, but far from that; for, the night being come, everyone embarks himself to the sound of a low trumpet. By the help of the darkness we went to the other side, leaving our merchandise for our ransom to the enemy that used us so unkindly. We made some carriages that night with a world of pains. We missed four of our boats, so that we must alter our equipages. The wild men complained much that the French could not swim, for that they might be together. The French seeing they were not able to undergo such a voyage, they consult together, and for conclusion resolved to give an end to such labors and dangers; moreover, found themselves incapable to follow the wild men, who went with all the speed possible night and day for the fear that they were in. The fathers, seeing our weakness, desired the wild men that they might have one or two to direct them, which by no means was granted, but bid us do as the rest. We still keep our resolution, and, knowing more tricks than they, would not go back, which should be but disdainful and prejudicial. We told them so plainly, that we would finish that voyage or die by the way. Besides that, the wild men did not complain of us at all, but encouraged us. After long arguing, everyone had the liberty to go backwards or forwards, if any had courage to venture himself with us. Seeing the great difficulties, all with one consent went back again, and we went on.

The wild men were not sorry for their departure, because of their ignorance in the affairs of such navigation. It is a great alteration to see one-and-thirty reduced to two. We encouraged one another, both willing to live and die with one another; and that is the least we could do, being brothers.

The incidents attending the balance of this trip to the Lake of the Hurons are very graphically described, and were laborious and attended with much suffering and nearly starvation, in a similar manner and at the same places as those described in chapter 13 of "Pioneers of France in the New World," which speaks of the discovery of Lake Huron by Champlain in 1615.

After some delay and a season of mourning for those lost in the fight with the Iroquois, the party is divided, one-half going to the north, and the other to the south. Our voyagers joined the party of the south, and made a voyage around Georgian bay, and reached the island of Michilimackinac, where they say they were possessed by the Hurons and Ottawas, who fled from the attacks of the Iroquois when the missions of the Hurons were destroyed in 1649-50.

We made large gifts to dry up the tears of the friends of the deceased who were killed in the attack of the Iroquois. The neighbors came to visit us and bid us welcome, as we are so. There comes news that there were enemies in the fields, that they were seen at the great field. There is a council called, and it is resolved that they should be searched and set upon, which was executed speedily. I offered my services, so went and looked for them two days, finding them the third day. I gave them the assault when they least thought of it. We played the game so furiously that none escaped.

The day following we returned to our village, with eight of our enemies dead and three alive. The dead were eaten, and the living we burned with a small fire to the rigor of cruelties, which comforted the desolate to see them revenged of the death of their relations that were so served. . . . But our mind was not to stay in an island, but be known with the remotest people. The victory that we had gotten made them consent to what we could desire, and because we showed willingness to die for their defence. . . .

That nation called Pottawattamies comes and meets us with the rest, and peace was concluded. Feasts were made and dances with gifts came of each side, with a great deal of mirth. We visited them during that winter, and by that means we made acquaintance with another nation called Escotecke, which signifies "fire,"—a fair and proper nation; they are tall and big and very strong. We came there in the spring. When we arrived there were extraordinary banquets. There they never have seen men with beards, because they pull their hair as soon as it comes out; but much more astonished when they saw our arms, especially our guns, which they worshipped by blowing smoke of tobacco instead of sacrifice. . . . We desired them to let us know of their neighboring nations. . . . Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon, which is very strong, and with whom

they were in war; and another wandering nation, living only upon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the side of the salt water in summer time, and in the land in the winter time, for it is cold in their country. They call themselves Christinos, and their confederates from all time, by reason of their speech, which is the same, and often have joined together, and have had companies of soldiers to war against that great nation. We desired not to go to the north till we had made a discovery in the south, being desirous to know what they did. . . .

We, finding this opportunity, would not let it slip, but made gifts, telling that the other nation would stand in fear of them because of us. We flattered them, saying none would dare to give them the least wrong, insomuch that many of the Ottawas that were present to make the same voyage. I can assure you I liked no country as I have that wherein we wintered, for whatsoever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz.: stags, fishes in abundance, and all sorts of meat, corn enough. Those of the two nations would not come with us, but turned back to their nation. We nevertheless put ourselves in hazard, for our curiosity, of stay two or three years among that nation. We ventured, for that we understand some of their idiom, and trusted to that.

Before proceeding further with this extremely brief and badly arranged history of this journey, it is advisable that we again refer to the extract from the "Relations of the Jesuits," which after speaking of the Lake of the Sea and its multitude of population, says:

That there is only nine days' journey from this great lake to the sea which separates America from China, and that if there was somebody who would be willing to send thirty Frenchmen to that country, not only would we convert to God many souls, but we would get a profit which would surpass the expense. . . . We now know only by the reports of some Indians, who affirm that they have seen by their own eyes what they express by their mouth.

These two Frenchmen are all that remain of the thirty French who started on this expedition in August of the year 1654, and are now ready in the spring of 1655 to continue this journey to the *sea* that separates America from China, only nine days' journey from their starting point. They have spent the winter with the Hurons and Ottawas, who were at that time living upon the islands of the Lake of the Puans, and at the north part of the bay. In the first description of the route Radisson says:*

We embarked ourselves on the delightfulest lake of the world. I took notice of their cottages and of the journeys of our navigation, for

*Parts of my quotations here and onward are italicized, that special attention may be directed to them.

because that the country was *so pleasant, so beautiful and fruitful*, that it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such enticing countries to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, and for sterile laud and horrid country, that the people sent here or there, by chagement of air, engenders sickness and dies thereof. Contrarywise these kingdoms are so delicious and under so temperate a climate, the earth bringing forth its fruit twice a year, the people live long and lusty and wise in their way. . . .

We meet with several nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, and who were very civil. The farther we sojourned, the delightfuller the land was to us. *I can say that in my life time I never saw a more incomparable country, for all that I have been in Italy.* Being about the great sea, we conversed with the people that dwelleth about the salt water, who told us that they saw some great white thing sometimes on the water, and it came towards the shore, and men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they were mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniards; and the reason is that we found a barrel broken as they use in Spain. Those people have their hair long. They reap twice a year; they are called Tatarga, that is to say, buff. . . . They are generally stout men, so they are able to defend themselves. . . . We were everywhere made much of; neither wanted victuals, for all the different nations that we met conducted us and furnished us with all necessaries. . . .

The summer passed away with admiration by the diversity of the nations that we saw, as for the beauty of the shore of that sweet sea. *Here we saw fish of divers, some like the sturgeons and have a kind of slice at the end of their nose, some three fingers broad in the end and two only near the nose and some eight thumbs long, all marbled of a blackish color.* There are birds whose bills are two and twenty thumbs long. That bird swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We saw also she-goats, very big. There is an animal somewhat less than a cow whose meat is exceeding good. There is no want of *stags nor buffs*. There are so many turkeys that the boys throw stones at them for their recreation. . . . *As for the buff, it is a furious animal. One must have a care of him, for every year he kills some Nadoneseronons.* He comes for the most part in the plains and meadows, and feeds like an ox. . . . The horns of buffs are as those of an ox but not so long, but bigger, and of a blackish color. He hath a very long hairy tail. He is reddish, his hair frizzed and very fine; all the parts of his body much like unto an ox. The biggest are bigger than any ox whatsoever.

The vines grow all by the river side; the lemons are not so big as ours, and sourer. The grape is very big, green, and is seen there at all times. It never snows nor freezes there, but is mighty hot; yet for all that, the country is not so unwholesome for we seldom have seen infirm people. . . .

We were four months in our voyage without doing anything but going from river to river. We met several sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long in alliance with them. By the persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two, where the *Hurons* with some of the *Ottawas* and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we were told. This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they give us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great *cabins*, and have great *beards*, and have such *knives* as we have. *Moreover, they showed a deced of beads and gilded pearls that they have had from that people, which made us believe they were Europeans. They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more taunty than they with whom we were.* His arms and legs were turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they do with them that they take, and kill them with clubs, and do often eat them. They do not burn their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We were informed of that nation that live in the other river. These were men of extraordinary height and bigness, that made us believe they had no communication with them. They live only upon corn and citrulls (pumpkins), which are mighty big. They have fish in plenty throughout the year. *They have fruit as big as the heart of an oriniak, which grows on vast trees which are three armsful in compass.* When they see little men they are afraid and cry out, which makes many come to help them. Their arrows are not of stone as ours are, but of fish-bones and other bones that they work greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I have seen them and could not but admire the curiosity of their work. They have great calumets of great stones, red and green. They make a store of tobacco. *They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day.* This I have not seen, therefore you may believe as you please. . . . Tending to those people, we went towards the south and came back by the north.

We had not as yet seen the nation *Nadoneceronons*. We had *Hurons* with us. We persuaded them to come along to see their own nation that fled there, but they would not by any means. We thought to get some castors there to bring down to the French, seeing it at last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve months' time. . . .

We came to the straits of the two lakes of the *Stinkings* and the upper lake, where there are little islands toward the northwest, few toward the southeast, very small. The lake towards the north at the side of it is full of rocks and sand, yet great ships can ride on it without danger. We, being of three nations, arrived there with booty, and disputed awhile, for some would return to their country. That was the nation of the fire, and would have us back to their dwelling. We by all means would know the *Christinos*. To go back was out of our way.

This, I think, is all of the record, relating to the voyage down the Mississippi river and back to the home of the Hurons and Ottawas on the islands in the north part of Green bay, that it is necessary to embrace in the discussion of the discovery of the Mississippi river; and in order to do so intelligibly I shall quote from the records of Marquette, Hennepin, and the Spanish authorities, so much as I think will enable me to prove conclusively that the voyage of Radisson was down the Mississippi. The discussion will follow after the quotations which follow here.

EXPLORATION BY MARQUETTE AND JOLIET.

First in order are extracts from an account of the discovery of some new countries and nations in North America in 1673 by Pere Marquette and Sieur Joliet, translated from the French, and published in Part 2 of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, by B. F. French, in 1850. Commencing on page 279, we read:

I embarked with M. Jollet, who had been chosen to conduct this enterprise, on the 13th May, 1673, with five other Frenchmen, in two bark canoes. . . . The first nation we came to was called the Folles-Avoines, or the *nation of wild oats*. . . . Having prayed with them and given them some instructions, we set out for the Bay of Puan (Green Bay). . . . This bay is about thirty leagues long, and eight broad in the greatest breadth. . . . It abounds in bustards, ducks, and other birds, which are attracted there by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. We next came to a village of Maskoutens, or nation of fire. . . .

The French have never before passed beyond the Bay of Puans (Green Bay). This *Bourg* consists of three several nations, viz., Miamies, Maskoutens, and Kickapoos. . . . I took pleasure in looking at this *bourg*. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, from whence we look over an extensive prairie, interspersed with groves of trees. The soil is very fertile, and produces large crops of corn. The Indians also gather large quantities of grapes and plums.

The next day, being the 10th of June, the two guides (*Miamies*) embarked with us in sight of all the village. . . . We were informed that at three leagues from the *Maskoutens*, we should find a river which runs into the Mississippi, and that we were to go to the west-southwest to find it. . . . As our guides had been frequently over this portage, they knew the way and helped us to carry our canoes overland into the other river, distant about two miles and a half; from whence they returned home, leaving us in an unknown country. . . .

The river upon which we embarked is called the Mesconsin (Wisconsin). . . . We saw neither game nor fish, but roebuck and

buffaloes in great numbers. . . . We came into the Mississippi on the 17th June (1673).

The mouth of the Wisconsin is in about $42^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. . . . We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to 42° north latitude. . . . The islands are covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes that at first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. . . . When we threw our nets into the water we caught an abundance of sturgeons, and *another kind of fish like our trout, except that the eyes and nose are much smaller, and they have near the nose a bone like a woman's busk, three inches broad and a foot and a half long, the end of which is flat and broad, and when it leaps out of the water the weight of it throws it on its back.*

Having descended the river as far as $41^{\circ} 28'$, we found that turkeys took the place of game, and the Pisikious that of other animals. We call the Pisikious *wild buffaloes*, because they very much resemble our domestic oxen; they are not so long, but twice as large. We shot one of them, and it was as much as thirteen men could do to drag him from the place where he fell. They have an enormous head; their forehead is broad and flat; and their horns, between which there is at least a foot and a half distance, are all black and much longer than our European oxen. They have a hump on the back, and their head, breast, and a part of the shoulders are covered with long hair. They have in the middle of their forehead an ugly tuft of long hair, which, falling down over their eyes, blinds them in a manner, and makes them look hideous. The rest of the body is covered with curled hair, or rather wool like our sheep, but much thicker and stronger. They shed their hair in summer, and their skin is as soft as velvet, leaving nothing but a short down. The Indians use their skins for cloaks, which they paint with figures of several colors. Their flesh and fat is excellent, and the best dish of the Indians, who kill a great many of them. *They are very fierce and dangerous, and if they can hook a man with their horns they toss him up and then tread upon him.* . . . They graze upon the banks of the rivers, and I have seen four hundred in a herd together.

We continued to descend the river . . . [to] about the latitude of 40 degrees. . . . On the 25th June we went ashore [and saw traces of men and were taken to their village]. . . . Their language is a dialect of the Algonquin. . . . They keep several wives, of whom they are very jealous, and watch them closely. If they behave unchastely, they cut off their ears or nose, of which I saw several who carried those marks of their infidelity. . . . Their knives, axes, and other instruments, are made of flint and other sharp stones. . . . They live by hunting, and on Indian corn, of which they always have a plenty. . . . Their clothing consists of the skins of wild animals, which serves to clothe their women, who dress very modestly, while the men go most of the year almost naked.

The writer (Marquette) here describes the calumet and the ceremonies of the calumet.

We found a quantity of mulberries as large as those of France, and a small fruit which we took at first for olives, but it had the taste of an orange, and another as large as a hen's egg. We broke it in half, and found the inside was divided into two divisions, in each of which there were eight or ten seeds shaped like an almond, and very good to eat when ripe. . . . We saw also in the prairies a fruit like filberts.

Marquette next describes the painted rocks, also the floating drift in the Missouri, the water of which was so roily or muddy that they could not drink it.

This river comes from the northwest, and empties into the Mississippi, and on its banks are situated a number of Indian villages. We judged by the compass that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. . . . After having gone about twenty leagues to the south and a little less to the southeast, we met another river called *Ouabouskigou* (the Ohio), which runs into the Mississippi in the latitude of 36° N. . . .

Marquette narrates their experience with the Indians on the shores of the river, and that they landed at a village and were entertained with buffalo and bear meat, also white plums, which were excellent.

We observed they had guns, knives, axes, shovels, glass beads, and bottles in which they put their powder. They wear their hair long as the *Iroquots*, and their women are dressed as the *Hurons*. They told us that they were only within ten days' journey of the sea; that they bought their goods from the Europeans, who lived towards the east, that they had images and chaplets, and played upon musical instruments, that they were clothed as I was, and were kind to them. . . . The account the Indians gave us of the sea was very encouraging, and therefore we applied our oars with great vigor, in hopes of seeing it very soon. The banks of the river began to be covered with high trees, which hindered us from observing the country as we had done all along. The elm, cotton[wood] and cypress trees are beautiful on account of their size and height. We judged, from the bellowing of the buffaloes, that some prairies were near. We saw quails, and shot a parrot. . . . We soon descended to latitude 33° north and found ourselves at a village on the river side called *Mitchigamea*.

The Indians at this village were very troublesome and the voyagers nearly despaired, but finally the Indians made signs of peace and asked them to come on shore.

They told us that at the next great village, called *Arkanssea*, eight or ten leagues farther down the river, we could learn all about the

sea. . . . We embarked early next morning with our interpreters and ten Indians, who went before us in a canoe. . . . [After arriving at Arkansa, we] asked them what they knew of the sea, and they said we were within ten days' journey of it, but we might perform it in five. That they were unacquainted with the nations below, because their enemies had prevented them from visiting them. . . . They make three crops of Indian corn a year. They roast and boil it in large earthen pots very curiously made. They have also large baked earthen plates, which they use for different purposes. The men go naked and wear their hair short. They pierce their noses and ears, and wear rings of glass beads in them.

The women cover themselves with skins, and divide their hair into two tresses, which they wear behind their back without any ornament. Their feasts are without any ceremony, they serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases. . . . Their cabins are made with the bark of trees, and are generally very wide and long. . . . They keep their corn in panniers made of rushes. They have no beavers, and all their commodities are buffalo hides. *It never snows* in this country, and they have no other winter than continued heavy rains, which makes the difference between their summer and winter. They have no other fruit but watermelons, though their soil might produce any other, if they knew how to cultivate it. . . .

The voyagers turned back from the village of Arkansa, and the following is Marquette's description of the country on the Illinois river by which they returned to lake Michigan:

I never saw a more beautiful country than we found on this river. *The prairies are covered with buffaloes, stags, goats, and the rivers and lakes with swans, ducks, geese, parrots, and beavers.* The river upon which we sailed was wide, deep and placid for sixty-five leagues, and navigable most all the year round.

HENNEPIN'S DESCRIPTION (1680).

I add some quotations from "A Description of Louisiana," by Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect Missionary, translated from the edition of 1683, and compared with the La Salle documents and other contemporary papers, by Prof. John Gilmary Shea, and dedicated to Rt. Rev. John Ireland, D. D., and J. Fletcher Williams, President and Secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, published in 1880.* The extracts from

*NOTE.—In 1880 the Minnesota Historical Society held a Bi-Centennial celebration of the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. I was a member of the Committee of Arrangements. In discussing the appropriate order of service to be observed upon that occasion, there was developed a difference of opinion as to the credibility of Father Hennepin's published account of his voyage. Rev. John Ireland became very earnest in his defense of the truth-

the voyage of Father Hennepin will be brief, as the references made to himself are few.

On page 196 and following, in speaking of the River Colbert, the author says that it runs between two chains of mountains and intervening prairies, upon which he often saw wild cattle browsing. Beyond the river bluffs, here called mountains, were vast prairies. Woods covered the islands, and were interlaced with so many vines as to be almost impassable. He describes the rivers Wisconsin, Black and Buffalo (Chippewa), and the Lake of Tears (Lake Pepin). "Forty leagues above is a river full of rapids, by which, striking northwest, you can proceed to Lake Condé." Eight leagues above the Falls of St. Anthony comes the river Issati (Rum river), which leads to Lake Buade (Mille Lacs), the home of the Nadonessiou.

The account of Hennepin's capture by the Indians begins on page 205, and is followed by a narrative of his experiences, with statements of what he saw and learned, during his captivity.

The Indians at times sent their best runners by land to chase the herds of wild cattle on the water side; as these animals crossed the river, they sometimes killed forty or fifty, merely to take the tongue and most delicate morsels, leaving the rest.

The chief, to whom he had been given, showed him five or six of his wives.

Sometimes he assembled the elders of the village, in whose presence he asked me for a compass that I always had in my sleeve; seeing that I made the needle turn with a key, and believing justly that we Europeans went all over the habitable globe, guided by this instrument, this chief, who was very eloquent, persuaded his people that we were spirits, and capable of doing anything beyond their reach. At the close of his address, which was very animated, all the old men wept over my head, admiring in me what they could not understand. . . . During our stay among the Issati or Nadonessiou, we saw Indians who came as ambassadors from about five hundred leagues to the west. They informed us that the Assenipovalacs* were then only seven or eight days distant to the northeast of us. All the other known tribes

fulness of the history, and wrote to Prof. J. G. Shea for his opinion, which was promptly furnished; and with this authority he made a most satisfactory vindication of Hennepin at the celebration, as may be seen in the record of proceedings of the Society's publications.

By the urgent request of Archbishop Ireland, supported by officers of the Society, Professor Shea prepared and published his translation above referred to.

*Assiniboins.

on the west and northwest inhabit immense plains and prairies abounding in buffalo and peltries, where they are sometimes obliged to make fires with buffalo dung, for want of wood. . . .

Another time we found an otter on the bank of the river Colbert, eating a large fish which had, running from the head, a kind of paddle or beak, five fingers broad and a foot and a half long, which made our Picard say that he thought he saw a devil in the paws of that otter: but his fright did not prevent our eating this monstrous fish, which we found very good.

This account of the voyage of discovery by Father Hennepin was accompanied by a map upon which was located the Lake of the Assenipoils, evidently intended to represent Lake Winnipeg, but its location was too far north, although in the proper direction from the Indian home of Hennepin.

SPANISH AUTHORITIES.

DISCOVERY OF CIBOLA BY FATHER DE NICA (1539).

The following extracts are taken from Hakluyt's "Voyages of the English Nation to America," edited by Edmund Goldsmid, 1890, volume 3, pages 67-83.

The same day came three Indians of those which I called Pintados, because I saw their faces, breasts and arms painted. These dwell farther up into the country towards the east, and several of them border upon the Seven Cities, which said they came to see me because they had heard of me; and among other things they gave me information of the Seven Cities, and other provinces, which the Indian that Stephen sent me had told me of. . . . They said that they went for Turqueses and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all these there was great abundance in this country. Likewise I enquired how and by what means they obtained these things. They told me, by their service, and by the sweat of their brows, and that they went into the first city of the Province which is called Cevola, and that they served them in tilling their ground and in other business, and that they give them hides of oxen, which they have in those places, and turqueses for their service, and that the people of this city wear very fine and excellent turqueses hanging at their ears and at their nostrils. They say also that of these turqueses they make fine works upon the principal gates of the houses of this city. . . .

Amongst others the Lord of this Village came unto me, and two of his brethren, very well apparelled in cotton, . . . and they presented unto me many wild beasts, as conies, qualls, maize, *nuts of pine trees*, and all in great abundance, and offered me many turqueses and dressed ox hides, and very fair vessels to drink in, and other things, whereof I would receive no whit. . . .

At the last when they saw me resolute, two of the chief of them said they would go with me; with whom and with my Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Cevola, which is situated on a plain at the foot of a round hill, and maketh shew to be a fair city, and is better seated than any that I have seen in these parts. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs, as far as I could discern from a mountain which I ascended to view the city. The people are somewhat white; they wear apparel, and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turqueses. . . . Their apparel is of cotton and of ox hides, and this is their most commendable and honorable apparel. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal. . . .

EXPLORATION OF CIBOLA AND QUIVIRA BY CORONADO (1540).

The relation of Francis Vasquez de Coronado, Captain General of the people which were sent in the name of the Emperor's Majesty to the country of Cibola, newly discovered, is found in Hakluyt's Voyages, volume 3, pages 117-132. Coronado departed with his army from Culiacan on the 22nd of April, 1540. He describes the situation and state of the Seven Cities, called the Kingdom of Cibola, and of the customs and qualities of their people, and the beasts which are found there.

It remaineth now to certify your honor of the Seven Cities, and of the kingdoms and provinces whereof the Father Provincial made report unto your Lordship. And to be brief, I can assure your honor, he said the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they be not wrought with turqueses, nor with lime nor bricks, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or four or five lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and fair chambers with ladders instead of stairs, and certain cellars under the ground, very good and paved, which are made for winter, they are in manner like stoves: and the ladders which they have for their houses are all in a manner movable and portable, which are taken away and set down when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steps as ours be. . . . They wear their hair on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned; and they have turqueses I think in good quantity, which, with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corn, they had conveyed away before I came thither. . . . In this country there are certain skins well dressed, and they dress them and paint them where they kill their oxen, for so they say themselves.

Coronado sent to the Viceroy of Mexico, as presents from Cibola, an ox hide (buffalo robe), turquoises, two turquoise earrings and fifteen combs made by the Indians, tablets set with turquoises, etc. He also mentions that in this place was found "some quantity of gold and silver . . . very good."

Francis Lopez de Gomara gives the account of Coronado's continuation of this expedition to Quivira (in the same volume, pages 133-5), from which I take the following:

They had news of Axa and Quivira, where they said was a king whose name was Tartatrax, with a long beard, hoary headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed upon a pair of beads, which worshipped a cross of gold and the image of a woman, the Queen of Heaven. . . .

Quivira is in forty degrees [of north latitude]: it is a temperate country, and hath very good waters, and much grass, plums, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton; and they apparel themselves with ox hides and deer skins.

Gomara gives this description of buffaloes, with brief mention of other animals of the great plains and the country farther west and north:

These oxen are of the bigness and color of our bulls, but their horns are not so great. They have a great bunch upon their fore shoulders, and more hair on their fore part than on their hinder parts; and it is like wool. They have as it were a horse's mane upon their backbone, and much hair and very long from their knees downward. They have great tufts of hair hanging down their foreheads, and it seemeth that they have beards, because of the great store of hair hanging down at their chins and throats. The males have very long tails, and a great knob or flock at the end; so that in some respects they resemble the lion and in some others the camel. They push with their horns, they run, they overtake and kill a horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foul and fierce beast of countenance and form of body. The horses fled from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had never seen them. Their masters have no other riches nor substance: of them they eat, they drink, they apparel, they shoe themselves: and of their hides they make many things, as houses, shoes, apparel and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their sinews and hairs, thread: of their horns, maws, and bladders, vessels: of their dung, fire: and of their calves' skins, budgets, in which they draw and keep water. To be short, they make so many things of them as they have need of, or as many as suffice them in the use of this life.

There are also in this country other beasts as big as horses, which, because they have horns and fine wool, they call them sheep; and they say that every horn of theirs weighs fifty pounds weight.

There are also great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carry fifty pounds weight in sacks when they go a hunting, or when they remove from place to place with their flocks and herds.

EXPEDITION OF PEÑALOSA.

In 1882 Prof. J. Gilmary Shea (to whom English students have become greatly indebted) published a translation of the Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, from Sante Fe to the River Mischipi and Quivira in 1662, as described by Father Nicolas de Freytas, O. S. F., and also an account of a previous expedition by the Maestre de Campo Vincent de Saldivar in 1618, portions of which may well be added here.

Peñalosa led his expedition eastward and rediscovered Quivira. In his company were eighty Spaniards, whose captain was Michael de Noriega, "and a thousand Indians on foot with bows and arrows, all very well armed, both men and horses, and with all the other equipments of peace and war, . . . with thirty-six carts of various sizes well provided with provisions and munitions, and a large coach, a litter and two portable chairs for his person, and six three-pounders, eight hundred horses, and three hundred mules." Freytas, his historian, continues as follows:

We took our course eastward till we marched two hundred leagues, all through pleasing, peaceful, and most fertile fields, and so level that in all of them no mountain, or range, or any hill was seen, which finally ended at a very high and insuperable ridge which is near the sea, eight leagues beyond the great city of Quivira, called Taracari; and so agreeable and fertile are they that in all the Indies of Peru and New Spain, nor in Europe, have any other such been seen, so pleasant and delightful, and covered with buffalo or cows of cibola which caused notable admiration. The further we entered the country the greater was the number, with many and very beautiful rivers, marshes, and springs; studded with luxuriant forest and fruit trees of various kinds, which produce most palatable plums, large and fine grapes in great clusters and of extremely good flavor, like those of Spain, and even better, . . . abundance of roses, strawberries without end, small but savory, many Castilian partridges, quails, turkeys, sandpipers, pheasants, deer, stags or elk in very great number, and even one kind of them as large and developed as our horses.

Through these pleasant and most fertile fields we marched during the months of March, April, May, and the kalends of June, and arrived at a large river which they call Mischipi, where we saw the first In-

dians of the Escanxaques nation, who might be to the number of 3,000, most warlike, well armed and equipped in their manner, who were going to attack the first city of the Quiviras, who are their enemies, and are destroying themselves by continual wars.

After entering into peace with us these Escanxaques gave notice of Quivira and its peoples, and they marched with us that day up by the borders of that beautiful river, which is rapid, and forms in parts very delightful and beautiful prairies, so fertile that in some they gather the fruit twice a year, and great forests in parts at distances of two, four, six, and ten leagues, and strange trees not seen until this place.

From this point we turned our route northward, following the river which drew its current from thence, leaving the east on our right, and that day the army halted in the prairies by the river, and the Escanxaques Indians lodged somewhat apart; and it is worth noting what they did that evening, which was their going out to the number of six hundred to hunt cibolas, which they found very near, and in less than three hours they returned, each bringing one, two, and some three cows' tongues from the incredible slaughter which they made of them.

The next day the army marched, and after going four leagues we discovered the great range already mentioned which ran from east to north, covered with smokes, by which they gave notice of the arrival of the Christian army, and soon after we discovered the great settlement or city of Quivira, situated on the widespread prairies of another beautiful river which came from the range to enter and unite with that which we had hitherto followed.

Before crossing the great river which served us as a guide, and in sight of the city, the army halted in the prairie thereof, Don Diego having previously ordered the Escanxaques to retire and not enter the city till his Lordship commanded otherwise. This they did, though against their will, because they wished that both they and the Señor Adelantado with his soldiers should at once assault the city with fire and blood, and destroy it.

So numerous were the people who appeared before the great settlement, men, women, and children, that it excited wonder, and then seventy head chiefs came very well attired in their style with neat chamois and buckskin, and caps or bonnets of ermine, and they welcomed the Señor Adelantado with the greatest marks of love and respect that they could.

His Illustrious Lordship received them with pleasure and ordered them to be entertained, and he gave them some presents with his accustomed liberality, endeavoring to quiet their minds, which were disturbed by the alarm which they had felt on seeing him and the Escanxaques, their avowed enemies, as well as to gain their good will for the furtherance of his expedition, and giving them to understand the friendly intercourse that he would maintain with them, and from the outset impressing this on them not only by words but also by most devoted affection and example . . . and afterwards his Lord-

ship received a present of a great quantity of ermine, buckskin, chamois, marten, otter, beaver, and sable-skins, and a quantity of Indian corn in grain and bread, beans and pumpkins, sandpipers, turkeys, partridges, and rabbits, and much fresh fish which the Indians brought, giving him to understand that he should receive that as a mark of their good will till next day, when he might enter their city, which was on the other bank of the rapid river, and that they would serve him with much love and all possible hospitality.

With this they returned to their houses with very courteous supplies for the governors and chiefs of the city. . . . The Señor Adelantado detained two of those chiefs that evening and night with fair words and better deeds; they were examined and questioned as to their land and the qualities of it and of its tribes. . . .

The account of these casiques and the questions of Don Diego and the Father chaplains lasted till midnight, at which hour they were sent to sleep; but they, seeing themselves alone and among such strange and foreign folk, and that their enemies, the Escanxaques, were so near, fled and crossed the river to their city, which at sunrise was depopulated and without inhabitants, because their enemies, the Escanxaques, without being observed by our men, slipped off and attacked the city, killing, burning, and destroying all they could; on which surprise his Lordship ordered the army to cross the river, and it was forded with difficulty, as it was still night, and he encamped at the entrance of the town, which is situated on the delightful banks of another river, which runs through the midst of it, and the houses and streets are on both banks. The shape of the buildings for the most part is round, two, three, and four stories, covered with straw with wonderful skill, and the framework of Coleo, Curcura, or Oate, which are all three names of a solid cane, strong and full of knots, of which walking-sticks are usually made, which does not grow in warm climates; and, as we observed in what we saw, they plant twice a year, as some fields were ready to harvest and others were planting. We could find no Indian to act as interpreter, as all had fled, fearing the great fury of their enemies the Escanxaques, whom they supposed to be favored by and in alliance with our men, and to arrest the conflagration of the city it was necessary for the army to march in two bodies and that the one with the Maese de Campo should spend most of the day in keeping back the Escanxaques.

The next morning the army marched through the town some two leagues, and, having counted some thousands of houses, halted on the bank of another river, which also entered it; and it was remarked that every quarter of a league, a little more or less, highways entered the city of sixteen paths and some of more, well beaten and even, which came down from the lofty range, which was some six leagues distant from the buildings.

From this point the Señor Adelantado sent a squad of twenty-five soldiers with Sergeant Major Francis de Madrid to go and explore all the town, without their being able to reach the end of the streets, and

when furthest on they discerned more of the town, and more smokes on the ridge, which ran along the right side of the city towards the north.

Before arriving at this town we passed many very large rivers, and most of these rivers very deep to run asequias for irrigation, and the soil black, strong, fertile, and covered with grass; and in conclusion all the plain from the city of Quivira to the ridge, which must be six or seven leagues, seemed a paradise; and Señor Don Diego, seeing that it was useless to follow men who fled, and as he had no orders to make new discoveries, from that part turned back to these provinces on the 11th of June.

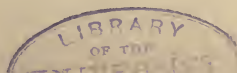
There were on this expedition men of various nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and all unanimously declared that they had never seen so fertile, pleasant, and agreeable a country as that. . . .

Prof. Shea closes his preface, accompanying this translation, with the following remark:

This narrative will help to a better understanding of the early Spanish intercourse with Quivira, and, I think, shows that province to have been north of the Missouri River.

EXPEDITION OF SALDIVAR.

In the year 1618 Maestre de Campo Vincent de Saldivar had made a journey of discovery with forty-seven well appointed soldiers, accompanied by the Father Friar Lazarus Ximenez. This expedition, as narrated also by Freytas, passed through several populous nations to the end of the Moq and journeyed through uninhabited countries fifteen days, and arrived at the Rio de Buena Esperanza (Good Hope river) or Tison river, where they found themselves in north latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$; and, going up this river for two days toward the north with a very good guide who offered to conduct them, they arrived at a little village, and, asking information of the country and the interior, they were told such great things of it as those in the west on the coast of the South Sea and California had told them, that in the country beyond they would find "*some terrible nations of giants, so huge and extraordinary that one of our men on horseback was small compared to them, and that they fired very large arrows.*" It appeared to Saldivar that he could not raise sufficient force to encounter such a multitude, so he determined to return, fearing some misfortune such as was experienced by Captain Humañá and others; and although Father Lazarus and the greater part of the soldiers opposed this determination, they could not prevail.



Although twenty-five of them begged permission to go, the Maestre de Campo was not willing to permit it, fearing they would all be lost, and commanded that they should go no farther, but turn back.

DISCUSSION OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Did Groseilliers and Radisson discover the Mississippi river?

This voyage is the first by eighteen years that is recorded, and consequently it cannot be corroborated by any contemporaneous authority; hence we must rely upon what the succeeding authorities say to corroborate this record.

For the purpose of doing this, I have cited the "Relations of the Jesuits," Parkman's series of histories as quoted above, Marquette, Hennepin, and the Spanish authorities, which are all before the reader.

At the time of the commencement of this voyage the missionaries had been massacred, and the Hurons and Ottawas had been driven to the "end of the world," and a condition of starvation confronted the people of Canada. Groseilliers had without doubt been engaged in the contraband trade with the Hurons and Ottawas at the time of their dispersion, and was acquainted with the Indians that had come with the canoes loaded with furs, as the Father Superior has advised us. The starving condition of the country compelled him to follow the Indians. He was quite at home with them, and on more confidential terms with them than with the Governor or the Jesuits. The return of Radisson from captivity with the Iroquois was a very opportune event, and hence the proposition to him to join in this enterprise to know the people of the west and south.

The arrival of the fleet of canoes and the resolution of the Governor and the Father Superior to send the priests and thirty Frenchmen, was the very opportunity they would naturally desire. They joined the Indians, but were not with or rather of the French party.

The Indians were natives of the River Ottawa and Lake Huron, and had fled to the islands of Michilimackinac and Green Bay, as stated in "The Jesuits in North America." The incidents of this voyage have been recited. They fought the Iroquois at Mackinac, made a treaty with the nations living

on the shores of the bay, the Pottawattamies and Menomonees, and the Hurons and Ottawas, became acquainted with the Fire Nation, and learned from their neighbors of the great and war-like nations, the Nadoneceronons and the Christinos.

All the Indians who have been mentioned are found located in the exact places given in the narrative, on the map of "Countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin and La Salle," which Parkman has given in "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West."

"The Relations of the Jesuits," "Pioneers in the New World," and "The Old Régime in Canada," are relied upon to confirm all that Radisson has said of this voyage to the spring of 1655, when they started down the Mississippi with the Hurons, Ottawas, and Fire Nation. The great beauty of the country is still self-evident to the people who live in it.

The fish, cattle, stags, birds and productions described by Radisson, Marquette, and Hennepin, are not found anywhere else in America; and the authorities cited from the Spanish expeditions most triumphantly corroborate what has been said by Radisson and Marquette as to the climate, productions, and people of the southern part of the river and country.

It is not necessary to repeat the language of each, for the reader can and will compare the different accounts for himself. The only part that is especially entitled to review is what is said of the visit of Radisson up the Great River. After turning back from the salt water he speaks of many sorts of people, and says:

By the persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two, where the Hurons with some of the Ottawas and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. . . . This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us.

It is not presumption to say that the Great River was the Missouri, and that the fork or branch which runs towards Mexico was the Platte. Radisson also says:

Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have. . . . They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny than they

with whom we were. . . . We were informed of that nation that live in the other river. These were men of extraordinary height and bigness, that made us believe they had no communication with them. . . . They have fruit as big as the heart of an oriniak [elk], which grows on vast trees which are three armsful in compass. . . . They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day.

The great cabins were the houses of four and five stories described by Father de Nica and by Coronado in his report to the Viceroy of Mexico, and were of the kind delineated by our late fellow citizen, Gen. J. H. Simpson, in his report of his expedition to the Navajo country (in the edition published by Lippincott, Grambo and Co., in 1852). The fruit was the nuts of pine trees, mentioned by Father de Nica, which grow in great abundance in the mountains of Mexico and California, growing upon trees that are from forty to one hundred and fifty feet high and of great dimension. The nuts are in the cones of the trees, which are from two to five inches long. Many thousand pounds of these nuts are sold to Mexicans today. The tawny prisoner was an African slave taken from the Spaniards with big beards and knives (swords). They found arrows and dishes of good workmanship which excited the admiration of the voyagers, and learned of a drink that made them mad a whole day, which was an alcoholic distillation of pulque, a produce of the maguey plant. It is still a favorite beverage of Mexicans and Indians alike, after two hundred and fifty years' use, and is called mescal or aguardiente. The fable of the men of extraordinary height and bigness will be accounted for by turning back to the expedition of Saldivar.

Finally, there are millions of men living in the valley of the Mississippi who can confirm what is said regarding its climate and natural productions; and thousands of old settlers are still living who have seen the painted ox hides, buffs, stags, goats, turkeys, and other game mentioned, while the fishermen of Lake Pepin still occasionally catch a shovel-nosed sturgeon.

It seems to me that the evidence of the discovery of the Mississippi by Groseilliers and Radisson is quite sufficient to satisfy the most skeptical.

CONTINUATION OF RADISSON'S THIRD VOYAGE.

On page 154 is given an account of a war between the Sault (Ojibways) and Christinos, resulting in peace and confederacy between them, in order to be able to defend themselves from

the Iroquois on the one hand and the Sioux on the other. The narrative continues as follows:

We arrived then where the nation of the Sault was, where we found some Frenchmen that came up with us, who thanked us kindly for to come and visit them. The wild Octanaks (Ottawas) that came with us found some of their nation slaves, who were also glad to see them. For all they were slaves, they had meat enough, which they had not in their own country so plentiful, being no huntsmen, but altogether fishers. As for those towards the north, they are most expert in hunting, and live upon nothing else the most part of the year. We were long there before we got acquainted with those that we desired so much, and they in like manner had a fervent desire to know us, as we them. Here comes a company of Christinos from the Bay of the North Sea, to live more at ease in the middle of woods and forests, by reason they might trade with those of the Sault and have the conveniency to kill more beasts.

There we passed the winter and learned the particularities that since we saw by experience. . . . The Christinos had skill in that game above the rest. . . .

We did what we could to have correspondence with that warlike nation and reconcile them with the Christinos. We went not there that winter. Many were slain of both sides the summer last. The wounds were yet fresh, wherefore it was hard to conclude peace between them. . . . At last we declared our mind first to those of the Sault, encouraging those of the north that we are their brethren, and that we would come back and force their enemy to peace, or that we would help against them. We made gifts one to another, and thwarted a land of almost fifty leagues before the snow was melted. . . .

We arrived, some one hundred and fifty of us, men and women, to a river side where we stayed three weeks making boats. Here we wanted not fish. During that time we made feasts at a high rate. So we refreshed ourselves from our labors. In that time we took notice that the buds of trees began to spring, which made us make more haste and be gone. We went up that river eight days till we came to a nation called Pontonatenick and Matonenock,—that is, the Scratchers. There we got some Indian meal and corn from those two nations, which lasted us till we came to the first landing isle.

The Christinos are now in readiness to leave for their home in their boats that it has taken one hundred and fifty men and women three weeks to build. Who are they, and where is their home, and where is the "first landing isle?" First in order, that there shall not be any confusion about the name of this tribe of Indians, I here insert a paragraph from an extract from Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures in Canada," which will be found further on:

On the sixteenth [of August], we reached Lake Winipeg, at the entrance of which is a large village of Christinaux, a nation which I had not previously seen. The name is variously written: as Cristinaux, Kinistineaux, Killistinoes, and Killistinaux.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade," on pages xci-cxvi, gives an extended account of the Knisteneaux Indians. It is quite too long for insertion here, but I make a quotation of that part relating to the country they occupy.

These people are spread over a vast extent of country. Their language is the same as that of the people who inhabit the coast of British America on the Atlantic, with the exception of the Esquimaux, and continues along the coast of Labrador and the gulf and banks of St. Lawrence to Montreal. The line then follows the Ottawa river to its source; and continues from there nearly west along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds until it strikes the middle part of the river Winipic, following that water through the Lake Winipic, to the discharge of the Saskatchewan into it; from thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line, striking by the head of the Beaver river to the Elk river, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east to the Isle à la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Missinipi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits (except that of the Esquimaux in the latter), may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux.

On page liii, which is a part of the description of the canoe route from Grand Portage to lake Winnipeg, we find this additional information.

The portage of Lac Bois Blanc is one hundred and eighty paces. Then follows the lake of that name, but I think improperly so called, as the natives name it the Lake Pascau Minac Sagaigan, or Dry Berries. Before the smallpox ravaged this country and completed what the Nodowasis, in their warfare, had gone far to accomplish, the destruction of its inhabitants, the population was very numerous. This was also a favorite part, where they made their canoes, etc., the lake abounding in fish, the country round it being plentifully supplied with various kinds of game, and the rocky ridges, that form the boundary of the water, covered with a variety of berries.

When the French were in possession of this country, they had several trading establishments on the islands and banks of this lake. Since that period, the few people remaining, who were of the Algonquin nation, could hardly find subsistence; game having become so scarce that they depended principally for food upon fish, and wild rice which grows spontaneously in these parts.

I cannot omit an extract from chap. IX., pp. 137-140, of W. W. Warren's "History of the Ojibways" (volume 5 of the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society). Mr. Warren's History was written during the years 1851 to 1853.

A few years after the great convocation of northwestern tribes [1671], and treaty with the French nation at Sault Ste. Marie, a company of French traders proceeded up the west coast of Lake Superior, and built a trading post or "fort" (as these establishments were termed in those days), on a beautiful bay situated on the lake shore a few miles above Pigeon river, and known as "Grand Portage," from the fact that a portage of ten miles is here made to Pigeon river, to avoid the rapids which preclude navigation even for canoes, for many miles above the entry of this "bad winding stream."

This is probably the first permanent post erected by the white man in the region of country comprised within the present limits of Minnesota Territory. It was built, as near as I can judge from the information of the Indians and old traders, upwards of one hundred and fifty years ago.

The great quantity of beaver existing at this period on all the streams emptying into Lake Superior, and especially throughout the country watered by Kah-man-a-tig-wa-yah and its tributaries, together with the great docility, harmless character and friendly disposition of the section of the Ojibways occupying this district, who comprise the northern division of the tribe, were, without doubt, the leading causes which induced the French here to build their first "fort" in preference to any other spot on Lake Superior.

From this point, also, a vast region of unexplored country became open to their indefatigable enterprise, in a northern direction. It is by this route that they first became acquainted with the remote northern tribes of the Ke-nis-te-no and Assineboins, with whom they soon opened a communication.

Long before this, the Ojibways of the northern division had already reached, in their northern progress, the country of the Ke-nis-te-no and Assineboins, the former of whom belonged to the same stock as themselves, and though the latter were of Dakota extraction, yet finding the two tribes in close alliance and carrying on a war against the Dakotas, they entered their wigwams in peace, and joined in alliance with them.

I recollect of having read in some book that the Assineboins had been forced into an alliance by the Ke-nis-te-no who first received fire-arms from the British by the route of Hudson's Bay. This led me to make close inquiries on this subject, and I find that Indian tradition says differently. Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe, the present aged and respected chief of the Pillager Ojibways, lived many years in his youth among these tribes; and he gives the following account of the manner in which this singular alliance, between an Algie and a Dakota tribe, first happened.

"Many winters before they became aware of the presence of the white man on this great island, the Yankton division of the great Dakota tribe resided on the borders of the great western prairies near the Red River of the North. They numbered many hundred lodges, and their warriors prevailed against the Ke-nis-te-no toward the north and west, and caused them to keep under the shade of the forests and swamps which covered their hunting grounds. At one time it happened, as it often does, that two young men quarrelled about a woman, and one in the heat of passion and jealousy took the life of the other. Both belonged to numerous and important families, and in accordance with the law of 'blood for blood,' notwithstanding his relatives wished to buy him off, the murderer was killed. . . . The great Yankton camp became a scene of excitement, and murders occurred daily, till the weaker party, consisting of a thousand lodges, left the main camp and retired by themselves, to pursue their hunt for meat to feed their women and children.

"[This strife was continued until] the smaller camp, to prevent their total eventual extinction . . . moved towards the country of the Ke-nis-te-no, with whom they had always waged a never-ending warfare; and preferring to trust themselves to their generosity rather than to the vindictive hatred of their own kindred, they collected the women and children whom in former years they had captured from them and adopted in their families. These they placed on horses, and, loaded with presents, they were sent to the great Ke-nis-te-no town . . . with the peace pipe of the seceding Dakotas, requesting to be received 'in their lodges' and protected from the 'fire that raged in their rear, on the western prairies.'

"The manly and compassionate Ke-nis-te-no sent forty of their warriors to receive them into their country, and escort them into their village. A grand council was held, . . . and they were accepted as allies and brothers. . . . Their united prowess eventually drove the Dakotas from the northern plains. . . . Shortly after this first alliance, the Ojibway made his appearance among them, and he too became a party to the mutual compact which has been kept unbroken to this day."

In Prof. Shea's "Life of Marquette," is found another reference to the Christinos and their home (Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part 4, page lvii):

The Kilistinaux are a nomad people, whose rendezvous we do not yet know. It is northwest of the Mission of the Holy Ghost; they are always in the woods, and live solely by their bow. They passed by the mission where I was last fall in two hundred canoes, coming to buy merchandise and corn, after which they go to winter in the woods; in the spring I saw them again on the shore of the lake.

This quotation is taken from the "Relations of the Jesuits," 1669-70, Ottawa part. This mission was located at La Pointe,

near Bayfield and Ashland, Wis., and of course on the south side of Lake Superior; and we think that the one hundred and fifty Christinos crossed the lake to their home by way of the Grand Portage or Pigeon river to lake Sagaigan and Lac Bois Blanc, which Mackenzie described in its palmy days while in possession of the French. It is a reasonable presumption that on the islands of the Sagaigan (now called lake Saganaga) was the "first landing isle," after the trying and arduous voyage across the lake; and it would be in their own country. All the country to the south of what became the canoe route of the traders belonged to the Sioux, their deadly enemies.

We now resume Radisson's narrative of the voyage:

There we were well received again. We made gifts to the elders to encourage the young men to bring us down to the French; but mightily mistaken, for they would reply, "Should you bring us to be killed? The Iroquois are everywhere about the river and undoubtedly will destroy us if we go down, and afterwards our wives and those that stayed behind. Be wise, brethren, and offer not to go down this year to the French. Let us keep our lives." We make many private suits, but all in vain. They vexed us most that we had given away most of our merchandise and swapped a great deal for castors. Moreover, they made no great harvest, being but newly there. Besides, they were no great huntsmen. Our journey was broken till the next year, and must perforce.

That summer I went a hunting, and my brother stayed where he was welcome and put up a great deal of Indian corn that was given him. He intended to furnish the wild men that were to go down to the French, if they had not enough. The wild men did not perceive this; for if they wanted any, we could hardly keep it for our use. The winter passed away in good correspondence one with another. We sent ambassadors to the nations that used to go down to the French, which rejoiced them the more and made us pass that year with a greater pleasure, saving that my brother fell into the falling sickness, and many were sorry for it. That proceeded only from long stay in a new discovered country, and the idleness contributed much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. It is the only remedy for such diseases. After he languished awhile God gave him his health again.

The desire that everyone had to go down to the French made them earnestly look out for castors. They have not so many there as in the north part, so in the beginning of spring many came to our isle. There were no less, I believe, than five hundred men that were willing to venture themselves. The corn that my brother kept did us a world of service. . . . When we were ready to depart, here comes strange news of the defeat of the Hurons, which I thought would put off the

voyage. There was a council held, and most of them were against the going down to the French, saying that the Iroquois were to bar this year, and the best way was to stay till the following year. And now the enemy, seeing himself frustrated of his expectation, would not stay longer, thinking that we were resolved never more to go down, and that the next year there would be a bigger company and better able to oppose an enemy. My brother and I, seeing ourselves all out of hopes of our voyage, without our corn, which was already bestowed, and without any merchandise, or scarce having one knife betwixt us both, so we were in a great apprehension lest the Hurons should, as they have done often when the Fathers were in the country, kill a Frenchman.

Seeing the equipage ready and many more that thought long to depart thence for merchandise, we upon this resolved to call a public council in the place; which the elders hearing, came and advised us not to undertake it, giving many fair words, saying: "Brethren, why are you such enemies of yourselves to put yourselves in the hands of those that wait for you? They will destroy you and carry you away captives. Will you have your brethren destroyed that love you, being slain? Who then will come up and baptize our children? Stay till the next year, and then you are like to have the number of six hundred men with you. Then you may freely go without intermission. Ye shall take the Church along with you, and the fathers and mothers will send their children to be taught in the way of truth of the Lord." Our answer was that we will speak in public, which granted, the day appointed is come. There gather above eight hundred men to see who should have the glory in a round. They sat down on the ground. We desired silence. The elders being in the middle, and we in their middle, my brother began to speak. "Who am I? am I a foe, or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am a friend, and if you take so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles and brethren, that I hazarded my life going up with you. If I have no courage, why did you not tell me at my first coming here? If you have more wit than we, why did you not use it by preserving your knives, your hatchets, and your guns, that you had from the French? You will see, if the enemy will set upon you, that you will be trapped like castors in a trap. How will you defend yourselves like men? That is not courageous to let yourselves be caught like beasts. How will you defend your villages? with castor skins? How will you defend your wives and children from the enemy's hands?"

Then my brother made me stand up, saying, "Show them the way to make wars if they are able to uphold it." I took a gown of castor skins that one of them had upon his shoulder and did beat him with it. I asked the others if I was a soldier. "Those are the arms that kill, and not your robes. . . . Do not you know the French way? We are used to fight with arms and not with robes. You say that the Iroquois wait for you, because some of your men were killed. It is only to make you stay until you are quite out of stock, that they dis-

patch you with ease. Do you think that the French will come up here when the greater part of you are slain by your own fault? You know they cannot come up without you. Shall they come to baptize your dead? Shall your children learn to be slaves among the Iroquois for their fathers' cowardness? You call me an Iroquois. Have not you seen me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life, if not the French? If you will deceive them, you must not think they will come another time for shy words nor desire. You have spoken first, do what you will. For my own part, I will venture choosing to die like a man rather than live like a beggar. Having not wherewithal to defend myself, farewell; I have my sack of corn ready. 'Take all my castors. I shall live without you.'" And then I departed that company.

This very remarkable speech entirely changed the purpose of the Indians, and they resolved to go. Their wives got their bundles ready.

Our equipage was ready in six days. We embarked ourselves. We were in number about five hundred, all stout men. We had with us a great store of castors' skins. We came to the south. We now go to the north, to overtake a band of men that went before to give notice to others. We passed the lake without danger. We wanted nothing, having good store of corn and nets to catch fish, which are plentiful in the rivers. At last we are out of the lakes.

Each one leaves and hides something till their return, and to lighten the labor down the Ottawa. There are nearly six pages of description of their voyage down the Ottawa and accounts of fights with Iroquois. After the Iroquois left them they turned to come to their journey's end, and went down the swift stream without making any carriage. The canoe in which Radisson's brother was, with several of the wild men, turned over in the rapids, and they were in great peril. The brother (Groseilliers) lost his book of notations of the last year, but none of the beaver skins.

The Iroquois got a great way before us, not well satisfied to have stayed for us, having lost seven of their men; two of them were not nimble enough, for our bullets and arrows made them stay for good and all. Seven of our men were sick, who had barely escaped from being drowned, and two were wounded by the Iroquois.

The next day we went on without any delay or encounter. We came to Quebec, where we are saluted with the thundering of the guns and batteries of the fort, and of the three ships that were then at anchor, which would have gone back to France without castors if we had not come. We were well treated for five days. The Governour

made gifts and sent two brigantines to bring us to the Three Rivers, where we arrived the second day. On the fourth day they went away.

That was the end of our three years' voyage and a few months. After so much pain and danger God was so merciful as to bring us back safe to our dwelling, where the one was made much of by his wife, the other by his friends and kindred. . . .

They went away the next day, and we stayed at home at rest that year. My brother and I considered whether we should discover what we had seen or no; and because we had not a full and whole discovery, which was that we have not been in the Bay of the North, not knowing anything but by the report of the wild Christinos, we would make no mention of it for fear that those wild men should tell us a fib. We would have made a discovery of it ourselves and have an assurance, before we should discover anything of it.

My wish to make this paper as short as is practicable, with making it intelligible, prevents my repeating the text of the story or quotations. The extracts made from Alexander Henry's Travels and from Radisson give these Indians the name Christinos. Warren calls them Kenistenos; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Knisteneaux. All refer to the same tribe and place them at the same home, north of lake Superior; and, of course, the only way to get there was by crossing the lake to Grand Portage and by way of the Groseilliers river, mentioned by Henry in his description of the canoe route of the fur trade in 1775. Franquelin's map of lake Superior in 1688 has located this river as entering the lake near the point now called Grand Portage. (For a copy of this map see page 230, vol. 4, of the "Narrative and Critical History of America.") The extracts from Henry's Travels and Mackenzie's "General History of the Fur Trade" will make this whole country familiar to the reader and will locate the home of the Christinos and Sioux without mistake. Mackenzie's description of Lac Bois Blanc and Lake Pascau Minac Sagai-gan, or Dry Berries, indicates an Indian paradise which would be the location of the "first landing isle."

The assumption that the Indians and Frenchmen crossed lake Superior in their canoes may be a little too much for the credulity of some persons. For the purpose of removing all misapprehension on that point, I insert a paragraph from the history of the "Birch Bark Canoe" to be found further on, taken from a pamphlet called "Peace River, a Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, by the late Sir George Simpson

(Governor, Hon. Hudson's Bay Company), in 1828." On page 41, Note II, "Light Canoes," we read:

The canoe du Maitre was of six fathoms, measured within, and the canoe du Nord about four, more or less. The ordinary crew for the former was sixteen or eighteen, and for the latter eight or nine. The larger could stand any storm in Lakes Huron and Superior, but it was ever the habit of voyage to avoid the encounter as much as possible. Their ordinary load was one hundred and twenty pieces of ninety pounds each, say five tons, with men, and passengers' baggage. They always carried passengers, say from four to eight or even more in case of children. I never heard of such a canoe being wrecked, or upset, or swamped; they swam like ducks. If overtaken, as was often the case, in a long *traverse* from point to point, or across large bays in the big Lakes, the heavy "*parla*" [red canvas oilcloth] used to be thrown over the goods as a storm deck, and then skilled strength and pluck, with the trusty bark, did the work.

This extract was taken from the journal of the late chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Archibald McDonald, who accompanied Sir George Simpson on this voyage,—a man during all his life engaged in the fur trade. It is supposed that the text is intelligible enough without remark to the close of the Third Voyage.

RADISSON'S FOURTH VOYAGE.

The Fourth Voyage commenced in the summer of 1658, after the brothers had stayed at home for a year; and, as we shall see, Radisson gives a more satisfactory and intelligible account of the places they visited, and the incidents are more distinctly stated. I shall omit much that would be interesting, but will not omit such parts as I deem necessary to show how these men became entitled to the credit of having introduced trade and commerce in Minnesota.

In the spring following we were in hopes to meet some company, having been so fortunate in the year before. Now during the winter, whether it was that my brother revealed to his wife what we had seen in our voyage and what we further intended, or however it came to pass, it was known; so much that the Father Jesuits were desirous to find out a way how they might get down the castors from the Bay of the North by the Sagnes, and so make themselves masters of that trade. They resolved to make a trial as soon as the ice would permit them. So to discover our intentions they were very earnest with me to engage myself in that voyage, to the end that my brother would give over his, which I utterly denied them, knowing that they could

never bring it about, because I heard the wild men say that although the way be easy, the wild men that are fed at their doors would have hindered them, because they make a livelihood by that trade. . . .

During that time we made our proposition to the Governor of Quebec, that we were willing to venture our lives for the good of the country and go to travel to the remotest countries. . . .

The Governor gave them leave on the condition that they should carry two of his servants along with them, and should give him a moiety of the profits.

My brother was vexed at such an unreasonable demand, to take inexperienced men to their ruin. All our knowledge and desire depended on this last voyage, besides that the Governor should compare two of his servants to us, that have ventured our lives so many years and maintained the country by our generosity in the presence of all; neither was there one that had the courage to undertake what we had done. We made the Governor a slight answer, and told him for our part we knew what we were, discoverers before governors. If the wild men came down, the way for them as for us, and that we should be glad to have the honor of his company, but not of that of his servants. The governor was much displeased at this, and commanded us not to go without his leave. We desired the Fathers to speak to him about it. Our addresses were slight because of the shame was put upon them the year before by their return; besides they stayed for an opportunity to go there themselves.

After some delay and conference with the wild men that had come down from the upper lake, with whom they were acquainted, mostly of the Sault nation, they resolved to start. The wild men started first, but promised to Radisson and his brother that they would wait for them two days at the Lake of St. Peter.

We did not let them wait so long, for that very night, my brother having the keys of the borough as being captain of the place, we embarked ourselves. . . . Being come opposite to the fort, they ask who is there. My brother tells his name. Everyone knows what good services we had done to the country; and they loved us, the inhabitants as well as the soldiers. The sentry answered him, "God give you a good voyage."

I omit the description of the passage up the Ottawa and onward, although a hazardous and laborious one, until they arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie.

We came after to a rapid that makes the separation between the lake of the Hurons and that which we call the Superior or Upper lake, for that the wild men hold it to be the longer and broader, besides a great many islands, which make it appear of bigger extent. This rapid was

formerly the residence of those with whom we were. . . . We made cottages at our advantage, and found the truth of what those men had often told us, that if once we could come to that place we should make good cheer of the white fish. The bear, the castors, and the oriniack showed themselves often, but to their cost; indeed it was to us like a terrestrial paradise. . . .

But the season was far spent, and diligence required us to leave that place. . . . The weather was agreeable when we began to navigate upon that great extent of water, finding it so calm and the air so clear. . . . We found a small river. I was so curious that I inquired of my dearest friends the name of the stream. They named it *Paubickkomesibs*, which signifies a small river of copper. I ask him the reason. He told me "Come, and I will show you the reason why." It was not two hundred paces in the wood where many pieces of copper were uncovered; further he told me that the mountain I saw was of nothing else. Seeing it so fair and pure, I had a mind to take a piece of it, but they hindered me, telling my brother there was more where we were to go. . . .

From this place we went along the coasts, which are most delightful and wondrous, for it is Nature that made it so pleasant to the eye, the spirit, and the belly. As we went along we saw banks of sand so high that one of our wild men went up for curiosity; being there, he showed no more than a crow. That place is most dangerous when there is any storm, being no landing place so long as the sandy banks are under water; and when the wind blows, that sand rises by a strange kind of whirling that are able to choke the passengers. One day you will see fifty small mountains at one side, and the next day, if the wind changes, on the other side. . . .

After this we came to a remarkable place. It is a bank of rocks that the wild men made a sacrifice to; they call it *Nanitoucksinagoit*, which signifies the likeness of the devil. They fling much tobacco and other things in its veneration. It is a thing most incredible that that lake should be so boisterous, that the waves of it should have the strength to do what I have to say in this discourse: first, that it is so high and so deep that it is impossible to climb up to the point. There come many sorts of birds that make their nests here, the goilants, which is a white sea-bird of the bigness of a pigeon. . . . It is like a great portal, by reason of the beating of the waves. The lower part of the opening is as big as a tower, and grows bigger in going up. There is, I believe, six acres of land above it. A ship of 500 tons could pass by, so big is the arch. I gave it the name of the Portal of St. Peter, because my name is so called, and that I was the first Christian that ever saw it. There are in that place caves very deep, caused by the same violence. We must look to ourselves, and take time with our small boats. The coast of rocks is five or six leagues, and there scarce a place to put a boat in assurance from the waves. When the lake is agitated the waves go into these concavities with force and make a most terrible noise, most like the shooting of great guns.

For a description of the Pictured Rocks, and of the Grand Portal, see Foster and Whitney's "Report on the Geology of the Lake Superior Land District" (Senate Ex. Doc., No. 4, Special Session, March, 1851).

Some days afterwards we arrived to a very beautiful point of sand where there are three beautiful islands, that we called the Trinity. . . . We discovered a bay very deep, where a river empties itself with a noise for the quantity and depth of the water. We must stay there three days to wait for fair weather to make the trainage, which was about six leagues wide. So done, we came to the mouth of a small river. . . . We found meadows that were about ten leagues square, as smooth as a board. We went up some five leagues further, where we found some pools made by the castors. We must break them that we may pass. . . . Being come to the height, we must drag our boats over a trembling ground for the space of an hour. . . .

Having passed that place, we made a carriage through the land for two leagues. The way was well beaten because of the comers and goers, who thus shorten their passage by eight days less than would be required to pass around the point that goes very far out in that great lake. . . . In the end of that point, that goeth very far, there is an island, as I was told, all of copper. This I have not seen. They say that from the island of copper, which is a league in the lake, when they are minded to thwart it in a fair and calm weather, beginning from sunrising to sunset, they come to a great island, from whence they come the next morning to firm land at the other side.

The crossing from the south shore of the lake is undoubtedly by the portage across Keweenaw point and Isle Royale; but the distances are without doubt quite too far, for it is estimated as six score and ten leagues. The Indians and Frenchmen, however, may be excused for thinking it a great distance, especially when they had to cross it in their small canoes.

Five days after we came to a place where there was a company of Christinos that were in their cottages. They were transported for joy to see us come back. They made much of us, and called us men indeed, to perform our promise to come and see them again. We gave them great gifts, which caused some suspicion, for it is a very jealous nation. But the short stay that we made took away that jealousy. We went on and came to a hollow river which was a quarter of a mile in breadth. Many of our wild men went to win the shortest way to their nation, and we were then three and twenty boats, for we met with some in that lake that joined with us and came to keep us company, in hopes to get knives from us. . . . Seven boats stayed of the nation of the Sault. We went on half a day before we

could come to the landing place, and were forced to make another carriage, a point of two leagues long and some sixty paces broad. As we came to the other side, we were in a bay of ten leagues about, if we had gone in. By going about that same point, we passed a strait, for that point was very nigh the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like pyramids. That point should be a very fit place to build a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a channel where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast bigness, and plikes of seven feet long. At the end of this bay we landed. The wild men gave thanks to that which they worship, we to the God of Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder piece of work in hand, to which we were forced. The men told us that we had five great days' journeys before we should arrive where their wives were. We foresee the hard task that we were to undergo by carrying our bundles upon our backs. They were used to it. Here everyone for himself and God for all.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a task, and as they could not well tell where to find their wives, lest the Nadoneceronons have wars against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I consulted what was best to do, and declared our will to them, which was thus: "Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any carriage on our backs as you are wont. Go you and look for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your merchandise at once, we will keep them for you, and will stay for you fourteen days. Before the time expires you will send to us if your wives are alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here and what we have. For their pains they shall receive gifts from us. So you will see us in your country. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole country for the next spring, for that purpose to destroy those that were the causers of their death, and you shall see our strength and valor. Although there are seven thousand fighting men in one village, you will see that we will make them run away, and you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our arms and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people."

They wondered very much at our resolution. The next day they went their way, and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want of food.

They built a fort, and after twelve days they saw about fifty young men approaching, with some of their former companions.

They offered to carry our baggage, being come on purpose. . . . We went away free from any burden, whilst those poor miserable thought themselves happy to carry our equipage, for the hope that

they had that we should give them a brass ring, or an awl, or a needle. There came above four hundred persons to see us go.

After leaving their fort they marched four days, and came to the shores of a lake where there was an abundance of boats. The next day they embarked and arrived by water at a village of a hundred cabins without palisades. They were received with loud outcries, and the women especially manifested their friendship and welcome. They distributed presents to the men, women and children, making great speeches, and promising to be their friends and to help to destroy their enemies. After this business had been settled, the winter came on and the snows began to fall. They made preparations for their winter hunting, and each was informed of a rendezvous for meeting after two months and a half in the winter, at a small lake, where they were to advise what they should do.

During this time we sent messengers everywhere, to give special notice to all manner of persons and nations, that within five moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should appear together and explain what the devil should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union.

After quite an interesting description of a distressing winter, in which many die of starvation, and without much account that is intelligible as to how they came back, we find the mention of two men who visit them from a strange land; and, after relating some incidents of this visit, they say these men were Nadoneseronons, that they were much respected, and that nobody durst offend them because they were upon their land. These Indians had come to make some inquiry about the great feast that the messengers had given notice of, for they, the brothers, tell them "the convenientest place to celebrate that great feast." This visit had another purpose without doubt, for some two moons afterward came that specially noted visit of the eight ambassadors, of which Radisson gives the history as follows:

After them came eight ambassadors from the nation of the Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the Beef. Those men each had two wives, loaded with oats, corn that grows in that country, and a small quantity of Indian corn, with other grains. It was to present to us, which we received as a great favor and token of friendship; but it had been welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonies in greasing our feet and legs, and we

painted them with red. They stripped us naked, and put upon us cloth of buff and of white castors. After this they weeped upon our heads until we were wetted by their tears, and made us smoke in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but pipes of peace and of war, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our clothes and armor one after another, and to conclude did throw a quantity of tobacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visit us, that we might dispose of them.

The next morning they were called by our interpreter. We understood not a word of their language, being quite different from that of those we were with. They arrived, they sat down. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more at our ease and to appear in more state. We borrowed their calumet, saying that we are in their country, and it was not lawful for us to carry anything out of our own country. That pipe is of a red stone, as big as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reed is as long as five feet, in breadth and thickness of a thumb. There is tied to it the tail of an eagle all painted over with several colors and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of a wheel when he shuts. The top of the stick is covered with feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine color. We took the tail of the eagle, and instead of it we hung twelve iron bows in the same manner as the feathers were, and a blade about it along the staff, a hatchet planted in the ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armors about it on forks. Everyone smoked his pipe of tobacco, nor they never go without it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was little wetted, and the good powder was precious to us. Our interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your gifts. You are called here to know our will and pleasure, which are as follows: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection; and, to show you, we, instead of the eagle's tail, have put some of our armor, to the end that no enemy shall approach to break the affinity that we make now with you." Then we took the twelve irons off the bows and lifted them, telling them that those points shall pass over the whole world to defend you, and to destroy your enemies that are ours. Then we put the irons in the same place again. Then we took the sword and bade them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their enemy. After we took the hatchet that was planted in the ground, we turned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would war against them, and that we would make forts that they should come with more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done, we throw powder in the fire, that had more strength than we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our tobacco, and make them smoke as they made us smoke. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that the fire fled of every side, without any further delay or look for so much time as

to look for the door of the cottage, one ran one way, another another way; for they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we only stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their apartments, where they received us all trembling for fear, believing really by that same means that we were the devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for eight days.

The time now was nigh that we must go to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a small lake and a meadow. Being arrived, most of ours were already in their cottages. In three days' time there arrived eighteen several nations, and came privately, to have done the sooner. As we became to the number of five hundred, we held a council. Then the shouts and cries and the encouragements were proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. . . .

In two days this was finished. Some thirty young men of the nation of the beef arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, with very short garments, to be the nimble in chasing the stags. The irons of their arrows were made of stags' pointed horns very neatly. They were all proper men, and dressed with paint. They were the discoverers and the foreguard. We kept a round place in the middle of our cabin, and covered it with long poles with skins over them, that we might have shelter from the snow. The cottages were all in good order; in each ten or twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood laid for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered with deal tree boughs. Several kettles were brought there full of meat. They rested and ate above five hours without speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companies went and made speeches to them. Afterward one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cries aloud, then speaks some few words, saying that they were to let them know that the elders of their village were to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it with the French, and that a great many of their young people came and brought them some part of their ways to take their advice, for they had a mind to go against the Christinos, who were ready for them, and they in like manner to save their wives and children. They were scattered in many cabins that night, expecting those that were to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from the fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They were to set their tents that they bring upon their backs. The pearches were put out and planted as we received the news, the snow put aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The following day they arrived with an incredible pomp. . . . The first were young people with their bows and arrows, and bucklers on their shoulders, upon which were represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of the sun and moon, of terrestrial beasts, about its feathers very artificially painted. Most of

the men their faces were all over dabbled with several colors. . . . They leave a tuft of hair upon their crown of their heads, tie it, and put at the end of it some small pearls or some Turkey stones, to bind their heads. They have a robe commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tie several bears' paws, or give a form to some bits of buff's horns, and put it about the said robe. They grease themselves with very thick grease, and mingle it in reddish earth, which they burn, as we our bricks. With this stuff they get their hair to stand up. They cut some down of swan or other fowl that hath a white feather, and cover with it the crown of their heads. Their ears are pierced in five places; the holes are so big that your little finger might pass through. They have yellow ware that they make with copper, made like a star or half moon, and there hang it. Many have Turkeys. They are clothed with oriniack and stags' skins, but very light. Everyone had the skin of a crow hanging at his girdle. Their stockings are embroidered with pearls and with their own porke-pick work. They have very handsome shoes, laced very thick all over, with a piece sown to the side of the heel, which was of hair of buff, which trailed above half a foot upon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords and knives of a foot and a half long, and hatchets very ingeniously done, and clubs of wood made like back-swords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kill their enemy, they cut off the tuft of hair and tie it about their arms. After all, they have a white robe made of castors' skins painted.

Those having passed through the middle of ours, that were ranged at every side of the way, the elders came with great gravity and modesty, covered with buff coats which hung down to the ground. Everyone had in his hand a pipe of council, set with precious jewels. They had a sack on their shoulders, and that which holds it grows in the middle of their stomachs and on their shoulders. In this sack all the world is enclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then the women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater show than they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equivalent to its bigness. They were conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and flung their skins of which their tents are made, so that they had houses in less than half an hour.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabin constituted for that purpose. There were fires kindled. Our captain made a speech of thanksgiving, which would be long to write it. We were called to the council of new come chief, where we came in great pomp, as you shall hear. First they came to make a sacrifice to the French, being Gods and masters of all things, as well of peace as of war, making the knives, the hatchets, and the kettles rattle, etc.; that they came purposely to put themselves under their protection; moreover, that they came to bring them back again to their country, having by their means destroyed their enemies abroad and near. So said, they present us with gifts of castors' skins, assuring us that the mountains were elevated,

the valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the boughs of trees cut down to go with more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wet our feet; that the doors of their villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, were open at any time to receive us, being we kept them alive by our merchandise. The second gift was, that they would die in their alliance, and that to certify to all nations by continuing the peace, and were willing to receive them and assist them in their country, being well satisfied they were come to celebrate the feast of the dead. The third gift was to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if need required, to receive and keep them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being always men, and the heavens made them so, that they were obliged to go before to defend their country and their wives, which is the dearest thing they had in the world, and in all times they were esteemed stout and true soldiers, and that yet they would make it appear by going to meet them; and they would not degenerate, but show by their actions that they were as vallant as their forefathers. The fourth gift was presented to us, which was of buff skins, to desire our assistance for being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the wars, and that we might very well see that they did well to go defend their own country; that the true means to get the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gun, calling it *miniskoick*.

The speech being finished, they entreated us to be at the feast. We go presently back again to furnish us with wooden bowls. We made four men carry our guns afore us, that we charged with powder alone, because of their unskillfulness that they might have killed their fathers. We each of us had a pair of pistols, a sword, and a dagger. We had a roll of porkepick about our heads, which was as a crown, and two little boys that carried the vessels that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher and most elevate, knowing our customs, in the middle for us to sit, where we had the men lay our arms. Presently come four elders, with the calumet kindled in their hands. They present the candles to us to smoke, and four beautiful maids that went before us, carrying bears' skins to put under us. When we were together, an old man rises and throws our calumet at our feet, and bids them take the kettles from the fire, and spoke that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words make the earth to quake; and he sang a while. Having ended, he came and covered us with his vestment, and, all naked except his feet and legs, he saith, "Ye are masters over us; dead or alive, you have the power over us, and may dispose of us at your pleasure." So done, he takes the calumet of the feast, and brings it, so a maiden brings us a coal of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bade the interpreter to tell them we should save and keep their lives, taking them for our brethren; and, to testify that, we shot off all our artillery, which was of twelve guns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, which put the men in such a terror

that they knew not what was best, to run or stay. We throw a handful of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoke.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to work. We had there a kind of rice, much like oats. It grows in the water in three or four feet depth. There is a God that shows himself in every country, almighty, full of goodness, and the preservation of those poor people who know him not. . . .

Having next described the manner of gathering the grain, and of dressing and cooking it, the narrative continues:

After the feast was over, there come two maidens bringing wherewithal to smoke, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered first to one of the elders that sat down by us. When he had smoked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went back to our fort as we came. The day following we made the principal persons come together to answer to their gifts. Being come with great solemnity, there we made our interpreter tell them that we were come from the other side of the great salted lake, not to kill them but to make them live; acknowledging you for our brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our own. Then we gave them a kettle. The second gift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defend themselves against all their enemies; and as we were masters of peace and wars, we are to dispose the affairs that we should see an universal peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not go and force the nations that were yet further to condescend and submit to our will, but that we would see the neighboring countries in peace and union; that the Christinos were our brethren, and have frequented them many winters; that we adopted them for our children, and took them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come and conclude a general peace; that we were sure of their obedience to us; that the first that should break the peace we would be their enemy, and would reduce them to powder with our heavenly fire; that we had the word of the Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make wars against those that would not submit to our will and desire, which was to see them good friends, to go and make wars against the upper nations that do not know us as yet. The gift was of six hatchets. The third was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to the dance of union, which was to be celebrated at the death's feast and banquet of kindred. If they would continue the wars, that was not the means to see us again in their country. The fourth was that we thanked them for making us a free passage through their countries. The gift was two dozen knives. The last was of smaller trifles, 6 graters, 2 dozen awls, 2 dozen needles, 6 dozen looking-glasses made of tin, a dozen little bells, 6 ivory combs, with a little vermilion. But for to make a recompense to the good old man that spoke so favorably, we gave him a hatchet. and to the elders each a blade for a sword, and to the two

maidens that served us two necklaces, which we put about their necks, and two bracelets for their arms. The last gift was in general for all the women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!*, that is, thanks. Our wild men made others for their interest.

A company of about fifty were despatched to warn the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the third day, early in the morning. I was received with great demonstration of friendship. All that day we feasted, danced and sang. I compared that place before to the buttry of Paris, for the great quantity of meat that they used to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received gifts of all sorts of meat, of grease more than twenty men could carry. The custom is not to deface anything that they present. There were above six hundred men in a fort, with a great deal of baggage on their shoulders, and did draw it upon light sleds made very neatly. I have not seen them at their entrance, for the snow blinded me. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, for I looked a while steadily on it, so I was troubled with this seven or eight days.

The mean while that we were there, arrived above a thousand that had not been there but for those two redoubted nations that were to see them do what they never before had, plays, mirths, and battles for sport, going and coming with cries; each played his part.

Here follows a description of the drums and the manner of playing on them. These sports continued fourteen days, during which time Groseilliers and Radisson received more than three hundred castors' skins as presents, but they were so far away that they did not bring five to the French.

This feast ended, everyone returns to his country well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beef, which was seven small journeys from that place. We promised in like manner to the Christinos that the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake, and there they should meet us, to come into their country. We being arrived among that nation of the beef, we wondered to find ourselves in a town where were great cabins most covered with skins and other close mats. They told us that there were 7,000 men. This we believed. These have as many wives as they can keep. If any one did trespass upon the other, his nose was cut off, and often the crown of his head. The maidens have all manner of freedom, but are forced to marry when they come to the age. The more they bear children the more they are respected. I have seen a man having fourteen wives. There they have no wood, and make provisions of moss for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from another, that they get in the valleys where the buff use to repair, upon which they do live. They sow corn, but



their harvest is small. The soil is good, but the cold hinders it, and the grain very small. . . . The people stay not there all the year; they retire in winter towards the woods of the north, where they kill a quantity of castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world; but not in such store as the Christinos, but far better.

We stayed there six weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us laden with booty. . . .

Groseilliers and Radisson have now returned from their visit to the home of the Sioux or Nadoneseronons. Their fort, where the two strangers and eight ambassadors came to visit them, was probably at the outlet of Rainy lake, where there was a trading post under the French during their supremacy, later a post of the Northwest Company, and it was continued, until within a few years, by the Hudson Bay Company. Our great authority as to the history of Indian tribes in Minnesota is William W. Warren, and I quote what he has to say about the great and favorite home of the Sioux when the Ojibways commenced the invasion of their territory. It is found in chapter xiii, page 175, of volume 5, Minnesota Historical Society Collections.

The region of country from which the Mississippi derives its source, is covered with innumerable fresh and clear water lakes connected with one another, and flowing into the "Father of Rivers" through rapid and meandering streams. All these lakes and streams abound with fish of the finest species and flavor. In Leech, Winnepeg, Cass, and other of the larger lakes, the whitefish are found equal in size to the celebrated whitefish in Lake Superior. And so are also the salmon trout which (curious enough) are to be found only in Puk-a-gum-ah and Trout lakes. Muscallonge have been found to grow to the great size of from four to six feet in length. Brook trout, sturgeon and catfish are not found in the waters of the Mississippi above the Falls of St. Anthony.

The shores of these beautiful lakes are lined with groves of the tall pine, and the useful maple from which the Indian manufactures sugar. The birch tree also abounds, from which the Ojibway has long been accustomed to procure the covering to his wigwam, and material for the formation of his ingeniously wrought canoe. In many of these lakes which lie clustered together within an area of several hundred miles, the wild rice grows in large quantities and most luxuriantly, affording the Indian an important staple of subsistence.

In former times this region of country abounded in buffalo, moose, deer, and bear, and till within thirty years past, in every one of its many water courses, the lodges of the valuable and industrious beaver were to be found.

Possessing these manifold advantages, this country has always been a favorite home and resort for the wild Indian, and over its whole extent battle fields are pointed out where different tribes have battled for its possession.

The attention of the Ojibways was early directed to it. They found it in possession of the powerful and wide-spread Dakotas, whom, after many years of severe fighting, they eventually forced to seek for new homes farther westward, and they in turn took possession and have kept to this day the large and beautiful lakes which form the sources of the "Great River."

On pages 188-191 we learn that the noted chief Bi-aus-wah made his home at Sandy Lake about 1730, and that about the year 1745 the Ojibway pioneer hunters, braving the attacks of their enemies, first permanently planted their wigwams on the shores of Lac du Flambeau and Lac Coutereille (Courtes Oreilles), in northwestern Wisconsin.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade," on page lxii, says:

Lake Winipic is the great reservoir of several large rivers, and discharges itself by the River Nelson into Hudson's Bay. The first in rotation, next to that I have just described, is the Assiniboin or Red River, which, at the distance of forty miles coastwise, disembogues on the southwest side of Lake Winipic. It alternately receives those two denominations from its dividing, at the distance of about thirty miles from the lake, into two large branches. The eastern branch, called the Red River, runs in a southern direction to near the head waters of the Mississippi. . . . The country on either side is but partially supplied with wood, and consists of plains covered with herds of the buffalo and the elk, especially on the western side. On the eastern side are lakes and rivers, and the whole country is well wooded, level, abounding in beaver, bears, moose-deer, fallow-deer, &c., &c. The natives, who are of the Algonquin tribe, are not very numerous, and are considered as the natives of Lake Superior. This country, being near the Mississippi, is also inhabited by the Nadowasis, who are the natural enemies of the former; the head of the water being the war-line, they are in a continual state of hostility; and though the Algonquins are equally brave, the others generally outnumber them; it is very probable, therefore, that if the latter continue to venture out of the woods, which form their only protection, they will soon be extirpated. There is not, perhaps, a finer country in the world for the residence of uncivilized man, than that which occupies the space between this river and Lake Superior. It abounds in everything necessary to the wants and comfort of such a people. Fish, venison, and fowl, with wild rice, are in great plenty; while, at the same time, their subsistence requires that bodily exercise so necessary to health and vigor. . . .

The other branch is called after the tribe of the Nadawasis, who here go by the name of Assiniboins, and are the principal inhabitants of it. It runs from off the north-northwest, and, in the latitude of $51\frac{1}{4}$ west and longitude $103\frac{1}{4}$, rising in the same mountains as the river Dauphin, of which I shall speak in due order. They must have separated from their nation at a time beyond our knowledge, and live in peace with the Algonquins and Knisteneaux.

Parkman, in the introduction to "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," page xxv, says:

At length, in 1658, two daring traders penetrated to Lake Superior, wintered there, and brought back tales of the ferocious Sioux, and of a great western river on which they dwelt.

Continuing, on page 220, the narrative of Radisson, we read:

• We were twelve days before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, which is the fittest time to kill the orinlack. A wild man and I with my brother killed that time above six hundred, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side with much pains, for we sent our wild men before, and we two were forced to make carriage five days through the woods. After that we met with a company that did us a great deal of service, for they carried what we had, and arrived at the appointed place before three days ended. Here we made a fort. At our arrival we found at least twenty cottages full.

One very fair evening we went to find what we hid before, which we find in a good condition. We went about to execute our resolution, forseeing that we must stay that year there, for which we were not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited until the ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks built a fort on the point that forms that bay, which resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speed. We had a great store of booty which we would not trust to the wild men, for the occasion makes the thief. We overload our slide on that rotten ice, and the further we went the sun was stronger, which made our trainage have more difficulty. I seeing my brother so strained, I took the slide, which was heavier than mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above four leagues from the ground, we sunk down about the one half of my leg in the ice, and must advance in spite of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undo us. We strived so that I hurt myself, insomuch that I could not stand upright, nor any further. This put us in great trouble. Upon this I advised my brother to leave me with his sled. We put the two sleds one by another. I took some clothes to cover me. After I stripped myself from my wet clothes, I layed myself down on the sled; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to go. He makes haste and came there in time. and sends wild men for me and the sleds. There we found

the perfidiousness of the Octanaks. Seeing us in extremity, they would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me. . . .

We came to the seaside, where we find an old house all demolished and battered with bullets. We were told that those that came there were of two nations, one of the wolf, the other of the long-horned beast. . . . They tell us particulars of Europeans. . . .

We went from isle to isle all that summer. We plucked abundance of ducks, as of all other sort of fowls; we wanted not fish nor fresh meat. We were well beloved, and [they] were overjoyed that we promised them to come with such ships as we invented. This place has a great store of cows. The wild men kill them not except for necessary use. We went further in the bay to see the place that they were to pass that summer. The river comes from the lake and empties itself in the river of Sagnes, called Tadousack, which is a hundred leagues in the great river of Canada, as where we were in the Bay of the North. We left in this place our marks and rendezvous. The wild men that brought us defended us above all things, if we would come directly to them, that we should by no means land, and so go to the river to the other side, that is, to the north, towards the sea, telling us that those people were very treacherous. . . .

They clothe themselves all over with castors' skins in winter, and with stags' skins in summer. They are the best huntsmen of all America, and scorn to catch a castor in a trap. . . . They have the same tenets as the nation of the beef, and their apparel from top to toe. . . . a nation called among themselves neuter. They speak the beef and Christinos' speech, being friends to both. . . .

In the beginning of spring there came a company of men that came to see us from the elders, and brought us furs to entice us to see them again. . . . The boats ready, we embark ourselves. We were 700. There was not seen such a company to go down to the French. There were above 400 Christinos' boats that brought us their castors, in hopes that the people would give some merchandise for them. . . . The company that we had, filled above 360 boats. There were boats that carried seven men, and the least two. It was a pleasure to see that embarking, for all the young women went in stark naked, their hair hanging down, yet it is not the custom to do so. I thought it their shame, but contrary they think it excellent and old custom good. They sing aloud and sweetly. They stood in their boats, and remained in that posture half a day, to encourage us to come and lodge with them again. Therefore they are not altogether ashamed to show us all, to intice us, and to animate the men to defend themselves valiantly and come and enjoy them.

In two days we arrived at the River of the Sturgeon, so called because of the great quantity of sturgeons that we took there. Here we were to make our provisions to pass the lake some fourteen days. In the said time we dried above a thousand of sturgeons. The women followed us close; after our abode there two days they overtook us.

We had several false alarms, which put us in several troubles. They wondered to have found a oryanck dead upon the place, with a bullet in his body. There thousand lies were forged. Therefore we go from thence, but before we come to the long point whereof we spoke before we perceive smoke. We go to discover what it was, and by ill luck we found it was an Iroquois boat of seven men, who doubtless stayed that winter in the Lake of the Hurons, and came there to discover somewhat. As they saw us, away they, as swift as their heels could drive. They left their boat and all. They to the woods, and were pursued, but in vain, for they were gone before three hours. The pursuers came back; one brings a gun, one a hatchet, the other a kettle, and so forth. The council was called, where it was decreed to go back and put off to go down to the French till the next year. This vexed us sore to see such a fleet and such an opportunity come to nothing, foreseeing that such another may be not in ten years. We were to persuade them to the contrary, but they checked us soundly, saying we were worse than enemies by persuading them to go and be slain. In this we must let their fear pass over, and we back to the River of the Sturgeons, where we found our wives, very busy in killing those creatures that come there to multiply. We daily hear some new report; all everywhere enemies by fancy.

We in the mean time busy ourselves in the good of our country, which will recompense us badly for such toil and labor. Twelve days are passed, in which time we gained some hopes of fair words. We called a council before the company was disbanded, where we represented that, if they were discoverers, they would not have valued the loss of their kettle, knowing well they were to get another where their army lay, and if there should be an army it should appear, and we in such a number they could be well afraid and turn back. Our reasons were heard and put in execution. The next day we embarked, saving the Christinos that were afraid of a sight of a boat made of another stuff than theirs, that they went back as we came where the Iroquois boat was. Our words proved true, and so we proceeded in our way.

Being come nigh the Sault, we found a place where two of these men sweated, and for want of covers buried themselves in the sand by the water side to keep their bodies from the flies called maringoines, which otherwise had killed them with their stings. We thwarted those two lakes with great pleasure, having the wind fair with us. It was a great satisfaction to see so many boats, and so many that never had before commerce with the French. So my brother and I thought we should be welcomed. But, O Covetousness, thou art the cause of many evils! We made a small sail to every boat; everyone strove to be not the last. The wind was double ways favorable to us. The one gave us rest, the other advanced us very much, which we wanted because of the above said delay. We now are come to the carriages and swift streams to get the Lake of the Castors. We made them with a courage, promptitude, and hunger which made us go with haste as well as the wind. We go down all the great river without any encounter, till we

come to the Long Sault, where my brother some years before made a shipwreck. Being in that place we had work enough. The first thing we saw was several boats that the enemy had left at the river side. This put great fear in the hearts of our people. Nor they nor we could tell what to do; and seeing nobody appear, we sent to discover what they were. The discoverers call us, and bid us come, that those who were there could do us no harm.

You must know that seventeen French made a plot with four Algonquins to make a league with three score Hurons for to go and wait for the Iroquois in the passage at their return with their castors on their ground, hoping to beat and destroy them with ease, being destitute of necessary things. If one has his gun, he wants his powder; and so the rest. All the other side without doubt had notice that the travelers were abroad, and would not fail to come down with a company, and to make a valiant deed and heroic action was to destroy them all, and consequently make the French tremble as well as the wild men, for the one could not live without the other; the one for his commodities, the other for his castors; so that the Iroquois, pretending to wait for us at the passage, came thither flocking. The French and wild company, to put the Iroquois in some fear and hinder their coming there so often with such confidence, were resolved to lay a snare for them. That company of soldiers, being come to the farthest place of that Long Sault without being discovered, thought already to be conquerors making carriage, having abroad fifteen men to make discoveries, but met as many enemies. They assaulted each other, and the Iroquois found themselves weak, left there their lives and bodies, saving two that made their escape and went to give notice to two hundred of theirs that made ready as they heard the guns, to help their foreguard. The French, seeing such great odds, made a retreat, and warned by four Algonquins that a fort was built not far off, built by this nation the last year, they fled into it in an ill hour. In the mean while the Iroquois consulted what they should do; they sent to five hundred and fifty Iroquois of the lower nation, and fifty Orijonot that were not far off. Now they would assault the French in their fort, the fort not holding more than twenty men. The Hurons could not come in, and could not avoid the shot of the enemy. Then the French pulled down the fort, and, closed together, they stoutly began to work. Those that the French had killed, they cut their heads off and put them upon long poles of their fort. This skirmish lasted two days and two nights. The Iroquois find themselves plagued, for the French had a kind of bucklers and shelters. Now arrive six hundred men that they did not think of in the least. Here is nothing but cries, fire, and flame day and night. Here is not to be doubted, the one to take the other, the one to defend himself till death. The Hurons, seeing such a company, submitted to the enemy, but are like to pay for their cowardice; being in their hands, they were tied, abused, smitten, and burned as if they were taken by force, for those barbarous were revenged on their bones as any was wounded or killed in the battle.

In this great extremity, our small company of one and twenty did resist five days against eight hundred men, and the two foremost days against two hundred, which were seven days together without intermission; and the worst was that they had no water, as we saw, for they made a hole in the ground out of which they got but little because they were on a hill. It was to be pitied. There was not a tree but was shot with bullets. The Iroquois came with bucklers to make a breach. The French put fire to a barrel of powder, thinking to shock the Iroquois or make them go back; but did to their great prejudice, for it fell again in their fort which made an end of their combat. Upon this the enemy enters, kills and slays all that he finds, so one did not make an escape. . . . All the French, though dead, were tied to posts along the river side, and the four Algonquins. As for the Hurons, they were burnt at their discretion. Some nevertheless escaped to bring the certain news how all passed. It was a terrible spectacle to us, for we came there eight days after that defeat, which saved us without doubt. . . .

We went down the river without making any carriage, and we adventured very much. As soon as we were at the lower end, many of our wild men had a mind to go back and not to go any further, thinking really that all the French were killed. As for my brother and I, we did fear very much that after such a thing the pride of the enemy would make them attempt anything upon the habitations of Mount Royal, which is but thirty leagues from thence. We advised them to make a fort, . . . and to send immediately two very light boats, that could not be overtaken if the enemy should discover them; and that, being arrived at the habitation, they should make them shoot the pieces of ordnance, and that as soon as the night should come we would embark ourselves and should hear the noise, or else we should take council of what we should do, and stay for them at the height of the isle of Mount Royal; which was done accordingly. . . . Our two boats did go, but the rest were so impatient that they resolved to follow them, being willing to run the same hazard; and we arrived the next morning and were in sight when the pieces were shot off, with a great deal of joy to see so great a number of boats that did almost cover the whole river.

We stayed three days at Mount Royal, and then we went down to the Three Rivers. The wild men asked our advice whether it was best for them to go down further. We told them no, because of the dangers that they may meet with on their return; for the Iroquois could have notice of their coming down and so come and lie in ambush for them, and it was in the latter season, being about the end of August. Well, as soon as their business was done, they went back again very well satisfied, and we very ill satisfied for our reception, which was very bad considering the service we had done to the country, which will at another time discourage those that by our example would be willing to venture their lives for the benefit of the country, seeing a Governor that would grow rich by the labors and hazards of others. . . .

The Governor, seeing us come back with a considerable sum for our own particular, and seeing that his time was expired and that he was to go away, made use of that excuse to do us wrong and to enrich himself with the goods that we had so dearly bought, and by our means we made the country to subsist, that without us had been, I believe, oftentimes quite undone and ruined, and the better to say at his last bidding, no castors, no ship, and what to do without necessary commodities. He made also my brother prisoner for not having observed his orders, and to be gone without his leave, although one of his letters made him blush for shame, not knowing what to say, but that he would have some of them at what price soever, that he might the better maintain his coach and horses at Paris. He fined us four thousand pounds to make a fort at the Three Rivers, telling us for all manner of satisfaction that he would give us leave to put our coat of arms upon it, and, moreover, 6,000 pounds for the country, saying that we should not take it so strangely and so bad, being we were inhabitants and did intend to finish our days in the same country with our relations and friends. But the Bougre did grease his chops with it, and more, made us pay a custom which was the fourth part, which came to 14,000 pounds, so that we had left but 46,000 pounds, and took away £24,000. Was not he a tyrant to deal so with us, after we had so hazarded our lives, and having brought, in less than two years by that voyage, as the Factors of the country said, between forty and fifty thousand pistoles? For they spoke to me in this manner: "In which country have you been? From whence do you come? For we never saw the like. From whence did come such excellent castors?" Seeing ourselves so wronged, my brother did resolve to go and demand justice in France.

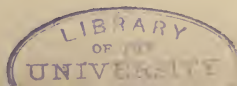
For a short account of the defeat of Adam Dollard and the Hurons in the fight at the Long Sault, see a note in Prof. J. G. Shea's translation of Charlevoix's "History of New France," on page 33, volume 3. It is also mentioned in the "Journal des Jésuites," page 284, June 8, 1660. For the purpose of establishing the date of the return of Groseilliers and Radisson, I cite the following extract from the "Journal des Jésuites" of August, 1660, page 286:

On the 17th, my Lord de Petrée started for his visit to Three Rivers and Montreal, with Mons. de Charny and others and the four Oiochronons. He arrived at Montreal on the 21st at five o'clock of the evening, where the Ottawas had arrived on the 19th. The Ottawas started from that place the next day, on the 22nd, and arrived at Three Rivers on the 24th, and departed on the 27th. They were three hundred. Des Grosilleres was in their company, who had gone there the year before. They started from lake Superior with a hundred canoes; forty went back, and sixty arrived here loaded with furs to the value of 200,000 livres. They left at Montreal 50,000 livres, and brought the

remainder to Three Rivers. They came from that place in twenty-six days, and were two months in returning. Des Grosillers passed the winter with the nation of the Beef, which he estimates as four thousand men; they are the settled Nadonesserons. Father Mesnard, Father Albanel, Jean Guerin, and six other Frenchmen, went back with them.

The Fourth Voyage of Radisson is entitled to, and shall have, a candid and fair consideration. In the spring of 1658 our voyagers, notwithstanding the opposition of Governor Argenson and the Jesuits, started to visit the Bay of the North (Hudson's Bay). The Sault Ste. Marie and its whitefish, the copper, the Pictured Rocks and Grand Portal, the portage across Keweenaw Point, and Isle Royale, are eternal witnesses of the truth of the story as given by Radisson. It would have been agreeable if he had told us of the Grand Portage of nine miles, from lake Superior to the Groseilliers (Pigeon) river, but we have learned that such small matters do not count in this story.

In five days they find the Christinos, in their cottages, who receive them with many demonstrations of joy. I think I may assume that this place was at the "first landing isle," from which they had returned home in 1657; and, as we are informed that this voyage was for the purpose of visiting Hudson's bay, it must have been by what was afterwards known as the Canoe Route of the Fur Trade to Hudson's bay and the Northwest, as given by Mackenzie. The brothers had spent about a year at this place on their third voyage. They without doubt knew by hearsay the whole country and its inhabitants, and knew the relative locations of each of the Indian nations. After some days of rest they again start for the purpose of making a selection for a trading post. We have known these men for three years as we have followed them in their third voyage. We have found them men of great intelligence, and would expect them to use their best judgment in locating their home in the country for the purpose of trade with the Indians. We have learned, in the quotations from Warren and Mackenzie, where the best and most abundant furs were to be found. They in their day undoubtedly knew well the most convenient place, by inquiring of the Christinos who were natives of the country, and knew the Sioux and their home and the Hudson's bay. With this knowl-



edge we believe that the place at which they landed and abandoned their boats, and which the Christinos went from to hunt for their wives, was at the outlet of Rainy lake. There has been a trading post at this point, a very large one in early days, beginning even back in the days of tradition and continuing down to the end of the fur trade by the canoe route. We assume, therefore, that this was their home. From this point all these journeys can easily be traced, and the main incidents of the fourth voyage made to harmonize. The two Sioux strangers who found them on their own land, the eight ambassadors and their wives, and the great number of men and women that came to the treaty, so graphically described, could comfortably come to this place, and would feel at home, as it was in their own country. The accurate descriptions of their persons, clothing and skin tents, their gravity in council, with their pipes, are true to the letter; and it was not possible for Radisson to have learned of these things from hearsay, nor even from the Christinos, their nearest neighbors, without being in the Sioux country. But it is not necessary to speculate about the matter, for the visit to Hudson's bay is to be proved beyond a doubt, and that includes and makes possible everything else pertaining to the voyage.

That part of the text in reference to their visit to the bay is very short. They spend the summer with the Indians, in visiting James bay and the river that connects with the Saguenay, which joins the St. Lawrence one hundred leagues from its mouth. They made a location there at the southeast extremity of the bay, on what was afterward called Prince Rupert's river, and went to lake Winnipeg on their way home to visit the Assiniboines, in order to induce them to go down to the French. The account of the voyage home does not require further comment. Their treatment by the Governor and their resolve to go to France for justice are all told, and it is not necessary to discuss them; and I now proceed to give the evidence upon which I rely to fully prove the truth of the record.

In Prof. J. G. Shea's translation of Charlevoix's "History of New France," on page 230 of volume 3, I find the following note:

Medard Chouart de Groseilliers was a native of Touraine and an experienced pilot. He was an early emigrant to Canada, where he

married a daughter of Abraham Martin, king's pilot. He reached James Bay overland from Lake Assiniboin, and, returning, endeavored to induce the Quebec merchants, and subsequently the French court, to send ships to Hudson's Bay. Failing to induce them, he went to England, and, with Radisson, conducted an English vessel, commanded by Zachariah Gillam, a New Englander, to the bay.

On page 305, volume 9, "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," M. de Denonville, Governor of New France, in a paper accompanying his letter of November 8, 1686, to M. de Seignelay, Minister of Colonies and Marine, discussing the right of France to the Iroquois country and Hudson's bay, says:

The settlement made by the English in 1662 at the head of North Bay does not give them any title, because it has been already remarked that the French were in possession of those countries, and had traded with the Indians of that Bay, which is proved still better by the knowledge the men named Desgroselliers and Radisson had of those parts where they introduced the English. They had traded there, no doubt, with the old French Coureurs de bois.

I am gratified in being able to add an English authority on this subject, in confirmation of the truthfulness of Radisson. In an article in John Oldmixon's history, "The British Empire in America," edition of 1741, the author, speaking of Hudson's bay, says, on page 544:

The civil wars in England put discoveries out of men's heads. The bold had other work cut out for them, and we hear of no more such adventures till the year 1667, when Zachariah Gillam, in the *Nonsuch* ketch, passed through Hudson's straits, and then into Baffin's bay to 75 degrees, and thence southward into 51 degrees, where, in a river afterwards called Prince Rupert's river, he had a friendly correspondence with the natives, built a fort, named Charles Fort, and returned with success.

The occasion of Gillam's going was this: Monsieur Radisson and Monsieur Gooselier, two Frenchmen, meeting with some savages in the Lake of Assimponals, in Canada, they learned of them that they might go by land to the bottom of the bay, where the English had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the savages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper lake the same way they came, and thence to Quebec, the capital of Canada, where they offered the principal merchants to carry ships to Hudson's bay; but their project was rejected. Thence they went to France, in hopes of a more favorable hearing at court; but, after presenting several memorials and spending a great deal of time and money, they were answered as they had been at Quebec, and their project

looked upon as chimerical. The King of England's ambassador at Paris, hearing what proposals they had made, imagined he should do his country good service in engaging them to serve the English, who had already pretences to the bay; so he persuaded them to go for London, where they met with a favorable reception from some men of quality, merchants and others, who employed Gillam, before mentioned, a New England captain, in the voyage; and Radisson and Gooselier accompanying them, they arrived at the bottom of the bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When Gillam returned, the adventurers concerned in fitting them out applied themselves to King Charles II. for a patent, who granted one to them and their successors for the bay called Hudson's Straits. The patent bears date the 2d of May, in the 22d year of that king's reign, A. D. 1670.

The first proprietors, or company, called Hudson's Bay Company, were:

Prince Rupert,	Mr. Richard Cradock,
Sir John Hayes,	Mr. John Letton,
Mr. William Young,	Christopher Wrenn, Esq.,
Mr. Gerard Weymans,	Mr. Nicholas Hayward.

We now close the review of the third and fourth voyages of Groseilliers and Radisson, with the sequel down to the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. Their achievements are without a parallel in history, and they have proved themselves and deserve to be recognized as the most noted men that New France or Canada ever produced. They do not require any eulogy from me. I have, as I believe, faithfully presented their claim to be considered (as I think they are entitled to be considered) honest, truthful men, by all intelligent readers.

ROUTE OF THE FUR TRADE ALONG THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF MINNESOTA.

The history of the fur trade in the Northwest, from the days of Groseilliers and Radisson until the surrender of the country to the English by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, may some day be found among the unpublished letters of the officials of New France and the Jesuits. It is not worth while to anticipate what they will reveal. The general history of this trade from 1763 is pretty well known, but does not come within the scope of this paper. I am, however, tempted to add some extracts describing the canoe route used in this traffic along the northern boundary of Minnesota, from lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods.

Alexander Henry's "Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776," was printed in 1809. The following extracts are taken from this work, pages 236-249, in chapter 8, Part 2:

On the 10th day of June, 1775, I left the Sault, with goods and provisions to the value of three thousand pounds sterling, on board twelve small canoes and four larger ones. The provisions made the chief bulk of the cargo, no further supply being obtainable till we should have advanced far into the country. Each small canoe was navigated by three men, and each larger one by four. . . .

At the Grand Portage I found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbor. The consequences were very hurtful to the morals of the Indians.

The transportation of the goods at this *grand portage*, or *great carrying-place*, was a work of seven days of severe and dangerous exertion, at the end of which we encamped on the river Aux Groseilles. . . .

On the eighth [day of July] we ascended the Groseilles to the carrying-place called the Portage du Perdrix, where the river falls down a precipice of the height of a hundred feet. . . . [The description of this route from Grand Portage will be given chiefly from Sir Alexander Mackenzie's account of his voyage in 1798.]

On the twentieth [of July] we reached Lake Sagunac, or Sagnaga, distant sixty leagues from the Grand Portage. This was the hithermost post in the northwest, established by the French; and there was formerly a large village of Chipeways here, now destroyed by the Nadowessies. I found only three lodges, filled with poor, dirty and almost naked inhabitants, of whom I bought fish and wild rice, which latter they had in great abundance. When populous, this village used to be troublesome to the traders, obstructing their voyages, and extorting liquor and other articles. . . .

We now entered Lake à la Plule, which is fifteen leagues long, by five broad. . . .

The River à la Plule is forty leagues long, of a gentle current. . . . There were perfect solitudes, not even a canoe presenting itself, along my whole navigation of the stream. I was greatly struck with the beauty of the scene, as well as with its fitness for agricultural settlements, in which provisions might be raised for the northwest.

On the thirtieth, we reached the Lake of the Woods, or Lake des Iles, at the entrance of which was an Indian village of a hundred souls. . . .

From this village we received ceremonious presents. The mode with the Indians is, first to collect all the provisions they can spare, and place them in a heap; after which they send for the trader, and address him in a formal speech. They tell him that the Indians are happy in seeing him return to their country; that they have been long in expectation of his arrival; that their wives have deprived them-

selves of the provisions, in order to afford him a supply; that they are in great want, being destitute of everything, and particularly of ammunition and clothing; and that what they most long for is a taste of his rum, which they uniformly denominate *milk*.

The present, in return, consisted in one keg of gunpowder, of sixty pounds weight; a bag of shot, and another of powder, of eighty pounds each; a few smaller articles, and a keg of rum. The last appeared to be the chief treasure, though on the former depended the greater part of their winter's subsistence.

In a short time, the men began to drink, while the women brought me a further and very valuable present of twenty bags of rice. This I returned with goods and rum, and at the same time offered more, for an additional quantity of rice. A trade was opened, the women bartering rice, while the men were drinking. Before morning, I had purchased a hundred bags, of nearly a bushel measure each. Without a large quantity of rice, the voyage could not have been prosecuted to its completion. . . .

The Lake of the Woods is thirty-six leagues long. On the west side is an old French fort or trading-house, formerly frequented by numerous bands of Chipeways, but these have since been almost entirely destroyed by the Nadowessies. . . .

On the sixteenth [of August] we reached Lake Winipegou, at the entrance of which is a large village of Christinaux. . . . The name is variously written; as Cristinaux, Kinistineaux, Killistinoes and Killistinaux. . . . The dress and other exterior appearances of the Cristinaux are very distinguishable from those of the Chipeways and Wood Indians.

The men were almost entirely naked, and their bodies painted with a red ochre, procured in the mountains, and often called *vermillion*. . . .

The women, like the men, paint their faces with red ochre; and in addition usually tatoo two lines, reaching from the lip to the chin, or from the corners of the mouth to the ears. They omit nothing to make themselves lovely . . . and, not content with the power belonging to these attractions, they condescend to beguile, with gentle looks, the hearts of passing strangers. The men, too, unlike the Chippewas (who are of a jealous temper) eagerly encourage them in this design. One of the chiefs assured me that the children borne by their women to Europeans were bolder warriors, and better hunters, than themselves.

The Cristinaux have usually two wives each, and often three; and make no difficulty in lending one of them, for a length of time to a friend. Some of my men entered into agreements with the respective husbands, in virtue of which they embarked the women in the canoes, promising to return them the next year. The women, so selected, consider themselves as honored; and the husband who should refuse to lend his wife, would fall under the condemnation of the sex in general.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his "General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the Northwest," (forming a part of his "Voyages from Montreal . . . in the years 1789 and 1793," published in London in 1801), after a description of the route from Lachine, Canada, by way of the Ottawa and the lakes Huron and Superior to the Grand Portage, says:

At length they all arrive at the Grand Portage, which is one hundred and sixty leagues from St. Mary's, and situated on a pleasant bay on the north side of the lake, in latitude 48. north and longitude 90. west from Greenwich. . . .

At the entrance of the bay is an island which screens the harbor from every wind except the south. . . . The bottom of the bay, which forms an amphitheatre, is clear and inclosed; and on the left corner of it, beneath an hill, three or four hundred feet in height, and crowned by others of a still greater altitude, is the fort, picketed in with cedar palisadoes, and inclosing houses built with wood and covered with shingles. They are calculated for every convenience of trade as well as to accommodate the proprietors and clerks during their short residence there. The North men live under tents; but the more frugal pork-eater lodges beneath his canoe. . . .

When they are arrived at the Grand Portage, which is near nine miles over, each of them has to carry eight packages of such goods and provisions as are necessary for the interior country. . . . Having finished this toilsome part of their duty, if more goods are necessary to be transported, they are allowed a Spanish dollar for each package; and so inured are they to this kind of labor, that I have known some of them set off with two packages of ninety pounds each, and return with two others of the same weight, in the course of six hours, being a distance of eighteen miles over hills and mountains. This necessary part of the business being over, if the season be early, they have some respite, but this depends upon the time the North men begin to arrive from their winter quarters, which they commonly do early in July. At this period, it is necessary to select from the pork-eaters a number of men, among whom are the recruits, or winterers, sufficient to man the North canoes necessary to carry, to the river of the Rainy lake, the goods and provision requisite for the Athabasca country; as the people of that country (owing to the shortness of the season and length of the road [they] can come no further) are equipped there, and exchange ladings with the people of whom we are speaking, and both return from whence they came. . . .

The North men, being arrived at the Grand Portage, are regaled with bread, pork, butter, liquor, and tobacco, and such as have not entered into agreements during the winter, which is customary, are contracted with, to return and perform the voyage for one, two, or three years: their accounts are also settled, and such as choose to send any of their earnings to Canada, receive drafts to transmit to their relations

or friends: and as soon as they can be got ready, which requires no more than a fortnight, they are again dispatched to their respective departments. . . .

The people being dispatched to their respective winter quarters, the agents from Montreal, assisted by their clerks, prepare to return there, by getting the furs across the portage, and, re-making them into packages of one hundred pounds weight each, to send them to Montreal, where they commonly arrive about the month of September.

The mode of living at the Grand Portage is as follows: The proprietors, clerks, guides, and interpreters, mess together, to the number of sometimes an hundred, at several tables in one large hall, the provision consisting of bread, salt pork, beef, hams, fish, and venison, butter, peas, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, spirits, wine, &c., and plenty of milk, for which purpose several milch cows are constantly kept. The mechanics have rations of such provisions, but the canoe-men, both from the North and Montreal, have no other allowance here, or in the voyage, than Indian corn and melted fat. The corn for this purpose is prepared before it leaves Detroit, by boiling it in a strong alkali, which takes off the outer husk; it is then well washed, and carefully dried upon stages, when it is fit for use. One quart of this is boiled for two hours, over a moderate fire, in a gallon of water; to which, when it has boiled a small time, are added two ounces of melted suet; this causes the corn to split, and in the time mentioned makes a pretty thick pudding. If to this is added a little salt (but not before it is boiled, as it would interrupt the operation), it makes an wholesome, palatable food, and easy of digestion. This quantity is fully sufficient for a man's subsistence during twenty-four hours. . . . The Americans call this dish hominee.

The trade from the Grand Portage is, in some particulars, carried on in a different manner with that from Montreal. The canoes used in the latter transport are now too large for the former, and some of about half the size are procured from the natives, and are navigated by four, five, or six men, according to the distance which they have to go. They carry a lading of about thirty-five packages, on an average; of these twenty-three are for the purpose of trade, and the rest are employed for provisions, stores, and baggage. In each of these canoes are a foreman and sternman; the one to be always on the look out and direct the passage of the vessel, and the other to attend the helm. They also carry her, whenever that office is necessary. The foreman has the command, and the middle-men obey both; the latter earn only two-thirds of the wages which are paid the two former. Independent of these a conductor or pilot is appointed to every four or six of these canoes, whom they are all obliged to obey; and is, or at least is intended to be, a person of superior experience, for which he is proportionably paid.

In these canoes, thus loaded, they embark at the north side of the portage, on the river Au Tourt, which is very inconsiderable; and after about two miles of a westerly course, is obstructed by the Partridge

Portage, six hundred paces long. In the spring this makes a considerable fall, when the water is high, over a perpendicular rock of one hundred and twenty feet. From thence the river continues to be shallow, and requires great care to prevent the bottom of the canoe from being injured by sharp rocks, for a distance of three miles and an half to the Prairie or Meadow, when half the lading is taken out and carried by part of the crew, while two of them are conducting the canoe among the rocks, with the remainder, to the Carreboeuf Portage, three miles and an half more, when they unload and come back two miles, and embark what was left for the other hands to carry, which they also land with the former; all of which is carried six hundred and eighty paces, and the canoe led up against the rapid. From hence the water is better calculated to carry canoes, and leads by a winding course to the north of west three miles to the Outard Portage, over which the canoe, and everything in her, is carried for two thousand four hundred paces. At the further end is a very high hill to descend, over which hangs a rock upwards of seven hundred feet high. Then succeeds the Outard Lake, about six miles long, lying in a northwest course, and about two miles wide in the broadest part. After passing a very small rivulet, they come to the Elk Portage, over which the canoe and lading are again carried one thousand one hundred and twenty paces; when they enter the lake of the same name, which is an handsome piece of water, running northwest about four miles, and not more than one mile and an half wide. Here is a most excellent fishery for white fish, which are exquisite. They then land at the Portage de Cerise, over which, and in the face of a considerable hill, the canoe and cargo are again transported for one thousand and fifty paces. This is only separated from the second Portage de Cerise by a mud pond (where there is plenty of water lilies), of a quarter of a mile in length; and this is again separated by a similar pond from the last Portage de Cerise, which is four hundred and ten paces. Here the same operation is to be performed for three hundred and eighty paces. They next enter on the Mountain Lake, running northwest by west, six miles long, and about two miles in its greatest breadth. In the centre of this lake, and to the right, is the Old Road, by which I never passed; but an adequate notion may be formed of it from the road I am going to describe, and which is universally preferred. This is first, the small new portage over which everything is carried for six hundred and twenty-six paces, over hills and gullies; the whole is then embarked on a narrow line of water that meanders southwest about two miles and an half. It is necessary to unload here, for the length of the canoe, and then proceed west half a mile to the new Grand Portage, which is three thousand one hundred paces in length, and over very rough ground, which requires the utmost exertions of the men, and frequently lames them; from hence they approach the Rose Lake, the portage of that name being opposite to the junction of the road from the Mountain Lake. They then embark on the Rose Lake, about one mile from the east end of it, and steer west by south, in an oblique

course, across it two miles; then west-northwest passing the Petite Perche to the Marten Portage, three miles. . . .

Over against this is a very high, rocky ridge, on the south side, called Marten Portage, which is but twenty paces long, and separated from the Perche Portage, which is four hundred and eighty paces, by a mud pond covered with white lilies. From hence the course is on the lake of the same name, west-southwest three miles to the height of land, where the waters of the Dove or Pigeon River terminate, and which is one of the sources of the great St. Lawrence in this direction. Having carried the canoe and lading over it, six hundred and seventy-nine paces, they embark on the lake of Hauteur de Terre, which is in the shape of a horse-shoe. (The route which we have been traveling hitherto leads along the high rocky land or bank of Lake Superior on the left. The face of the country offers a wild scene of huge hills and rocks, separated by stony valleys, lakes, and ponds. Wherever there is the least soil, it is well covered with trees.) The lake is entered near the curve, and left at the extremity of the western limb, through a very shallow channel, where the canoe passes, half loaded, for thirty paces with the current, which leads through the succeeding lakes and rivers, and disembogues itself by the river Nelson into Hudson's Bay. The first of these is Lac de pierres à fusil, running west-southwest, seven miles long and two wide, and, making an angle at northwest one mile more, becomes a river for half a mile, tumbling over a rock and forming a fall and portage, called the Escalier, of fifty-five paces; but from hence it is neither lake or river, but possesses the character of both, and ends between large rocks, which cause a current or rapid, falling into a lake-pond for about two miles and an half, west-northwest, to the portage of the Cheval du Bois. Here the canoe and contents are carried three hundred and eighty paces, between rocks; and within a quarter of a mile is the Portage des Gros Pins, which is six hundred and forty paces over an high ridge. The opposite side of it is washed by a small lake three miles round; and the course is through the east end or side of it, three quarters of a mile northeast, where there is a rapid. An irregular, meandering channel, between rocky banks, then succeeds for seven miles and an half to the Mara-boeuf Lake, which extends north four miles, and is three quarters of a mile wide, terminating by a rapid and décharge, of one hundred and eighty paces, the rock of Saginaga being in sight, which causes a fall of about seven feet, and a portage of fifty-five paces.

Lake Saginaga takes its name from its numerous islands. Its greatest length from east to west is about fourteen miles, with very irregular inlets. It is nowhere more than three miles wide, and terminates at the small portage of La Roche, of forty-three paces. From there is a rocky, stony passage of one mile, to Prairie Portage, which is very improperly named, as there is no ground about it that answers to that description, except a small spot at the embarking place at the west end: to the east is an entire bog; and it is with great difficulty that the lading can be landed upon stages, formed by driving piles into the

mud and spreading branches of trees over them. The portage rises on a stony ridge, over which the canoe and cargo must be carried for six hundred and eleven paces. This is succeeded by an embarkation on a small bay, where the bottom is the same as has been described in the west end of Rose Lake, and it is with great difficulty that a laden canoe is worked over it, but it does not comprehend more than a distance of two hundred yards. From hence the progress continues through irregular channels, bounded by rocks, in a westerly course for about five miles, to the little Portage des Couteaux, of one hundred and sixty-five paces, and the Lac des Couteaux, running about south-west by west twelve miles, and from a quarter to two miles wide. A deep bay runs east three miles from the west, where it is discharged by a rapid river, and after running two miles west it again becomes still water. In this river are two carrying places, the one fifteen, and the other one hundred and ninety paces. From this to the Portage des Carpes is one mile northwest, leaving a narrow lake on the east that runs parallel with the Lake des Couteaux, half its length, where there is a carrying-place, which is used when the water in the river last mentioned is too low. The Portage des Carpes is three hundred and ninety paces, from whence the water spreads irregularly between rocks, five miles north-west and southeast to the Portage of Lac Bois Blanc, which is one hundred and eighty paces. Then follows the lake of that name, but I think improperly so called, as the natives name it the Lake Pascau Minac Sagaigan, or Dry Berries.

Before the small pox ravaged this country, and completed what the Nodowasis in their warfare had gone far to accomplish, the destruction of its inhabitants, the population was very numerous; this was also a favorite part, where they made their canoes, &c., the lake abounding in fish, the country round it being plentifully supplied with various kinds of game, and the rocky ridges, that form the boundaries of the water, covered with a variety of berries.

When the French were in possession of this country, they had several trading establishments on the islands and banks of this lake. Since that period, the few people remaining, who were of the Algonquin nation, could hardly find subsistence; game having become so scarce that they depended principally for food upon fish, and wild rice which grows spontaneously in these parts.

This lake is irregular in its form, and its utmost extent from east to west is fifteen miles; a point of land, called Point au Pin, jutting into it, divides it in two parts: it then makes a second angle at the west end, to the lesser Portage de Bois Blanc, two hundred paces in length. This channel is not wide, and is intercepted by several rapids in the course of a mile; it runs west-northwest to the Portage des Pins, over which the canoe and lading is again carried four hundred paces. From hence the channel is also intercepted by very dangerous rapids for two miles westerly, to the point of Portage du Bois, which is two hundred and eighty paces. Then succeeds the portage of Lake Croche one mile more, where the carrying-place is eighty paces, and is followed

by an embarkation on that lake, which takes its name from its figure. It extends eighteen miles, in a meandering form, and in a westerly direction; it is in general very narrow, and at about two-thirds of its length becomes very contracted, with a strong current.

Within three miles of the last portage is a remarkable rock, with a smooth face, but split and cracked in different parts, which hang over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of the Nodowasis or Sioux, who had done much mischief in this country, and left there these weapons as a warning to the Chebois or natives, that, notwithstanding its lakes, rivers, and rocks, it was not inaccessible to their enemies.

Lake Croche is terminated by the Portage du Rideau, four hundred paces long, and derives its name from the appearance of the water, falling over a rock of upwards of thirty feet. Several rapids succeed, with intervals of still water, for about three miles to the Flacon portage, which is very difficult, is four hundred paces long, and leads to the Lake of La Croix, so named from its shape. It runs about northwest eighteen miles to the Beaver Dam, and then sinks into a deep bay nearly east. The course to the portage is west by north for sixteen miles more from the Beaver Dam; and into the east bay is a road which was frequented by the French, and followed through lakes and rivers until they came to Lake Superior by the river Caministiquia, thirty miles east of the Grand Portage.

Portage La Croix is six hundred paces long; to the next portage is a quarter of a mile, and its length is forty paces; the river winding four miles to Vermillion Lake, which runs six or seven miles north-northwest, and by a narrow strait communicates with Lake Namaycan, which takes its name from a particular place at the foot of a fall, where the natives spear sturgeon. Its course is about north-northwest and south-southeast, with a bay running east, that gives it the form of a triangle; its length is about sixteen miles to the Nouvelle Portage. The discharge of the lake is from a bay on the left, and the portage one hundred and eighty paces, to which succeeds a very small river, from whence there is but a short distance to the next Nouvelle Portage, three hundred and twenty paces long. It is there necessary to embark on a swamp or overflowed country, where wild rice grows in great abundance. There is a channel or small river in the centre of this swamp, which is kept with difficulty, and runs south and north one mile and a half, with deepening water. The course continues north-northwest one mile to the Chaudiere Portage, which is caused by the discharge of the waters running on the left of the road from Lake Naymaycan, which used to be the common route, but that which I have described is the safest as well as shortest. From hence there is some current though the water is wide spread, and its course about north by west three miles and a half to the Lake de la Pluie, which lies nearly east and west; from thence about fifteen miles is a narrow strait that divides the land into two unequal parts, from whence to its

discharge is a distance of twenty-four miles. There is a deep bay running northwest on the right, that is not included, and is remarkable for furnishing the natives with a kind of soft, red stone, of which they make their pipes; it also affords an excellent fishery, both in the summer and winter; and from it is an easy, safe, and short road to the Lake du Bois (which I shall mention presently), for the Indians to pass in their small canoes, through a small lake and on a small river, whose banks furnish abundance of wild rice. The discharge of this lake is called Lake de la Pluie River, at whose entrance there is a rapid, below which is a fine bay, where there had been an extensive picketed fort and building when possessed by the French: the site of it is at present a beautiful meadow, surrounded with groves of oaks. From hence there is a strong current for two miles, where the water falls over a rock twenty feet, and, from the consequent turbulence of the water, the carrying-place, which is three hundred and twenty paces long, derives the name of Chaudiere. Two miles onward is the present trading establishment, situated on an high bank on the north side of the river in 48° 37' north latitude.

Here the people from Montreal come to meet those from the Athabasca country, as has been already described, and exchange lading with them. This is the residence of the first chief, or Sachem, of all the Algonquin tribes inhabiting the different parts of this country. He is by distinction called Nectam, which implies personal pre-eminence. Here also the elders meet in council to treat of peace or war.

This is one of the finest rivers in the Northwest, and runs a course west and east one hundred and twenty computed miles; but in taking its course and distance minutely I make it only eighty. Its banks are covered with a rich soil, particularly to the north, which, in many parts, are clothed with fine open groves of oak, with the maple, the pine, and the cedar. The southern bank is not so elevated, and displays the maple, the white birch, and the cedar, with the spruce, and alder, and various underwood. Its waters abound in fish, particularly the sturgeon, which the natives both spear and take with drag-nets. But notwithstanding the promise of this soil, the Indians do not attend to its cultivation, though they are not ignorant of the common process, and are fond of the Indian corn, when they can get it from us. . . .

We now proceed to mention the Lake du Bois, into which this river discharges itself in latitude 49. north, and was formerly famous for the richness of its banks and waters, which abounded with whatever was necessary to a savage life. The French had several settlements in and about it; but it might be almost concluded that some fatal circumstance had destroyed the game, as war and the small pox had diminished the inhabitants, it having been very unproductive in animals since the British subjects have been engaged in travelling through it; though it now appears to be recovering its pristine state. The few Indians who inhabit it might live very comfortably, if they were not so immoderately fond of spirituous liquors. . . .

The Lake du Bois is, as far as I could learn, nearly round, and the canoe course through the centre of it among a cluster of islands, some of which are so extensive that they may be taken for the main land. The reduced course would be nearly south and north. But following the navigating course, I make the distance seventy-five miles, though in a direct line it would fall very short of that length. At about two-thirds of it there is a small carrying-place, when the water is low. The carrying-place out of the lake is on an island, and named Portage du Rat, in latitude 49° 37' north and longitude 94° 15' west, and is about fifty paces long. . . .

THE BIRCH BARK CANOE.

The history of the fur trade should not be closed without a respectful reference to the birch canoe, and description of this serviceable means of conveyance, by which that early commerce was carried on for over two hundred years. For this purpose I give some extracts from the writings of persons who all their lives were engaged in this trade.

Chief Factor Archibald McDonald, who accompanied Sir George Simpson in his voyage from York Factory on Hudson bay to the Pacific, in 1828, kept the minutes of this expedition. They were edited and published by Malcolm McLeod in 1872. Speaking of the "light canoe," on page 41, McLeod says:

Light canoes were specially made and adapted for speediest travel. I saw those, the very ones spoken of, at Norway House, on their passage up. The Governor's was the most beautiful thing of the kind I ever saw; beautiful in its "lines" of faultless fineness, and in its form and every feature; the bow, a magnificent curve of bark, gaudily but tastefully painted, that would have made a Roman rostrum of old hide its diminished head. The paddles, painted red with vermilion, were made to match, and the whole thing in its kind was of faultless grace and beauty—beauty in the sense of graceful and perfect fitness to its end.

This class of canoes is [or rather was, for I am speaking of times now somewhat old] generally known under the name of "North Canoes," from the fact that on the arrival of the largest kind of canoes, used in the trade, viz., those used to be dispatched [and that until very lately] from Lachine, on first open water, to Fort William, Lake Superior, and which were called "*Canots du Maitre*," had to be exchanged, or left behind for smaller craft, half the size, and such as could be portaged from that point upwards. The *Canot du M.* [Canoe of the Master, as we would call it in English] was of six fathoms, measured within, and the *C. du Nord* about four, more or less. The ordinary crew for the former was sixteen or eighteen, and for the latter eight

or nine. The larger could stand any storm in Lakes Huron and Superior, but it was ever the habit of voyage to avoid the encounter as much as possible. Their ordinary load was one hundred and twenty pieces of ninety pounds each, say five tons, with men, and passengers' baggage. They always carried passengers, say from four to eight or even more in case of children. I never heard of such a canoe being wrecked, or upset, or swamped; they swam like ducks. If overtaken, as was often the case, in a long *traverse* from point to point, or across large bays in the big lakes, the heavy "*parla*" [red canvas oil cloth] used to be thrown over the goods as a storm deck, and then skilled strength and pluck, with the trusty bark, did the work.

I add also a description given by Mr. Hopkins, the Secretary of Sir George Simpson, of the start of Sir George from Lachine on his voyage around the world in 1841-2. He says:

By nine o'clock our two canoes were floating in front of the house in the Lachine canal, constructed to avoid the famous rapids of St. Louis. The crews, thirteen men to the one vessel, and fourteen to the other, consisted partly of Canadians, but principally of Iroquois, from the opposite village of Kaughnawaga, the whole being under the charge of my old and faithful follower, Morin.

The canoes, those tiny vehicles of an amphibious navigation, are constructed in the following manner: The outside is formed of the thick and tough bark of the birch, the sheets being sewed together with the root of the pine tree split into threads, and the seams being gummed to make them air tight. The gunwales are of pine or cedar, of about three inches square; and in their lower edges are inserted the ribs, made of thin pieces of wood bent to a semicircle. Between the ribs and the bark is a coating of lathing, which, besides warding off internal injury from the fragile covering, serves to impart a firmness to the vessel. These canoes are generally about thirty-five feet from stem to stern; and they are five feet wide in the centre, gradually tapering to a point at each end, where they are raised about a foot. When loaded, they draw scarcely eighteen inches of water; and they weigh between three hundred and four hundred pounds.

Realizing that the days of this amphibious navigation have passed from the limits of our state, I am tempted to make another quotation from this narrative of Sir Geo. Simpson's journey fifty years ago (page 27):

Before bidding good-by to our old friend the Ottawa, let me here offer a description of a day's march, as a general specimen of the whole journey. To begin with the most important part of our proceedings, the business of encamping for a brief night, we selected, about sundown, some dry and tolerably clear spot; and immediately on landing, the sound of the axe would be ringing through the wood, as the men were felling whole trees for our fires, and preparing, if

necessary, a space for our tents. In less than ten minutes our three lodges would be pitched, each with such a blaze in front as virtually imparted a new sense of enjoyment to all the young campaigners, while through the crackling flames might be seen the requisite number of pots and kettles for our supper. Our beds were next laid, consisting of an oilcloth spread on the bare earth, with three blankets and a pillow, and, when occasion demanded, with cloaks and great-coats at discretion; and whether the wind howled or rain poured, our pavilions of canvas formed a safe barrier against the weather. While part of our crews, comprising all the landsmen, were doing duty as stokers, and cooks, and architects, and chambermaids, the more experienced voyageurs, after unloading the canoes, had drawn them on the beach with their bottoms upwards, to inspect, and, if needful, to renovate the stitching and the gumming; and as the little vessels were made to incline on one side to windward, each with a roaring fire to leeward, the crews, every man in his own single blanket, managed to set wind, and rain, and cold at defiance, almost as effectually as ourselves. Weather permitting, our slumbers would be broken about one in the morning by the cry of "*Leve! leve! leve!*" In five minutes, woe to the inmates that were slow in dressing, the tents were tumbling about our ears; and within half an hour the camp would be raised, the canoes laden, and the paddles keeping time to some merry old song. About eight o'clock, a convenient place would be selected for breakfast, about three-quarters of an hour being allotted for the multifarious operations of unpacking and repacking the equipage, laying and removing the cloth, boiling and frying, eating and drinking; and, while the preliminaries were arranging, the hardier among us would wash and shave, each person carrying soap and towel in his pocket, and finding a mirror in the same sandy or rocky basin that held the water. About two in the afternoon we usually put ashore for dinner; and as this meal needed no fire, or at least got none, it was not allowed to occupy more than twenty minutes or half an hour. Such was the routine of our journey, the day, generally speaking, being divided into six hours of rest and eighteen of labor. This almost incredible toil the voyageurs bore without a murmur, and, almost invariably, with such an hilarity of spirit as few other men could sustain for a single forenoon.

But the quality of the work, even more decidedly than the quantity, requires operatives of iron mould. In smooth water the paddle is plied with twice the rapidity of the oar, taxing both arms and lungs to the utmost extent; amid shallows the canoe is literally dragged by the men wading to their knees or to their loins, while each poor fellow, after replacing his drier half in his seat, laughingly shakes the heaviest of the wet from his legs over the gunwale, before he again gives them an inside berth; in rapids, the towing line has to be hauled along over rocks and stumps, through swamps and thickets, excepting that when the ground is utterly impracticable, poles are substituted, and occasionally, also, the bushes on the shore. Again on the portages, where the breaks are of all imaginable kinds and degrees of badness, the canoes

and their cargoes are never carried across in less than two or three trips, the little vessels alone monopolizing, on the first turn, the more expert half of their respective crews. Of the baggage, each man has to carry at least two pieces, estimated at a hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupois, which he suspends in slings of leather placed across the forehead, so that he has his hands free to clear the way among the branches of the standing trees, and over the prostrate trunks. But, in addition to the separate labors of the land and the water, the poor fellows have to endure a combination of both sorts of hardship at least three or four times every day. The canoes can seldom approach near enough to enable the passengers to step ashore from the gunwale; and no sooner is a halt made than the men are in the water to ferry us to dry ground on their backs. In this unique part of their duty they seem to take pride; and a little fellow often tries to get possession of the heaviest customer in the party, considerably exceeding, as has often been the case in my experience, the standard aforesaid, of two pieces of baggage.

Sir George Simpson, in his testimony before the select Committee of Parliament in 1857, says he had passed over the route from Fort William or Grand Portage to Winnipeg forty times. These trips were made in the manner related in Mr. Hopkins' description.

Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha," in its seventh canto, describes the materials of which the birch canoe is constructed; and the illustrated edition of this poem issued in 1891 by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. has a good photogravure of the process of its building by Indians in the forest.

THE COMMERCE OF CIVILIZATION.

The concluding part of this paper will be devoted to Commerce in Minnesota, on the Mississippi river and its tributaries, to the year 1862, and will contain all that I have been able to gather from all sources, including the files of newspapers of Galena, Ill., the Wisconsin Historical Society's files, and the files of the Minnesota Historical Society; to which I have added my own personal recollections of the history. Scharf's "History of St. Louis City and County," and Capt. E. W. Gould's "History of River Navigation," contain a great number of incidents relating to the early days on the Mississippi. But I must say that I was very much disappointed in my expectation of finding data that would be of service in my work among the files of newspapers and other printed authority; there is very little.

The keel-boat service is almost entirely confined to transportation of troops and supplies for the fort; and the Indian Agent, Major Forsyth, gives us (in this Society's Historical Collections, volume 3, pages 139-167) his journal of his voyage from St. Louis to St. Peter's in 1819. Soon thereafter comes the age of steam.

ARRIVALS OF STEAMBOATS AT FORT SNELLING, 1823-1839.

For the purpose of making the list of steamboat arrivals as full and complete as possible at this time, I am induced to copy from the Minnesota Historical Collections, volume 2. In its pages 102-142, Rev. E. D. Neill, in his "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840," gives the following names and dates of steamboat arrivals at that place, which I have here collected together from his narrative:

1823-1826.

Steamboat Virginia, Capt. Crawford, May 10th, 1823. She was one hundred and eighteen feet long and twenty-two feet wide. She was received with a salute from the fort. Among her passengers were Major Biddle, Lieut. Russell, Taliaferro, the Indian Agent, and Beltrami, an Italian refugee.

The steamboat Rufus Putnam, Capt. David G. Bates in command, reached the fort April 5th, 1825. Four weeks later she made a second trip with goods for the Columbia Fur Company, and proceeded to Land's End, their trading post on the Minnesota river.

The following is a list of the steamboats that had arrived at Fort Snelling up to May 26th, 1826, the exact dates being known for only three:*

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Virginia, May 10th, 1823. | 9. Josephine. |
| 2. Neville. | 10. Fulton. |
| 3. Putnam, April 2nd, 1825. | 11. Red Rover. |
| 4. Mandan. | 12. Black Rover. |
| 5. Indiana. | 13. Warrior. |
| 6. Lawrence, May 2nd, 1826. | 14. Enterprise. |
| 7. Sciota. | 15. Volant. |
| 8. Eclipse. | |

1832.

Steamboat Versailles, May 12th.

Enterprise, June 27th.

1835.

The steamboat Warrior, built and commanded by Capt. Throckmorton, arrived June 24th with supplies and a pleasure party. Among

*Note.—There are evidently mistakes in this list of arrivals before May 26th, 1826.

The Red Rover made her appearance in the Galena trade in 1830, commanded by Capt. Joseph Throckmorton. He also built the Warrior in 1832, and was in command and participated in the Battle of Bad Axe in that year. The steamboat Josephine, Capt. J. Clark, was in the Galena and St. Louis trade in 1829.

Steamboat Missouri Fulton; Capt. Culver was captain of this boat in 1828.

the passengers were Capt. Day and Lieut. Beech, of the army, Catlin, the artist, and wife, General George W. Jones, J. Farnsworth, Mrs. Felix St. Vrain, Misses Farnsworth, Crow, Johnson, and others. On July 16th the Warrior again arrived at the fort.

1836.

The Missouri Fulton arrived on May 8th. [Mr. Neill does not give the name of her captain. I venture to add the name of Capt. Orren Smith. He commanded her for a time.]

Steamboat Frontier, Capt. D. S. Harris, May 29th.

Steamboat Palmyra, Capt. Cole, June 1st, with some thirty ladies and gentlemen passengers, a pleasure party.

Steamboat St. Peter's, Capt. J. Throckmorton, July 2d. Among the passengers were Nicollet, coming to begin his exploration of the Northwest, and several ladies from St. Louis on a pleasure tour.

On October 9th, a small steamboat arrived with stores for the Government.

1837.

The steamboat Rolla arrived November 10th, bringing back the Sioux delegation who had visited Washington and made a treaty there September 29th, by which the valley of the St. Croix was opened to white immigration.

1838.

Steamboat Burlington, Capt. J. Throckmorton, May 25th; and again June 13th.

Steamboat Brazil, Capt. Orren Smith, June 15th, two boats being at the fort at the same time. The Burlington made three trips this season.

The steamboat Ariel arrived June 20th.

The steamboat Burlington completed her third trip on June 28th, bringing 146 troops.

The steamboat Palmyra, Capt. Middleton, arrived July 15th, with official notice of the ratification of the Sioux treaty,—bringing also machinery for the St. Croix mill, and a millwright, Calvin Tuttle, with other men, to build it.

Steamboat Ariel, August 27th, and again September 29th.

Steamboat Gipsy, with Chippewa goods, October 21st.

1839.

Steamboat Ariel, Capt. Lyon, April 14th.

Steamboat Gipsy, Capt. Grey, May 2nd.

Steamboat Fayette, May 11th.

Steamboat Glaucus, Capt. G. W. Atchison, May 21st, and again June 5th.

Steamboat Pennsylvania, Capt. Stone, June 1st.

The steamboat Ariel arrived June 6th; and also made three later trips, arriving June 26th, July 17th, and August 15th.

Steamboat Knickerbocker, June 25th.

Steamboat Malta, Capt. J. Throckmorton, July 22d.

The steamboat Pike, with soldiers, arrived September 9th and again September 17th.

There is no authority given for this record; but the annals were prepared by Rev. E. D. Neill, and he must have had some authority for the record. I personally became well acquainted with nearly all the captains above named, and with all the boats from the summer of 1839. Major Taliaferro resigned his office in January, 1840; and I presume the above record is from his papers.

RECORDS FROM GALENA NEWSPAPERS, 1828-1848.

The *Miners' Journal* of Galena, in 1828, mentions the following steamboats: Indiana, Capt. Fay; Red Rover, Capt. J. Throckmorton; Josephine, Capt. Clark; and Missouri Fulton, Capt. Culver. In 1829 it mentions the Josephine, Capt. Clark; Red Rover, Capt. Throckmorton; and the Galena, Capt. David G. Bates. One steamboat was advertised for Fort Snelling, the Lady Washington, Capt. Shellcross. The editor apparently did not think it worth while to notice the arrivals of boats, as everyone knew well of their arrival. The paper was a weekly, and it did not appear necessary to mention them. Its publication was suspended during the Black Hawk war.

The *Galena Advertiser*, in the fall of 1835, noticed the close of navigation as occurring on November 7th; and said that the Warrior and Galena had left for Pittsburgh. From this newspaper, chiefly, I have obtained the following imperfect records for the next twelve years:

1836.

The *Advertiser* mentions the opening of navigation April 9th, and says that the steamboat Olive Branch, Capt. Strother, the Wisconsin, Capt. Flaherty, the Dubuque, Cavalier, Warrior, and Galena, had left for St. Louis.

The Missouri Fulton, Capt. O. Smith, and the new steamboat Frontier, Capt. D. S. Harris, one of the boats built by D. S. & R. S. Harris, gave an excursion trip to the people of Galena and Dubuque.

1837.

The steamboat Smelter, Capt. D. S. Harris, with R. S. Harris, engineer, was one of the first boats built with state rooms for the upper Mississippi river. She was advertised for St. Peter's about June 1st; the Pavillion, Capt. Lafferty, about the 20th; the Burlington, for June 17th; and the Irene, Rolla, and Fulton, later. The Rolla was mentioned as being in Ga-

lena with Major Taliaferro and his Indian delegation on their return from Washington to St. Peter's.*

The following list of boats was mentioned as having been in the trade to and from Galena in 1837: Palmyra, Dubuque, Gipsy, Pavillion, Adventurer, Emerald, Missouri-Fulton, Envoy, Wyoming, Olive Branch, Science, Ariel, Cavalier, Heroine, Galena, Smelter, Lady Marshall, Irene, Alpha, Huntress, Rolla, Caledonia, and Burlington. Boats lost during the season were the Dubuque, Rolla, Emerald, and Heroine:

1838.

The steamboat Brazil, Capt. Orren Smith, arrived in Galena April 4th. The Gipsy was advertised for St. Peter's; and the Ariel arrived from St. Peter's. The Pizarro, Capt. R. S. Harris, a new boat 133 feet long and 20 feet beam, 144 tons, arrived.

1839.

The Glaucus, Rosalie and Pizarro were advertised for the Galena and St. Louis trade. The steamboat Brazil was advertised for a pleasure trip to St. Peter's July 21st; and the steamboat Pike was on her way to St. Peter's with troops September 3d.

1840.

The steamboats Elba, Ione, Quincy, and Pike, are mentioned. The Annie was noted as on her way to St. Peter's April 1st; also the Omega. The following boats were advertised to make pleasure trips to St. Peter's during the summer, viz.: Loyal Hanna, Malta, Valley Forge, Ione, and Brazil. The Indian Queen, Capt. Saltmarsh, was in the trade this season.

1841.

The following steamboats were advertised or otherwise mentioned: the Otter, Capt. Harris; Sarah Ann, Capt. Laferty; Chippewa, Capt. Griffith; Illinois, Capt. McAllister; Muscoda, Capt. J. H. Lusk; and Rock River, Capt. Agostin Haraszthy. This last named captain was a Hungarian count and exile.

The steamboat Brazil was sunk on the Rock Island chain, in the upper rapids, being a total loss.

*This name was applied to the trading post on the site of the present village of Mendota, at the southeast side of the mouth of St. Peter's (Minnesota) river, opposite to Fort Snelling.

1842.

The New Brazil, Capt. O. Smith, arrived September 24th. She was 160 feet long, and 23 feet beam. The following boats were in the trade this year: Amaranth, Capt. G. W. Atchison; Osprey, Capt. N. W. Parker; Ione, Capt. Le Roy Dodge; Ohio, Capt. Mark Atchison; Iowa, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; and the General Brooke, Capt. Throckmorton. The last returned from a trip to St. Peter's May 26th. The Otter, Capt. Harris, and the Rock River, ran between Galena and St. Peter's during the season.

1843.

The steamer Chippewa came down from St. Peter's May 2d; the New Brazil June 5th; and the General Brooke, Jasper, and Otter always ran to St. Peter's during the season. There must have been other boats, but I have not been able to find trace of them. These boats ran to St. Peter's seven trips in the season.

1844.

The boats advertised for St. Peter's in 1844 were the Hibernia, Lewis F. Lynn, Capt. S. M. Kennet; Lynx, Capt. W. H. Hooper; Mendota, Capt. Robert A. Riley; and St. Croix, Capt. Hiram Bersie. The Otter, Capt. Harris, was run in the Galena and St. Peter's trade during the season; also the Rock River, Capt. Agostin Haraszthy.

1845.

The following steamboats plied from Galena on the upper part of the river: Uncle Tobey, Capt. Cole; Lynx, Capt. John Atchison; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; St. Croix, Capt. Hiram Bersie; Iowa, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; Cecilia, Capt. Throckmorton; and St. Anthony, Capt. A. C. Montfort.

1846.

During this year I find mention of the Atlas, Capt. Robert A. Riley; Prairie Bird, Capt. Nick Wall; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Falcon, Capt. Le Grand Morehouse; Cora, Capt. Throckmorton; Argo, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick; Monona, Capt. E. H. Gleim; Raritan, Capt. Rogers; and the Otter, Capt. Harris. During the season there were twenty-four arrivals in Galena.

1847.

The Argo, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, advertised as a regular packet for the season from Galena to St. Peter's, Fort Snelling,

and Stillwater. I was clerk on this boat from June 8th until she sunk in the fall.

Other steamboats running this year were the War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Dubuque, Capt. E. H. Beebe; Time and Tide, Capt. E. W. Gould; Lynx, Capt. John Atchison; Senator, Capt. McCoy; and the Bon Accord, Capt. H. Bersie. These six boats were advertised from St. Louis to St. Peter's and Fort Snelling.

1848.

The Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, was a Galena and St. Paul packet. This was the first boat of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Her owners were Campbell and Smith, Henry Corwith, H. L. Dousmam, Brisbois & Rice, H. H. Sibley, M. W. Lodwick, and R. Blakeley. The other boats in the trade were the Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison; Senator, Capt. D. S. Harris; Alex. Hamilton, Capt. W. H. Hooper; and Anthony Wayne, Capt. Dan Able. I am almost certain that Capt. Throckmorton ran the Cora in the trade some part of the season; and I think there were others that I have not been able to trace.

RIVALRY BEGUN IN 1848.

This season commenced a contest that made the steamboat business lively, if not profitable, between Galena and St. Paul, for several years. The Harris brothers had sold the Otter, and Capt. D. S. Harris was running the War Eagle to St. Louis, but claimed to be in the trade from Galena to St. Paul. In the winter after the Argo was sunk (in the fall of 1847), Capt. M. W. Lodwick and the present writer went around to the Ohio and bought the Dr. Franklin, a new and very nice boat, to take the place of the Argo between Galena and St. Paul. The Harris brothers sold the War Eagle and bought the Senator, in hopes that they would have the best boat in the trade; but when the Dr. Franklin arrived they found they had reckoned without their host, and the Senator was run from St. Louis to St. Paul until the fall trade commenced. They turned in from Galena to St. Paul and so continued to the close of the season, and quite an opposition grew up between the different parties; but after consultation it was arranged that the Dr. Franklin owners should buy the Senator, with the understanding that the Harrises would go out of the trade and all feeling would subside. During the winter, however, Congress passed

the bill to organize the Territory of Minnesota, which, of course, changed the face of things very much. The future prospect for steamboat trade was a little too much for the retiring party, as appeared by D. S. Harris' going around to the Ohio, where he bought the Dr. Franklin No. 2, which had been built by Capt. John McClure, of whom we had bought the "Old Doctor," as our boat was now called. The No. 2 was the better boat; but the "Old Doctor" had made too many friends during the season to be an easy party to drive.

Capt. Orren Smith, who was a brother-in-law of D. S. Harris, had taken charge of the Senator, and the No. 2 seemed to delight in annoying the Senator during the season of 1849. But Capt. Smith went around to the Ohio, and in the spring of 1850 returned with the Nominee, which was so much faster than the No. 2 that she went into the St. Louis trade. The situation had become interesting, as the emigration constantly increased to Minnesota and Wisconsin. The Harrises had been raised in Galena and were always popular, and through sympathy their friends naturally sided with them. D. S. and R. S. Harris had begun steamboating as soon as Smith Harris was old enough to turn a wheel as pilot, and Scribe to be an engineer. Both these boys were with Capt. David G. Bates on the steamboat Galena in 1829. They commenced building steamboats in 1832, when they built the Jo Davis. They had built afterward the Relief, Frontier, Smelter, Pizarro, Pre-emption, and Otter, and they owned the War Eagle, when in 1848 they felt that they were being driven off the river by a powerful combination; and the end was not yet.

INCIDENTS IN THE REMOVAL OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

My interest in the Packet Company has led me to forget that there were other matters of historical character that belong to the year 1848. Our old acquaintances, the "Gens de Mer" Winnebagoes, whom we found at the south end of Green Bay in 1654-5, as related in the early part of this paper, again claim our attention. After several changes of domicile, they are again about to seek a new home in Minnesota on a new reservation at Long Prairie. In the summer of 1848 their agent, Gen. J. E. Fletcher, and the other assistants, with the troops from Fort Atkinson, started on this arduous enterprise. Among others interested in this change of base of the Winnebagoes, I remember H. M. Rice, David Olmsted, E. A. C.

Hatch, S. B. Lowry, John Haney, Jr., N. Myrick, Richard Chute, George Culver, and, last but not least, their venerable missionary, Rev. David Lowry, together with many other employees not now recollected.

The bands were divided; part came down the Turkey river in their canoes, and part started by land with the teams of the agent and the ponies of the Indians. The point of rendezvous was at the Wabashaw prairie, where Winona now stands. The tribulations of all parties in making this journey had about exhausted all their physical strength, as well as the patience of all concerned; and when they were again joined at the prairie, the Indians refused to move another foot. The Indians had camped at the south end of the prairie in the timber, in order to have wood handy, and to have a shade over their lodges. The agent, soldiers, and all other parties engaged in this enterprise, made their camp on the highest point of the prairie, south of the present town, where the writer first made the acquaintance of the noted Winnebagoes. The trouble continued to increase rather than to abate. The Winnebagoes had for many years hunted in the bottoms of the Mississippi river to the east and south of them; and the new move was leaving the last of their old hunting grounds.

After the agent had nearly despaired of success, the only alternative left was to send to Capt. Eastman at Fort Snelling for additional troops, which, with a six-pounder, were sent under the command of Lieut. Hall, to see whether he could encourage the fellows to go. In canvassing the situation, Lieut. Hall became suspicious that the chief, Wabasha, whose village was just above the prairie upon the Rolling Stone creek, had in some way encouraged the Winnebagoes not to go. He arrested Wabasha and brought him on board the Dr. Franklin, and chained him to one of the stanchions of the boat on the boiler deck, evidently with the intention of frightening him; but after a short time he thought better of it, and released him. This was regarded as a great outrage to this proud chief, and it was not regarded in favorable light by those having charge of the Winnebagoes, who numbered over two thousand souls, besides Wabasha's band; but it finally passed without trouble. All the men in charge of the Indians were constantly urging them to consent to the removal, and talks were almost of daily occurrence, which would always end in Commissary Lieut. J. H. McKenny's sending down to the camp more

flour, sugar, meat and coffee, realizing that when their stomachs were full they were more peaceable.

One morning the troops, agent, and all in charge, were astounded to find the Indian camp deserted; not an Indian, dog or pony was left. The canoes that had brought part of them were gone as well. Everything in camp that could hunt was started to find them. The Dr. Franklin was sent down the river to overtake them if they had gone in that direction, and I think it was three days before they were found. They had taken their canoes and gone down the river to the mouth of the Slough, and thence had gone over into Wisconsin and were comfortably encamped on the islands and shores of the river, but were nearly starved. They promised to return to their camp the next day in their canoes. About ten o'clock the next day those on watch saw them coming out of the head of the Slough some three miles above the steamboat landing. It was one of our beautiful summer mornings, with not a ripple on the water; and when these two thousand men, women, children, and dogs, passed down, floating without even using a paddle, except to keep in the stream, all dressed in their best, they presented such a picture as I have not seen equaled since. They were disposed to show themselves at their best. Lieut. McKenny met them at their camp with provisions, and the old *status quo* was reestablished.

The chiefs had said in their talks that they were afraid that the Sioux would not be willing to have them move into their country or their vicinity, and that there would be trouble. In order to remove this impression, it was proposed to have the chiefs of the Sioux bands brought down to the camp to meet them in council, to which they consented. The Dr. Franklin was sent up to bring the chiefs from the upper villages for that purpose. Those from Little Six village were brought to St. Paul, and probably some from the villages above; and there they were fitted out with entirely new suits of clothes from head to foot, each one consisting of a blue frock coat, leggins and moccasins, silk plug hat, white ruffled shirt, and a small American flag for each chief. The Little Crow, Red Wing, and Wabasha bands were all represented at this council.

On the day appointed for holding the council there was another display of Indian pomp and ceremony, which those of us unused to Indian ways were not prepared for. The council was held at the camp of the agent on the prairie, and at the

hour appointed for the meeting of the council, the whole band of the Winnebagoes was seen coming up from their camp mounted upon their ponies and dressed in their best; they advanced in deployed lines extending for many rods from the center of line and led by their head chief Winneshiek, supported by other noted men of the band on the right and left. As they approached the council ground, the chiefs dismounted from their horses and advanced to take their places in the council prepared for them and their braves. After the chiefs had been received with becoming dignity by the agent and the Sioux chiefs, their braves closed up in a circle and took their places within hearing distance of what should be said on this, to them, very important occasion; and, as I know, a very anxious and uneasy body of men were in the camp of the agent and traders, as to the result of this council. It was too great an occasion to be disposed of in a hurry. My recollection is that it was several days before the Winnebagoes were willing to agree to go; but even Indians tire of talking, and eating must perforce have an end. The council was closed with a wedding, the Winnebagoes giving one of their beautiful maidens to some noted brave of the Sioux whose name I have forgotten. The presents that were given by the Winnebagoes to the bride were said to have been quite considerable. The women and children were carried on board our steamboat, the Dr. Franklin, and its barge, as they were ready.

There was another incident that may as well be told here. The Indians of the River bands of the Sioux had learned that the Argo in 1847 had become the property of their friends and traders, H. H. Sibley, H. L. Dousman, and Brisbois & Rice, and she was always welcomed with great cordiality whenever she landed at any of their villages. When she sunk in the fall of 1847, they naturally felt that our loss was theirs. It became known that we had bought the Dr. Franklin, called by them the *Great Medicine*, before that steamboat arrived. When she landed at Red Wing on her first trip, the traders sung out that the Great Medicine was coming. This cry raised everyone in the village, men, women, and children, and all rushed to the bank of the river and onto the boat, shouting "How! how! how!"

The Dr. Franklin had the first steam whistle that came up the river. It was placed just on top of the boiler under the cabin floor, and had an unearthly screech. After we had

landed the freight and I had finally got all the Indians ashore, except the chief Waucota, who was going up to Mendota, they all stood waiting to see her back out. Having on a pretty good head of steam, the temptation to have a little sport was too much for the engineer, Bill Myers. Just as he gave her a turn back on her wheels, he pulled the cord of the whistle, which gave a terrible screech, and instantly every Indian man, woman and child jumped, shed their blankets, and rushed for the top of the bank or some place to hide. As they did so all on the boat shouted with laughter. This was too much for the poor Indians; they had shown that they had been frightened, which was a reflection on their courage, and they felt that we had done it on purpose. The only possible way out of the dilemma was to serve all the villages alike. Then they could not laugh at one another, for all had been frightened. When we returned, the old chief Waucota explained the matter to them and restored their good humor again; but this story got out among the bands of the Minnesota river, and they rather had the laugh on those that had been frightened, until the summer of 1851, when the Dr. Franklin went up to Traverse des Sioux, to the Indian Treaty of that year. The camp of the Indians was upon the second rise or plateau, at some distance from the bank of the river; and it was some little time before the young Indians, and especially those from up the Minnesota, got down to the bank. As they did so the Indians of the Mississippi bands began to shout to me, and imitated the whistle, which some of them could do very well. I at once took the hint, and as I was standing with some of my lady passengers on the hurricane deck, looking at the great village of lodges, I stepped to the cord and gave the wild or Minnesota River boys a terrible salute, which scared them even worse than those they had made so much fun of. When I came down from the deck the young Indians that had called to me came, with Major Forbes, to thank me for the fright I had given the wild Indians, as they called them, and said that they were even now and it was all right.

THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

1849.

Some part of my record for 1848 should have been reserved for this year, and I may be pardoned for having outrun the current history, but will endeavor to follow the business of each

year under its proper head. The opening of navigation this year was of especial interest. On March 3rd, 1849, Congress had passed the act to organize the Territory of Minnesota, which was an assurance that immigration would be largely increased, and that law and order would be established; in other words, the country had now passed from an Indian to a civilized condition, a guarantee of progress.

The Galena and Minnesota Packet Company advertised the Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, and the Senator, Capt. Orren Smith, as regular packets from Galena to St. Paul for the season; and the Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison, and Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, for the St. Louis and St. Paul trade. Sometime in the season, about September, the Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris, made her appearance in the trade from Galena. I find mention of the steamboats Minnesota, R. A. Riley, and War Eagle, built at Pittsburgh for the St. Louis and St. Paul trade, but am not aware that they ever came into the river. There were other boats, no doubt, from St. Louis; but I do not find trace of them.

Gov. Alex. Ramsey and wife came up to St. Paul on the Dr. Franklin from Prairie du Chien the last week in May. I find mention of the arrival of Mrs. Col. Snelling by the Dr. Franklin on Oct. 25th, 1849. During this season our friends of the Winnebago nation managed to get away from their reservation and went down to the vicinity of La Crosse. The cholera broke out this summer and was bad on the lower river; but St. Paul, so far as I remember, entirely escaped.

1850.

Navigation opened April 19th (the Highland Mary and the Nominee arriving on the same day), and commenced with five boats in the trade, namely, the Nominee, Capt. O. Smith; Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris, from Galena to St. Paul; Highland Mary, Capt. John Atchison; and Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris. The Excelsior, Capt. James Ward, was advertised as a regular boat to St. Louis for the season. The Lamartine made several trips. The Highland Mary was withdrawn on the death of Capt. John Atchison, who died of cholera. The Tiger, Capt. Maxwell, made her appearance this season; she had the machinery of the Otter. The Anthony Wayne should also be mentioned, Capt. Dan Able. There were 2,100 barrels of cranberries

shipped from St. Paul this year. J. C. Burbank commenced his express business on the Nominee this season.

The Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. Harris, the Anthony Wayne, Capt. Dan Able, and the Lamartine, went up to near the falls of St. Anthony in the summer of 1850.

The Governor Ramsey commenced regular trips from St. Anthony to St. Cloud this summer. This steamboat was built by Capt. John Rollins. Her machinery was built in Bangor, Maine, and was brought to the Territory by way of New Orleans.

The Anthony Wayne and Yankee made the first trips up the Minnesota river this year.

Mr. H. M. Rice had contracted to return the Winnebagoes to their reservation; and the Dr. Franklin and Nominee gathered them up on their regular trips.

1851.

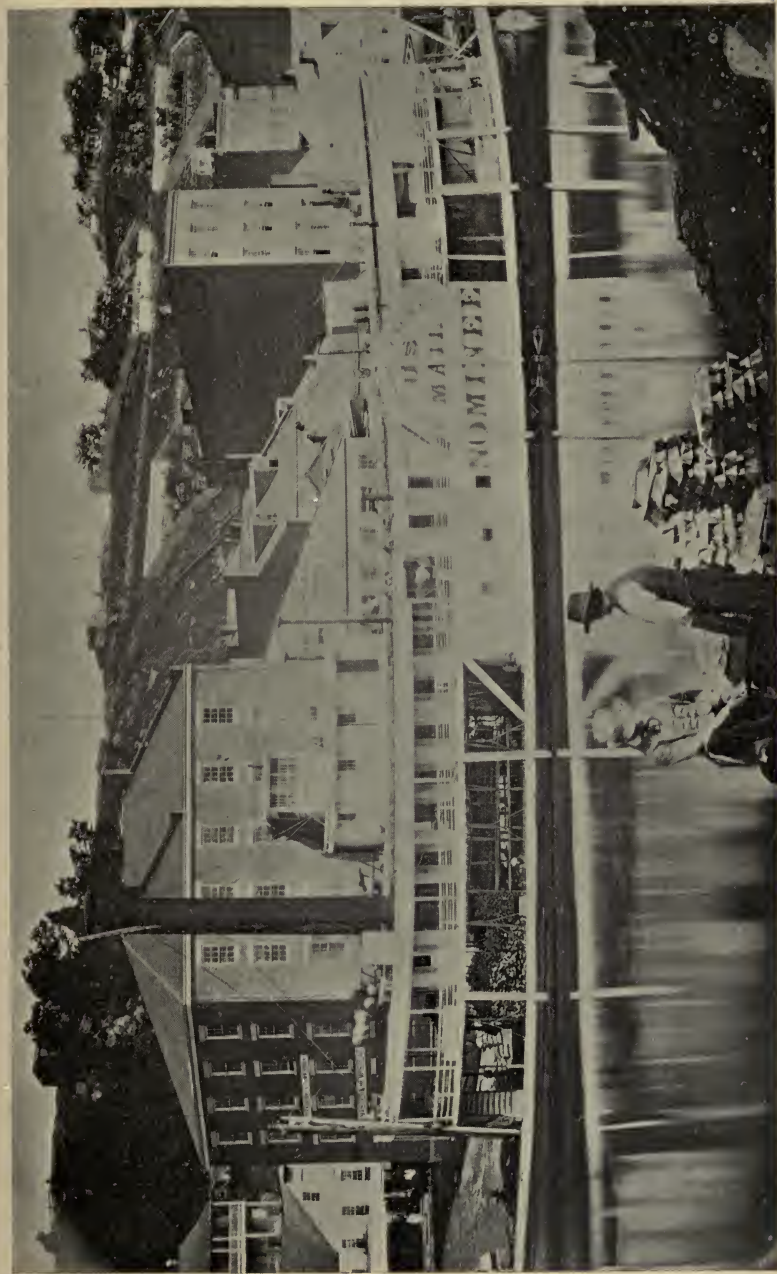
The season opened earlier than usual, the Nominee being the first boat, arriving April 4th. Capt. Smith was welcomed cordially. The first arrival had been a noted occasion, being the commencement of navigation. The following boats were advertised for the season, as packets from Galena: Dr. Franklin, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Nominee, Capt. O. Smith; and the Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris. The Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, and the Excelsior, Capt. J. Ward, were regular packets from St. Louis. The Uncle Toby, Capt. Cole, made several trips from St. Louis. The De Vernon, Robert Fulton, Minnesota, and Oswego were transient visitors.

The Indian treaty was made at Traverse des Sioux; and the Dr. Franklin took a large party of ladies and gentlemen up to the treaty grounds on July 21st.

Willoughby & Powers, and Patterson & Benson, ran stages from St. Paul to St. Anthony during the summer. Willoughby & Powers also ran stages to Stillwater this season.

1852.

Navigation opened in St. Paul April 16th. The Nominee, Capt. Smith, was welcomed by the hearty shouts of nearly all the men, women and children in town. This great outburst of feeling was on account of the season's being twelve days later than the year before; the patience of all was quite exhausted by the delay. The Galena and St. Paul packets were the Nominee, Capt. Orren Smith; Dr. Franklin, Capt. R.



STEAMBOAT NOMINEE.

AT GALENA, ON THE GALENA RIVER, LOOKING WEST.

Blakeley; the Caleb Cape, until the new boat should arrive, the Ben Campbell, Capt. M. W. Lodwick, to replace the Cape; and the Dr. Franklin No. 2, Capt. D. S. Harris, until the new St. Paul should arrive, when she was sold. The Black Hawk, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick, was bought by the Packet Company for low water; and the Greek Slave was bought by Capt. Louis Robert.

This season was expected to be a terror for opposition; but the Ben Campbell and the new St. Paul were both too slow and too deep in the water, and were therefore soon sold, both parties being supremely disgusted with the result. The Harrises and their friends, who had taken a hand with them, realized that something had to be done. Capt. Harris felt it was life or death now, and went around to the Ohio to buy a boat which would surely beat the Nominee. He soon returned with the West Newton and placed her alongside the Nominee, feeling sure he could beat her easily. This anticipation was not realized, and the difference was hardly apparent; but, to make things hot, they advertised to make two trips a week to St. Paul. By this time everybody on the river from Galena to St. Paul had taken sides in this fight, and after the close of navigation the friends of both parties insisted that there was enough for all in the trade, and that the fight must be compromised and the interest joined in a new organization. This was done in the winter of 1852-3, when the Galena & Minnesota Packet Company was founded, with Capt. Orren Smith as President, and J. R. Jones as Secretary.

IMMIGRANTS TO ROLLING STONE.

In the spring of 1852, on the first trip of the Dr. Franklin, a man came on board who wanted to pay his passage to Rolling Stone. George R. Melville, who was my clerk, and who was having his first experience on the river, looked at the list of landings so as to know what to charge him for his passage. He could not find the place on the list, and told him he would have to see the Captain, as he could not tell him the price of passage. It was very near the time for the boat to start and the passenger waited until I was at liberty, and finally said that my clerk did not know how much his fare would be to Rolling Stone. I looked at the man in rather an inquiring way, as if to ask if he had not made a mistake in the name; and as he said that was the right name, I replied that there was

no such place on the river. He evidently thought I was quizzing him, and with a look of disgust put his hand in his coat pocket and took out a large map of the town of Rolling Stone, upon which were represented several houses, a large hotel, a warehouse and dock, and the steamboat Dr. Franklin lying at the landing and putting out passengers and freight with the usual activity of such occasions. After he had exhibited his beautiful map with my own boat at the landing, he looked at me as though he thought it was time for me to apologize for my bad treatment. I at once acknowledged that I was surprised, and politely asked for an explanation, saying that I did not know any such place, and asked him to please be seated while I would try to see if I could recognize the town, further asking him to give me its history so that possibly I might recognize it.

He then told me that Mr. William Haddock had been out in the country the year before, and had made this selection for a colony which had been founded during the winter in the City of New York; that a crowd of men had gone out during the winter to build the hotel and the houses and dock and warehouse, as he had shown me on the map; that Mr. Haddock had assured him that the Dr. Franklin ran right by the place, and had told him to get on my boat, because I knew just where the town was and ran right by it every trip; and that he had come out early with a large lot of apple seed to plant a nursery. By questioning and guessing I finally located the town, or rather where it ought to be. I said that this was an Indian territory, and that the Government would not permit a settlement on the land; that the location, as I gauged it, was about three miles above Wabasha Prairie, and, as near as I could make out, it was the present home of Wabasha's band of the Sioux, and I thought possibly immigrants would get a warm reception; and that there was only one white man living within ten miles of the place, and there could not possibly be any such buildings as he described. He answered, "Why, you will find at least one hundred men, women, and children, waiting in Galena for the return of your boat, to come up to their future home!" I explained to him that the boat had been up the slough or channel adjoining that shore, looking for the Winnebago Indians in 1848, and had nearly had its chimneys knocked down by the overhanging trees.

When I went off watch, I said to the pilot that there was a man to be landed at Wabasha Prairie, as near to Johnson's claim as he could, and directed him to blow the whistle to wake Johnson, so that the man would have somebody to care for him. When I came on deck on my morning watch, I found my friend still on board, and asked him why he had not landed at the Prairie. He answered that he wanted to be landed at Rolling Stone, and kept on the boat until we came back from St. Paul.

On my return to Galena, I found, as he had told me, quite a large number of persons who wished to engage passage to Rolling Stone, well-to-do looking people, with much evidence of comfortable living at home. They had bought teams, wagons, and farm implements, provisions, and a general outfit, as they supposed they would want them. Some of the ladies had their canary birds and other family pets, and they were all as happy as anyone could wish to be. Mr. B. H. Campbell had said to them that Captain Blakeley knew all the river in the day or night, in answer to their questions about me and my boat; and no one asked a question, but all were anxious to go as soon as possible to their new and happy home. I was, as usual, very busy in port and did not ask any questions, as they appeared to be intelligent persons; and I supposed that possibly I might be mistaken, and might not quite understand the situation. The boat left late in the day, and when we left Dubuque it was quite dark, so that I was on my watch and did not have any talk with my passengers for the Rolling Stone colony.

After breakfast the next day, which was a fine day, almost all the ladies and gentlemen of my colony friends came on the hurricane deck to look at the country and river, and to make inquiries of the captain about their new home. After answering many of their questions, I began to ask some questions in turn. They made much the same answers as my apple seed friend of the last trip; and, as our mutual questions and answers were exchanged, they became somewhat interested in the discussion. I finally asked whether any of them were farmers. They said, "No!" they had always lived in New York City, and during the winter they had held meetings and had lectures on the subject of colonies in the West, and had founded this colony venture, which had some politics in it. One of their

watchwords was, "*Vote yourself a farm.*" They acknowledged that they did not know what they should find where they were going, or whether provision was made for their reception or not; but stated that a committee had gone out during the winter to make ready for them.

I then said that it was not possible that there had been any buildings built, as there were only two white men that lived within fifty miles of the place, and no lumber to build with could be obtained nearer than Black River Falls or the Chippewa river, all in Wisconsin; and that I was sure they would not have a place to put their families in out of the weather. I explained to them, as well as I could, what they would have to do; that they would be landed at Wabasha Prairie, about three or four miles from the Rolling Stone, where a Mr. Johnson had located a town site claim and had a little cabin big enough for himself, which he had built during the last fall; but that my advice to them all was to go to St. Paul, except that a committee should be left to see for themselves, who, when the boat returned, would tell them better what to do.

They were quite too enthusiastic to take advice; and all, or nearly all, landed on the bare prairie without a thing to protect them from the weather but the goods they landed. Other boats brought others to join the colony; and in all some three or four hundred persons must have landed for Rolling Stone. Not a house, nor the sign of a house, had been built; nor was there any provision for their protection. They got some lumber off the rafts as they came down from the Chippewa, and made a floor to lie down on, and made a kind of roof to shed the water from their goods and themselves. The men folks went up to the Rolling Stone, and some of them built sod houses or dug holes in the banks to shelter themselves from the sun and weather. Sickness attacked them; many died during the summer and fall; and when winter set in, the place had been almost entirely abandoned. Some part of the suffering of this unfortunate people was told by Elder Ely, who lived in Winona; but I am not aware whether any part of his lecture is in print, and I have felt that this short story about an unfortunate experience in the early days of the immigration to Minnesota should have a record.

There were some other curious things of this colony. My recollection is that the village was to be laid out in a fanciful

manner, with a large greenhouse, a large lecture hall, and a library; and that the colonists were each to have a house lot in the town, and each a farm laid out in the surrounding country; but I am not able to give a full and intelligent description at this day, because many of their projects as explained to me have passed from memory.

1853.

In the winter of 1852-3 the Senate had approved the amended Sioux Treaty of 1851. This information was scattered to the four corners of the United States, and on the opening of navigation in 1853 the usual rush to the new Indian purchase began. The Packet Company's boats for this season were the Nominee, Capt. R. Blakeley; Ben Campbell, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; West Newton, Capt. D. S. Harris; and the Dr. Franklin, Capt. P. Lodwick; with the Black Hawk, and possibly some others, for low water. The first boat of the season was the West Newton, April 11th.

This was quite a notable year to those interested in the location of river towns. Winona, Mount Vernon, Minneiska, Wabasha, Reed's Landing, Lake City, Red Wing, Hastings, and other towns not now remembered, made earnest appeals to the Packet Company to give their locations friendly and considerate attention. Reed's Landing had been started about 1850 to accommodate the Chippewa River lumbermen, who found the bottomlands on the Wisconsin side too low in high water seasons. The St. Louis boats paid us more attention this season, and the Minnesota river claimed the attention of immigrants.

The following is a list of the steamboats of the upper Mississippi river, with the number of arrivals of each at St. Paul during the season: The Nominee, 29; Dr. Franklin No. 2, 28; West Newton, 27; Greek Slave, 18; Black Hawk, 10; Shenandoah, 5; Grand Prairie, 3; Die Vernon, 1; Hindoo, 2; Humboldt, 11; Henrietta, 2; Iola, 5; Jennie Lind, 1; Asia, 12; Excelsior, 13; Luella, 7; and the Clarion, 23, the last being from the Minnesota river. There may have been others from the Minnesota river in this list. It will be noticed that the old Dr. Franklin does not appear in the list of arrivals made.

1854.

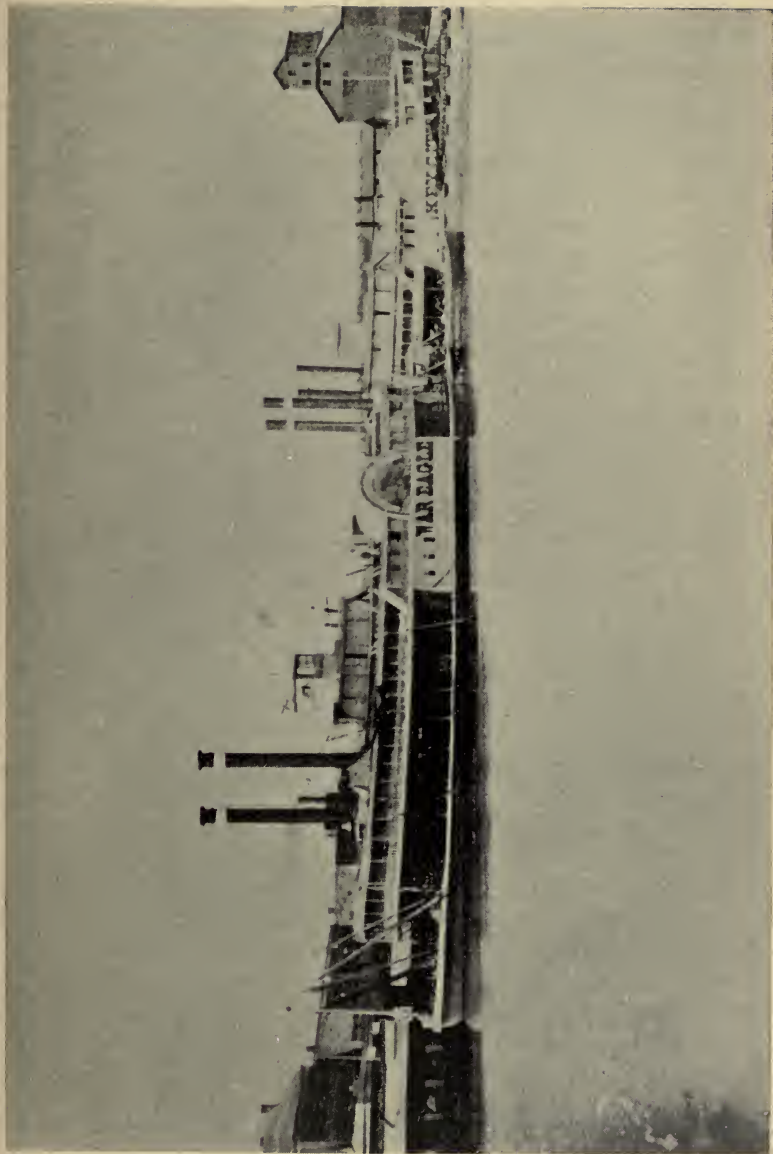
Mr. Henry W. Farnham, of the firm of Sheffield & Farnham, contractors for the construction of the Chicago & Rock Island

Railroad, asked some one of the Packet Company to visit Chicago at the annual meeting of the stockholders of that road in the winter, prepared to make some arrangement with them to furnish a line connection from Rock Island to Galena and upper river points, as the railroad would be finished early in the spring. I made the visit and concluded the arrangement for business as soon as their road should be completed.

While the conversation about the line to meet them progressed, it became known that we were building two new and very nice boats for business the next summer; and the inquiry was made, "Can you promise us the exclusive charter of one of these new boats to take ourselves, families, and friends, to St. Paul and back in pleasant high water season?" I replied, "Most certainly, at any time that suits your convenience, if you give us a week's notice." They promised to give notice in due time.

This season's opening was rather early, and the Nominee, Capt. Blakeley, arrived on April 8th. The Packet Company's boats for the season were the Nominee, Capt. R. Blakeley; War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. D. B. Morehouse; Royal Arch, Capt. E. H. Gleim; and the Dr. Franklin, Capt. P. Lodwick.

The new boats were very nice ones. The experience in building the Ben Campbell and New St. Paul was not lost in the plans for the new boats. Capt. M. W. Lodwick had sold his stock to Capt. D. B. Morehouse, an old steamboat man. I was the youngest boatman of the lot. Capt. Harris we knew. Capt. Morehouse had lived in Galena in an early day, and had been engaged in the New Orleans trade for some years. Capt. Gleim was a clerk on the steamboat Warrior with Capt. Throckmorton at the Battle of Bad Axe; and my first pilot, Capt. William White, was a pilot on her at the same time. Capt. Preston Lodwick, on the "Old Doctor," had become a very popular man in the season of 1853. I think I may say without challenge that the whole outfit of the Packet Company this season could not be beat in its general appearance anywhere on the western waters. Other steamboats plying to and from St. Paul this year were the Black Hawk, Capt. R. M. Spencer; Grey Cloud; Navigator, Capt. A. T. Champlin; Globe, Capt. Haycock; Greek Slave; Rebus; Black Hawk, Capt. O. H. Maxwell; Excelsior, Capt. T. Owens; New St. Paul, Capt.



STEAMBOAT WAR EAGLE.

AT LA CROSSE (IN THE SLOUGH), LOOKING EAST.

Bissell; Admiral, Capt. John Brooks; Minnesota Belle, Capt. Humbertson; Luella; Editor, Capt. Smith; Henrietta, Capt. C. B. Gall; Alice; Grand Prairie; Iola; Sangamon, Capt. R. M. Spencer; and probably some others that I cannot remember or find record of. Some of these boats ran up the Minnesota river, and some went down the Mississippi as far as to St. Louis.

Burris & Hartzel, of Point Douglas, shipped 2,000 bushels of wheat this year, the first shipment recorded.

EXCURSION OF EASTERN VISITORS.

Mr. Farnham gave us notice that the invited guests on the excursion would exceed the number contemplated, and asked us to be prepared to send two of our packets to take the party; but a little later he asked for another, and finally the number was increased to five boats.

Mr. George W. Moore, at the time one of the proprietors of the *Minnesotian*, published in this city, joined the fleet at La Crosse; and to him I am thankfully indebted for the following report, which was published in the daily *Minnesotian* Friday morning, June 9th, 1854.

According to the programme, about *twelve hundred* invited guests of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company assembled at Chicago, on Saturday evening last, to join in the excursion celebratory of the union of the Mississippi with the Atlantic. This immense concourse was passed over the Road on Monday, with a degree of order and regularity that all speak of in the highest degree of commendation. Arriving at Rock Island, the following steamers were in waiting to receive the guests:

Galena and St. Louis Packets.

Golden Era, Capt. Hiram Bersie; G. W. Sparhawk, Capt. Montreville Green; Lady Franklin, Capt. Legrand Morehouse.

Galena and Minnesota Packets.

War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. D. B. Morehouse.

On these magnificent packets, embarked about one thousand of the company; and at a given signal, bells were rung and whistles sounded, and then the curling waters of the Great River opened to receive the keels of vessels freighted with hundreds of the most distinguished men and women of the nation, who had never before set eye upon the rich beauties which nature has distributed so profusely over our mighty valley. The list of names which we annex shows that the character of the party is such as was never before assembled in one company in these United States. Eminent statesmen; world renowned jurists; the great and celebrated in science and divinity; the famous in art and let-

ters, and the leading men at the helm editorial, are mingled in social intercourse upon this grand occasion.

It was an unfortunate event that the weather proved somewhat unfavorable when the party was landed at Galena on Tuesday morning. Notwithstanding this drawback, the Galenians were on hand to receive the guests in a manner becoming the well-earned reputation of that enterprising city. An excursion was had to the mines, and at the boats addresses were made and happy responses received from Hon. Edward Bates of St. Louis, Ex-President Fillmore, and others. At Dubuque, the same interesting ceremonies took place.

At La Crosse, the boats landed in a driving rain storm from the north, which prevented the citizens from making such demonstration as they otherwise would have wished. Still, a large crowd was at the landing, and when the familiar visage of MILLARD FILLMORE appeared upon the deck of the Golden Era, there were universal and prolonged cheers from the assembled multitude on shore. But a brief stop was made here; and this was the last general call made at any point until the party arrived at St. Paul yesterday morning.

The boats reached our landing about eight o'clock in the morning. The display of the fleet in our river, upon rounding the point below the city, is represented by those who witnessed it from the shore as being grand beyond precedent. The five boats were so arranged that they approached in order as regular as though they were an armed squadron taking their position in line of battle. Two full bands of music were on board, both of which struck up lively airs as the boats neared the landing. This, with the rays of the bright June sun which broke forth in all his glory after three days' storm; the animation of the company on board the boats, and the enthusiasm of the assembled hundreds on shore and on the decks of the Admiral, then lying at the landing, produced a scene of excitement which St. Paul has never before witnessed, and perhaps will not again for many years.

Unfortunately, the fast railroad time of Sheffield & Farnham, on this, as on the occasion of all enterprises in which they engage, was somewhat ahead of their neighbors and contemporaries. The citizens of St. Paul were not expecting the arrival until twenty-four hours later. Consequently, no such arrangements were consummated to receive their guests as had been planned and were in process of execution. But nevertheless, they did the best they could under the circumstances; and we hope the degree of attention so promptly displayed upon the spur of the moment has been satisfactory to the distinguished company.

Many of the party—a large majority, we believe—visited the Falls of St. Anthony and Fort Snelling, and returned highly delighted with the excursion. Throughout, the excursion has been one scene of uninterrupted pleasure and delight to all who have participated in it. To the personal attentions of Mr. Farnham and his amiable lady, and to those of Col. Mix [passenger agent of the railroad], and the officers of the several steamers, we feel authorized to say all are ready to bear grateful testimony. All are in ecstasies of delight with the country, the

scenery, and the grandeur of the occasion. In mingling freely among the vast company, we failed to see a soured visage or hear a complaining remark. To the projectors and executors of this more than regal fete, the Northwest, and the individuals who composed the party, owe a debt of heartfelt gratefulness which can never be repaid.

We will not attempt to-day to narrate the many pleasing and agreeable incidents of this occasion. Below we give the names of such of the distinguished guests as we were enabled to collect while the boats were passing from La Crosse to St. Paul. Many, in all probability, who equally deserve a place in this record, have been inadvertently omitted. In the company are about two hundred ladies, the wives, daughters and friends of the male guests. Among them, we notice the name of Miss CATHARINE M. SEDGWICK, and others, not unknown to fame in the literary world. But we must close our account for to-day, and finish up full particulars hereafter.

In the company that is thronging our streets as we write, are the following gentlemen:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Hon. Edward Bates, of Missouri. | James Brewster, Esq., New Haven. |
| Hon. Millard Fillmore, Ex-Pres't
U. S. | Hon. Alva Hunt, N. Y. |
| Hon. N. K. Hall, [Ex-P. M. Gen-
eral, Buffalo,] N. Y. | Rufus H. King, Albany. |
| Gov. Mattison, of Illinois. | Frank Townsend, Albany. |
| Gen. John A. Granger, Canandaig-
ua, N. Y. | Hon. John C. Wright, Schenectady. |
| Hon. John A. Rockwell, Ct. | Mr. Cassey, New York. |
| Hon. Geo. A. Babcock, Buffalo, N. Y. | Mr. C. P. Williams, Stonington,
Conn. |
| Hon. John R. Bartlett, Providence,
R. I. | V. P. Down, Albany. |
| Hon. John A. Dix, New York. | H. T. Tuckerman, Boston. |
| Hon. George Bancroft, of Boston. | N. C. Ely, New York. |
| Hon. N. Edwards, of Illinois. | E. H. Tracy, New York. |
| Francis P. Blair, Esq., Maryland. | W. Chauncey, Ex-Mayor, New York. |
| Francis P. Blair, Jr., Esq., St. Louis. | A. J. Clarkson, St. Lawrence Co.,
N. Y. |
| Elbridge Gerry, N. Y. | J. Pall, New York. |
| Rev. Dr. Bacon, New Haven, Ct. | S. Frothingham, New York. |
| Rev. Mr. Pitkin, New Haven, Ct. | Judge Oakley, New York. |
| Rev. Mr. Littlejohn, New Haven, Ct. | A. S. Murray, Esq., Orange Co.,
N. Y. |
| Prof. B. Silliman, Sr., Yale College,
Ct. | Col. Abel, Albany, N. Y. |
| Rev. Dr. Fitch, Yale College. | Rev. Dr. Spring, New York. |
| Prof. A. C. Twining, New Haven. | Rev. Dr. Kennedy, Albany. |
| Prof. Hubbard, Dartmouth College,
N. H. | Rev. Dr. Vermilliyee, New York. |
| J. J. Phelps, Esq., New York. | Charles B. Sines, New Haven. |
| Hon. C. J. M'Curdy, Conn. | Judge Wood, New Haven. |
| Gov. Roger S. Baldwin, Conn. | Judge Parker, Albany. |
| Hon. D. B. St. John, Albany, N. Y. | Judge S. O. Phelps, Conn. |
| | J. F. Kennett, artist, New York. |
| | Capt. Goodrich, New Haven. |
| | Robt. B. Minturn, New York. |

Mr. Bogart, New York.
 Wm. Higgins, Liverpool, Eng.
 Col. Wm. Davenport, late U. S. A.,
 Philadelphia.
 Judge Parker, Prof. of Law, Har-
 vard University.
 Hon. A. C. Flagg, Late Comp-
 troller, N. Y.
 Moses Kimball, Esq., Boston .
 Rev. Messrs. Curtis, Eggleston,
 Clarkson, and Sheply, of Chicago.
 H. W. Farnham, of Chicago &
 Rock Island Railroad.
 Col. Mix, of Chicago & Rock Island
 Railroad.
 Mr. Cook, firm of Cook & Sargent,
 Davenport, Iowa.
 Judge Grant, Davenport, Iowa.
 John C. Hamilton, N. Y.
 Thos. W. Gale, N. Y.
 Nicholas Dean, N. Y.
 W. C. Redfield, N. Y.
 John Howe, N. J.
 John Bloom, Washington Hollow,
 N. Y.

Capt. Orren Smith, President of
 Galena & Minnesota Packet Co.
 Judge Gale, La Crosse, Wis.
 John H. Kinzie, Chicago.
 Robt. S. Hilton, Albany.
 Benj. M. Hutchinson, Rome, N. Y.
 F. F. Marling, N. Y.
 John P. Jervis, N. Y.
 Dr. J. T. Warner, N. Y.
 H. G. Bronson, N. Y.
 W. S. Herriman, N. Y.
 John J. Mason, N. Y.
 Chas. Stebbins, Jr., Cazenovia, N. Y.
 J. Phillips, Phœnix.
 M. Van Schaick, N. Y.
 Hon. E. W. Hamlin, Wayne Co., Pa.
 S. S. Smith, New York.
 A. M. Knapp, New York.
 J. H. Ten Eyck, New York.
 Wm. D. Bliss, New York.
 Samuel J. Tilden, New York.
 Capt. Scribe [R. S.] Harris, Ga-
 lena, Ill.
 Capt. H. H. Gear, Galena.
 O. C. Harris, Waterville, N. Y.

EDITORS.

Col. Fuller, New York Mirror.
 George H. Andrews, N. Y. Cou-
 rier and Enquirer.
 H. L. Tobey, Kingston Journal,
 N. Y.
 E. Evans, Buffalo Democrat.
 Charles Hudson, Boston Atlas.
 Charles A. Dana, New York Tri-
 bune.
 Epes Sargent, late of Boston Tran-
 script.
 S. Bowles, Springfield (Mass.) Re-
 publican.
 A. H. Bullock, Worcester Ægis.
 J. H. Sanford, New York Journal
 of Commerce.
 N. W. T. Root, New Haven Reg-
 ister.
 James F. Babcock, New Haven
 Palladium.
 Joseph A. Woodward, New Haven
 Courier.

Carlton Edwards, Albany Express.
 Isaac Platt, Poughkeepsie Eagle.
 A. S. Pease, Poughkeepsie Tele-
 graph.
 Charles Hale, Boston Advertiser.
 A. P. Cummings, N. Y. Observer.
 W. C. Prime, N. Y. Journal of
 Commerce.
 D. E. Wagner, Rome Daily Senti-
 nel.
 John S. Boswell, Hartford Cou-
 rant.
 H. H. Van Dyck, Albany Atlas.
 Col. Wm. Schouler, Cincinnati Ga-
 zette.
 E. D. G. Prime, N. Y. Observer.
 Caleb Foot, Salem (Mass.) Gazette.
 Mr. Aiken, N. Y. Evening Post.
 A. S. Evans, Chicago Journal.
 John A. Bross, Chicago Dem.
 Press.
 Dr. Ray, Galena Jeffersonian.

F. A. Moore, Springfield (Ill.) Journal.	Lewis McIver, Utica Telegraph.
Col. Danforth, Rock Island Republican.	John Lockwood, Jr., N. Y. Home Journal.
Wm. Duane Wilson, Chicago Courant.	Ellis H. Roberts, Utica Herald.
Charles Welden, N. Y. Daily Times.	A. Fitch, N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.
	C. Cather Flint, Chicago Daily Tribune.

R. L. Wilson, editor of the Chicago Journal; Thurlow Weed, of the Albany Journal; and Hugh Hastings, of the Albany Knickerbocker, left the party for St. Louis, at Rock Island.

Capt. H. H. Gear made the speech of welcome at Galena, which was responded to by Ex-President Fillmore, N. K. Hall, Ex-Postmaster General, and Prof. Silliman of Yale College. Speeches were made from the boats at Dubuque by Ex-President Fillmore, Hon. Edward Bates, Judge Parker, General Lawrence, Rev. Dr. Bacon of New Haven, Charles Hudson of the Boston Atlas, A. T. A. Davis of the New York Tribune, Gen. John A. Dix, and Mr. Black of St. Louis. The response was by Mr. Samuels, in most felicitous terms.

When the boats were under way they were at times lashed together in order to make things more pleasant with music and dancing. Boats went to Mendota and returned at seven o'clock P. M. Citizens had made preparations for a reception at the Capitol, which was to have come off Friday evening; but by the exertions of the committees which had been appointed by the citizens, and especially by the efforts of Gov. Gorman, W. G. Le Duc, and Col. Mix of the Rock Island Railroad, the preparations were nicely completed for Thursday evening. By eight o'clock a large portion of the visitors had assembled at the Capitol, and Gov. Gorman happily presented Ex-President Fillmore to the citizens of Minnesota, and Hon. H. H. Sibley greeted the distinguished party with a hearty welcome. The Ex-President, Hon. George Bancroft, and others, responded in hearty thanks for this kind reception, highly complimented the country, and rapturously extolled the magnificent scenery on the river as they had seen it in their coming on the beautiful boats in which they had been so regally cared for. After the ceremony of the reception was over, the people of the cities of St. Paul and St. Anthony were severally presented to the guests; and with all their ability the ladies and gentlemen vied with each other in doing honor

to their guests until nearly eleven o'clock, when the party proceeded to the boats. They were accompanied to the river by our citizens *en masse*, who, on the departure of the excursionists, gave them all a good-bye and their ardent hopes for their safe arrival home.

The writer may be indulged in a reflection or two on the completion of this great event for Minnesota. As has been mentioned, the expectation of both parties in the arrangements for this excursion contemplated the accommodation of probably not more than two hundred persons at most; but the responses to the invitations of Mr. Farnham came in with thanks, and permission was also asked for the friends of those who were complimented to go with them. Many, as a matter of course, did not know whether they could go or not until near the time to start. It was quite easy for the railroad company to find the cars to take them over the road from Chicago; but where were the boats to come from to accommodate such a host of ladies and gentlemen in comfort, and with credit to the occasion? My own boat, with of course myself, was up the river, and I did not know what a rush had been made to respond to the anxious request of Mr. Farnham. I arrived in Galena only a very short time after the excursion, when I learned of the grand success that had attended the effort to accommodate this host of the most noted ladies and gentlemen of the nation, with five of the best boats on the river between St. Louis and St. Paul, under the care of the most experienced captains and crews in the trade. You may well believe, but you cannot realize, my feeling of relief to find this distinguished party in the hands of men so capable, and on board boats that I knew would not only carry and return them safe, but in the greatest comfort then known to steamboat travel on the Mississippi river. It was said at the time that this was an advertising dodge to influence immigration. There is no truth in such a supposition, but the success of this visit and the character of the people, especially the editors of the daily press of the country, did more than the best laid plan for advertising the country that has ever been made since. It cost nothing, but the great papers of the day and the magazines of the country were all full of the most laudatory literature in relation to the country, the scenery on the river, and the pleasure and comfort of the journey. Good results came back to us in a thou-

sand ways and for many years, as immigration commenced to turn its attention to Minnesota.

1855.

Navigation was opened to St. Paul April 17th, by the arrival of the War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris. The following were the Galena & Minnesota Packet Company's boats:

War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. R. Blakeley; Golden Era, Capt. J. W. Parker; Lady Franklin, Capt. J. H. Malone; Greek Slave; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Royal Arch, Capt. E. H. Gleim; and Alhambra, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Fanny Harris, Capt. Jones Worden, commenced running from Dubuque and was the beginning of the Dubuque line of boats.

The Falls City made her appearance in June, having been built by our St. Anthony friends to prove that the Falls was the head of navigation. She was a stern-wheel boat, 155 feet long, 27 feet beam, with three boilers, and was commanded by Capt. Gilbert.

This was a very low water season for most of the year; and it seemed as though all the light draft and stern-wheel boats of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers had come to St. Paul. The immigration that was now in full tide to the new lands west of the river in the Sioux purchase was becoming widely known, and the rush made for choice homes kept everybody busy.

The following was the list of boats in the trade this season, as complete as I can trace them: War Eagle, Galena, Lady Franklin, Golden Era, City Belle, Greek Slave, Royal Arch, Alhambra, Minnesota Belle, J. B. Gordon, Time and Tide, Kate Cassel, Black Hawk, Luella, Hamburg, Julia Dean, York State, Berlin, Globe, Dan Canouse, Henrietta, Navigator, Clarion, Fanny Harris, Equator, Reville, Excelsior, Oakland, Falls City, Audubon, Latrobe, Laclede, Badger State, Regulator, Fire Canoe, Dubuque, Montellis, Vienna, New St. Paul, Parthenia, Conewago, Editor, Ben Bolt, G. W. Sparhawk, Prairie State, Jas. Lyon, A. G. Mason, Kentucky No. 2, Montauk, Grey Cloud, Sam Gaty, Ben West, Belle, Golden Prairie, Rose, Flora, H. M. Rice, Twin City, H. T. Yeatman, Adelia, Gossamer, Osceola, Col. Morgan, Gipsy, Shenandoah, H. S. Allen, Iola.

The number of boats was thus sixty-eight. The number of arrivals from Galena was 300; from St. Louis and the Ohio,

120; and from the Minnesota river, 143. The total number of steamboat arrivals at St. Paul was thus-563.

The Illinois Central Railroad was finished to Dunleith in the summer, and the present writer was appointed agent and traffic manager for this railroad at Dunleith in the fall of 1855.

1856.

Navigation was opened April 18th by the steamboat Lady Franklin, Capt. M. E. Lucas. The Galena, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, of which Capt. Orren Smith was President, and J. R. Jones, Secretary, ran the following boats: War Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Galena, Capt. Kennedy Lodwick; Northern Belle, Capt. Preston Lodwick; Golden Era, Capt. J. W. Parker; Lady Franklin, Capt. M. E. Lucas; Ocean Wave, Capt. E. H. Gleim; City Belle, Capt. A. T. Champlin; Granite State, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; and Alhambra, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company ran the following boats: Fanny Harris, Capt. J. Worden; Excelsior, Capt. Kingman; Kate Cassel, Capt. S. Harlow; Flora; and Wyandotte, Capt. Pierce.

The Northern Belle was a very nice boat built at Cincinnati under the supervision of Capt. Lodwick, and was especially well adapted to the trade, being 226 feet long, 29 feet beam, beautifully finished, and of very light draught. She became a very popular boat.

Mr. E. H. Johnson, a man whom Capt. Orren Smith landed at Winona, as they called their new town, in the fall of 1851, to make a claim for himself and one for Capt. Smith, both at the expense of Capt. Orren Smith, had by this time become dissatisfied with the captain and thought it his duty to buy a steamboat to run against the old Packet Company, and in that way return some of the money he had made by Capt. Smith's assistance, seeing meanwhile whether he could break the Packet Company. By the advice of some one who was anxious to run a boat at somebody's else expense, he bought the Tishemingo, which had a pretty good reputation for speed, and she commenced a packet line from Winona to Galena; and after having lost the Packet Company some money, she was sold in Galena to pay her debts;—not a very profitable venture.



STEAMBOAT NORTHERN BELLE.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

The following is a list of boats run in the trade this season: Equator, Wave, Galena, Golden Era, Fanny Harris, City Belle, Northern Belle, Ocean Wave, Kate Cassel, Flora, Excelsior, Lady Franklin, Time and Tide, Alhambra, Ben Carson, War Eagle, Falls City, Clarion, Reville, H. T. Yeatman, Metropolitan, Berlin, Granite State, Hamburg, Laclede, Luella, Cone-wago, Jas. Lyon, Globe, Oakland, A. G. Mason, Minnesota Belle, Lucy May, Arcola, Mansfield, Thos. Scott, Royal Arch, Golden State, Jacob Trabor, York State, Editor, H. S. Allen, Matte Wayne, Sam Young, Rochester, Montauk, Greek Slave, Ben Bolt, Gipsy, Fairy Queen, John P. Luce, White Bluff, Des Moines Valley, Violet, Minnesota Valley, Diomed, New St. Croix, Forest Rose, Fire Canoe, Brazil, Gossamer, Badger State, Henrietta, Grace Darling, Tishemingo, America, Julia Dean, Atlantic, Delegate, St. Louis, Henry Graff, Carrier, Bongo, W. G. Woodside, Chart, Vienna, New York. The whole number of boats was seventy-nine; and the number of arrivals at St. Paul, 759.

Capt. E. H. Gleim died at the De Soto House in Galena early in the season this year. He was a very popular boatman and an estimable gentleman.

1857.

Navigation opened May 1st, the latest date ever known up to this time, the first arrival being the Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton.

The great activity of the steamboating during the years 1855 and 1856, and the promise of immediate railroad connections at Prairie du Chien this season, the reputation which the Territory had acquired for its climate and fertility of soil, and the commerce that had grown up so fast between Galena, Dubuque, and the upper Mississippi, so stimulated everybody connected with it that the Galena, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, realizing that more new boats would be necessary to control the trade, resolved to build three larger and nicer boats to meet the trade of 1857. Capt. Orren Smith went to Ohio in the fall of 1856, and contracted for the construction of the Grey Eagle, Milwaukee, and Northern Light. Almost at the same time the Dubuque and Minnesota Packet Company made its appearance on the Ohio to build two new boats as well. Each company had supposed that it was the only one to have new boats in the spring of 1857. The mutual

discovery that each of the companies was building large and expensive boats put a damper on the outlook for the coming season's business, and resulted in a reorganization of the Galena Company under the name of the Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, with Capt. Orren Smith, President; J. P. Farley, Vice President; J. R. Jones, Secretary; and Capt. R. Blakeley, General Agent at Dunleith. All the boats were transferred to the new company.

The following is the description of the five new boats: Grey Eagle, 250 feet long, 35 feet beam; Milwaukee, 240 feet long, 33 feet beam; Northern Light, 240 feet long, 40 feet beam; Itasca, 230 feet long, 35 feet beam; and Key City, 230 feet long, 35 feet beam. Their tonnage measurement was from 350 to over 400 tons each, and no better boats were ever built for the upper river.

The business season commenced with the following boats and officers: Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Itasca, Capt. D. Whitten; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; War Eagle, Capt. Kingman; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Ocean Wave; Granite State, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Fanny Harris, Capt. Anderson; and Alhambra, Capt. McGowen.

When the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railroad was ready for business, the Milwaukee, Capt. S. Hewett, the Itasca, Capt. D. Whitten, and the Ocean Wave, were assigned as the packets for that line; and for the Galena, Dubuque & Dunleith line, the following steamboats: Grey Eagle, Capt. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Key City, Capt. Worden; War Eagle, Capt. Kingman; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; City Belle, Capt. K. Lodwick; Granite State, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Golden Era, Capt. Scott; Golden State, Capt. S. Harlon; Fanny Harris, Capt. Anderson; and the Alhambra, Capt. McGowen. These boats made double daily lines from Galena, etc., some of them being special packets and others for freight.

The St. Louis and St. Paul steamboat men decided to divide the time between them so as to form a regular line to St. Paul. Prominent in this line were the following boats: Canada, Capt. James Ward; W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Metropolitan, Capt. T. B. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. Thomas B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H.



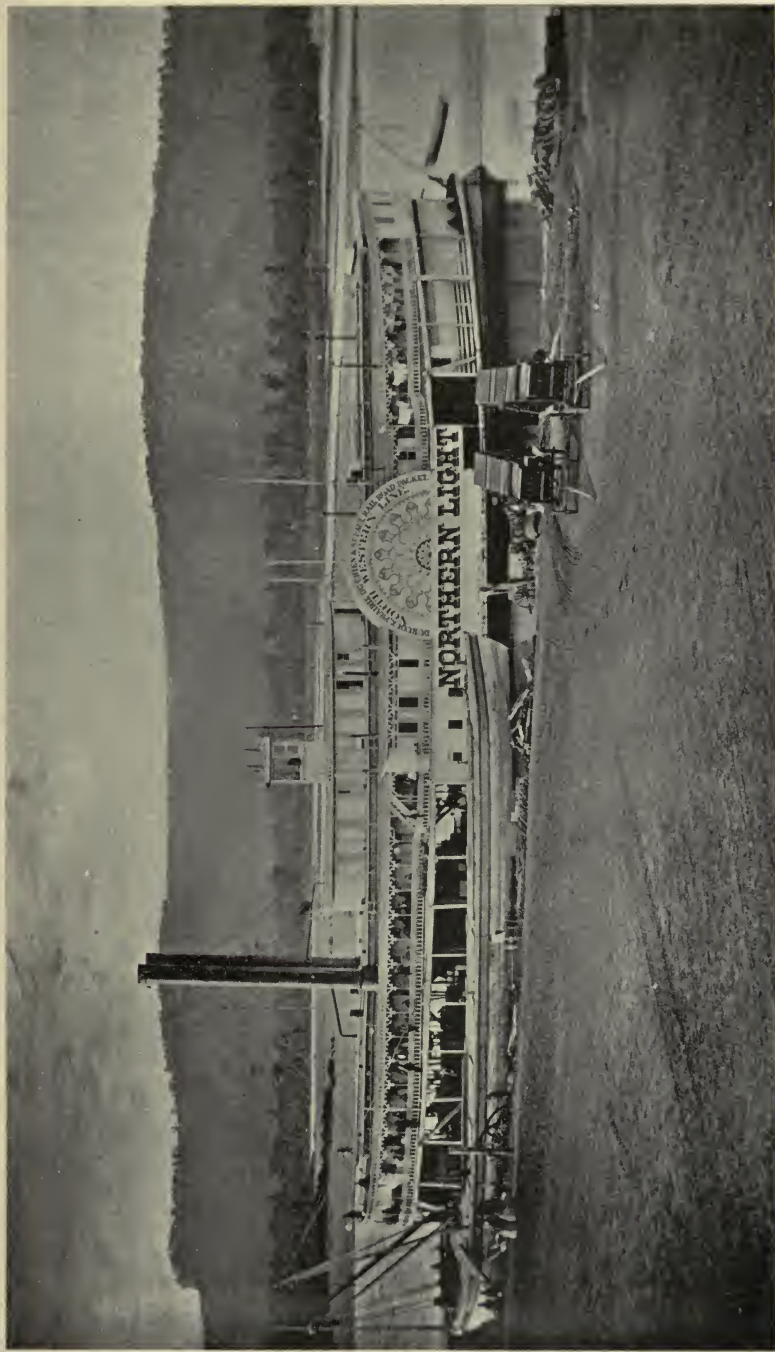
STEAMBOAT GREY EAGLE.

AT ST. PAUL, NEAR (CLOSE ABOVE) JACKSON STREET, LOOKING SOUTH.



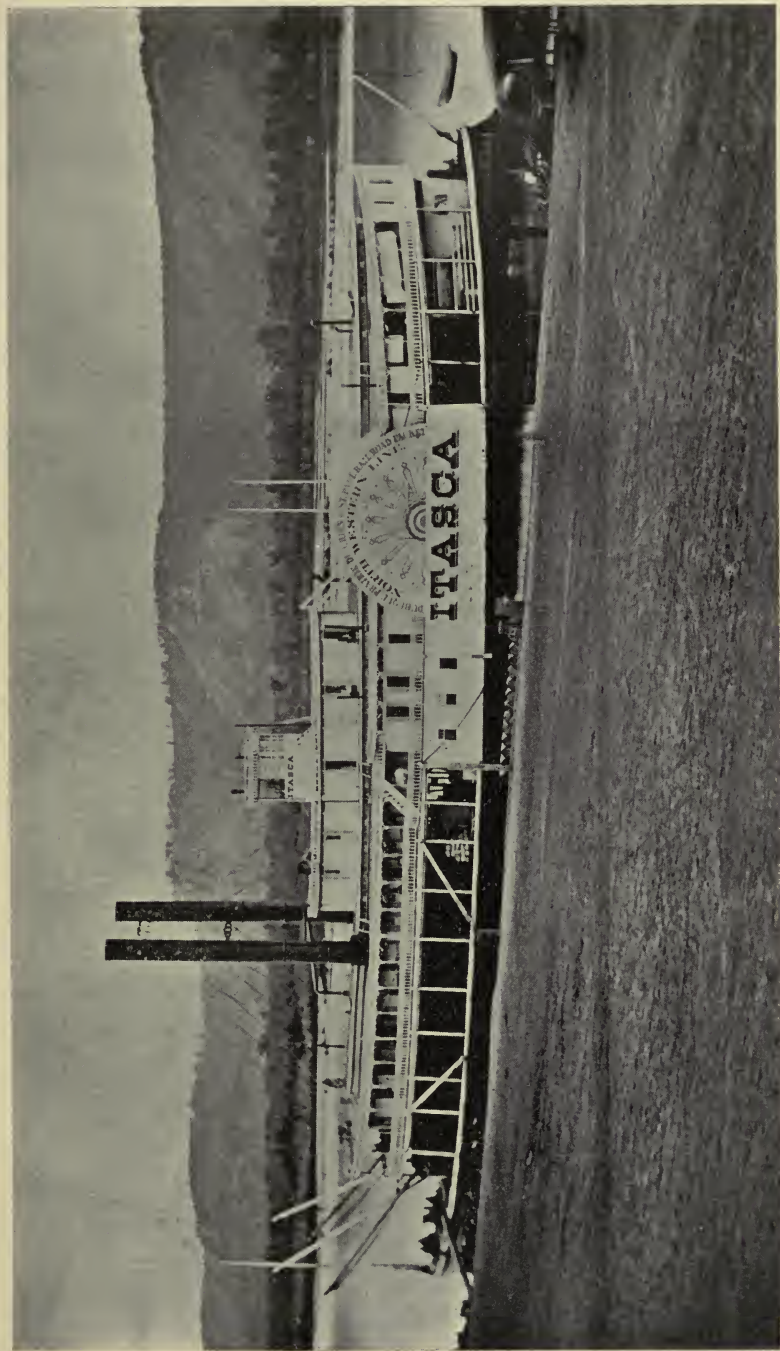
STEAMBOAT MILWAUKEE.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.



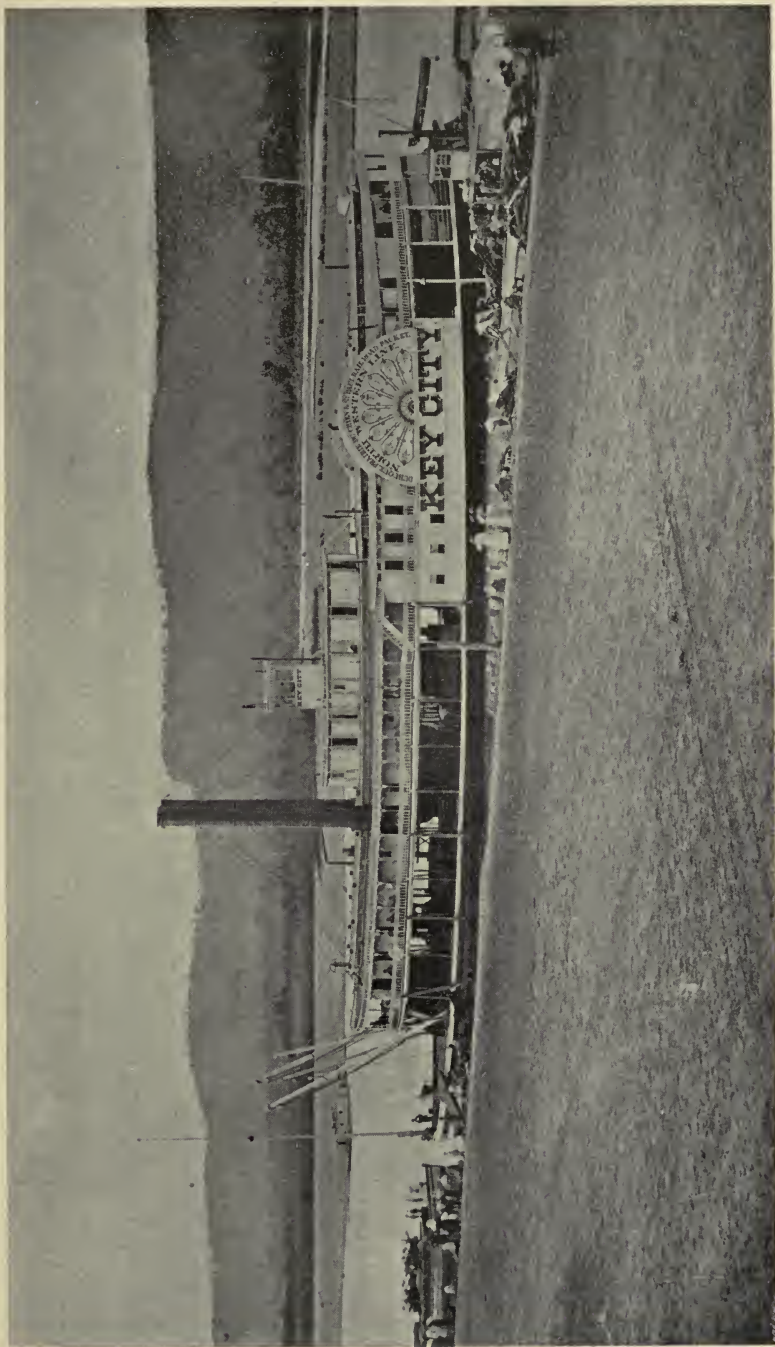
STEAMBOAT NORTIERN LIGHT.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.



STEAMBOAT ITASCA.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.



STEAMBOAT KEY CITY.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

Griffith; Northerner, Capt. P. Alford; Lucy May, Capt. J. B. Rhodes; and the Aunt Letty, Capt. O. G. Morrison.

The following boats were advertised for the Minnesota River trade: Capt. Davidson's Line, consisting of the Frank Steele and some other boat not remembered; Capt. L. Robert's Line, consisting of the Time and Tide and the Jeannette Roberts; and, besides, the Antelope, Clarion, Medora, Equator, J. Bissell, and Wave.

There were more boats in the Mississippi river above St. Louis, plying to and from St. Paul, during this season than at any time before or since. The following is believed to be a very accurate list of them: Grey Eagle, Northern Light, Milwaukee, Itasca, Key City, War Eagle, Galena, Northern Belle, City Belle, Ocean Wave, Granite State, Golden Era, Golden State, Fanny Harris, Alhambra, Canada, W. L. Ewing, Denmark, Metropolitan, Minnesota Belle, Pembina, Northerner, Lucy May, Aunt Letty, A. G. Mason, Audubon, Antelope, Adelia, Brazil, Arizona, Atlanta, Belfast, Bangor, Ben Coursin, Ben Bolt, Cremonia, C. H. Wilson, Conewago, Clarion, Chippewa, Cambridge, Courier, Dew Drop, Earlia, Equator, Tunis, Envoy, Editor, Endeavor, Fred Lorenz, Fire Canoe, Frank Steele, Falls City, Freighter, Genl. Pike, Glenwood, H. S. Allen, H. T. Yeatman, Hermonia, Hamburg, Henry Graff, Henry Clay, Isaac Shelby, Jacob Poe, J. Bissel, Jas. Lyon, Jacob Trabor, Jeannette Roberts, Jemima Whipple, Key Stone, Kate French, Kentucky No. 2, Key West, La Crosse, Montauk, Messenger, Minnesota Belle, Minnesota, Mansfield, Medora, Orb, Oakland, Progress, Red Wing, Reserve, Rosalie, Rocket, Reville, Saracen, Sam Young, Skipper, Time and Tide, Tishemingo, Vixen, Wave, Mt. Deming, White Cloud. Some of these boats ran to Fulton City. There may have been some other boats this season, but in the main the list is correct.

The last boat of the season arrived November 14th; the number of days of navigation was 198; the whole number of boats recorded for the year, 99; and the number of arrivals, 965.

PERIOD OF STATEHOOD TO THE CIVIL WAR.

1858.

Navigation opened earlier this spring than in any former record, on March 25th, the Grey Eagle, Capt. Harris, being the first to arrive.

The Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith, and Minnesota Packet Company's boats were as follows: Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. Preston Lodwick; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Itasca, Capt. David Whitten; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Galena, Capt. W. H. Laughton; War Eagle, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott; Golden Era; and City Belle.

Of these boats the following composed the Prairie du Chien Line: Milwaukee, Capt. Hewett; Itasca, Capt. Whitten; and Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott.

The Northern Line from St. Louis comprised the Canada, Capt. James Ward; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Henry Clay, Capt. Charles Stephenson; Metropolitan, Capt. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. J. B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H. Griffith; and W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green.

The Minnesota River boats were Frank Steele, Time and Tide, Jeannette Roberts, Isaac Shelby, Fire Canoe, Antelope, Freighter, Clarion, and Wave.

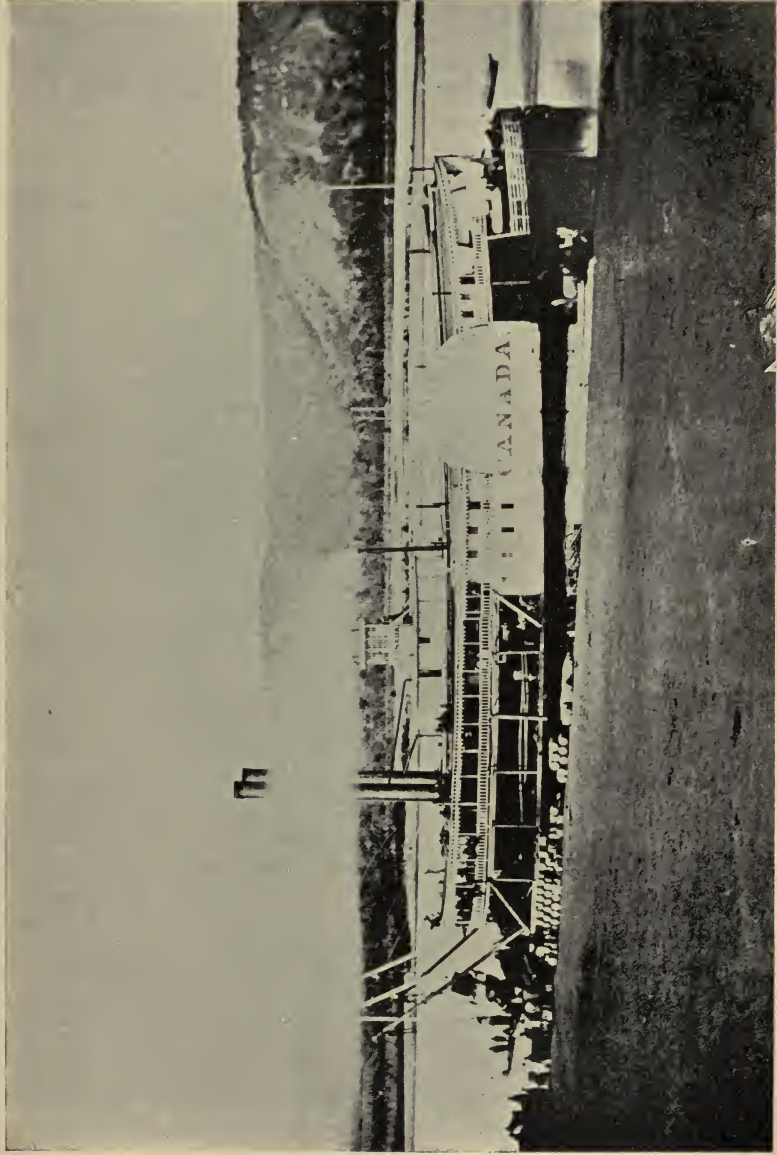
Above St. Anthony were the Enterprise, Capt. Isaac Young; and H. M. Rice, Capt. William Harmon.

The names of the steamboats in the St. Paul trade in 1858 are Adelia, Alhambra, Antelope, Atlanta, Brazil, Canada, Castle Garden, Challenge, Chippewa, City Belle, Clarion, Col. Morgan, Conewago, Casnovia, Denmark, Dew Drop, Envoy, Eolian, Fire Canoe, Frank Steele, Fred Lorenz, Freighter, Galena, Golden Era, Grey Eagle, Hamburg, Hazel Dell, Henry Clay, Isaac Shelby, Itasca, Jacob Trabor, Jas. Lyon, Jas. Raymond, Jeannette Roberts, Keokuk, Key City, Laclede, Lake City, Lucy May, Medora, Metropolitan, Minnesota, Minnesota Belle, Milwaukee, Northern Belle, Northern Light, Oakland, Ocean Wave, Panola, Pembina, Red Wing, Rosalie, Sam Kukman, Tigress, Time and Tide, Vixen, War Eagle, Wave, W. L. Ewing.

The whole number of boats was 62; of arrivals, 1,090. The last boat arrived November 16th, the number of days of navigation having been 236.

1859.

Navigation was opened April 20th by the Key City, Capt. Jones Worden. The Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith & Minnesota Packet Company's boats were the Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. P. Lodwick; Milwaukee, Capt. Stephen Hewett; Ocean Wave, Capt. Scott; Itasca, Capt. D.



STEAMBOAT CANADA.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

Whitten; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Laughton; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; the War Eagle; and others not now remembered.

This year opened with three railroads to the Mississippi: The Illinois Central, Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien, and the Milwaukee & La Crosse. The Packet Company had agreed to run a line of boats to each railroad. The boats running to the Illinois Central were the Grey Eagle, Northern Light, Key City, and some other boats for freight and low water; to the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien line, the Milwaukee, Itasca, and Ocean Wave; and to the Milwaukee & La Crosse line, the War Eagle, Northern Belle, and Golden Era.

The Northern Line Packet Company ran the following steamboats: Canada, Capt. James Ward; W. L. Ewing, Capt. M. Green; Denmark, Capt. R. C. Gray; Metropolitan, Capt. Thomas B. Rhodes; Minnesota Belle, Capt. J. B. Hill; Pembina, Capt. Thomas H. Griffith; and the Northerner, Capt. Pliny Alford. Some others were added as the season advanced.

The Minnesota River Line included the Frank Steele, Capt. J. R. Hatcher; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Eolian; and the Freighter, Capt. John Farmer.

Capt. Robert's Independent Line had the Time and Tide, Capt. Nelson Robert; and the Jeannette Roberts, Capt. F. Aymond.

The enumeration of the boats in the trade is as follows: North Star, Frank Steele, Antelope, Wave, Equator, Berlin, Genl. Pike, Metropolitan, Fred Lorenz, Favorite, St. Louis, Chas. Wilson, Northern Light, Milwaukee, W. L. Ewing, Ocean Wave, Grey Eagle, Itasca, Canada, Minnesota Belle, W. S. Nelson, Chippewa, Golden Era, Lucy May, Denmark, Northern Belle, Isaac Shelby, Northerner, Freighter, Pembina, Bangor, Lake City, Snow Drop, Henry Clay, Conewago, Belfast, Rosalie, Jenny Lind, H. S. Allen, Ben Campbell, Kate Cassel, Vixen, Keokuk, Black Hawk, Hastings, Goody, Friends, Angler, Saxon, Ida, May, New Golden State, Clarima, Time and Tide, Jeannette Roberts, Key City, Chippewa.

The whole number of boats was 54; of arrivals, 808. Navigation closed November 27th, the number of days of navigation having been 222.

1860.

Navigation opened March 28th, with the arrival of the steamer Milwaukee, Capt. John Cochran. The boats of the Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith & Minnesota Packet Company were the Grey Eagle, Milwaukee, Northern Light, Itasca, Key City, War Eagle, Ocean Wave, Northern Belle, Golden Era, Keokuk, Fanny Harris, and Alhambra. They were assigned in the spring as in the following lists; but, owing to complications that developed during the summer, they were badly deranged, and it is probable that I may not be able to follow them during the summer.

The boats that ran from Dubuque, Dunleith, and Prairie du Chien to St. Paul were the Milwaukee, Capt. J. Cochran; Northern Belle, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb.

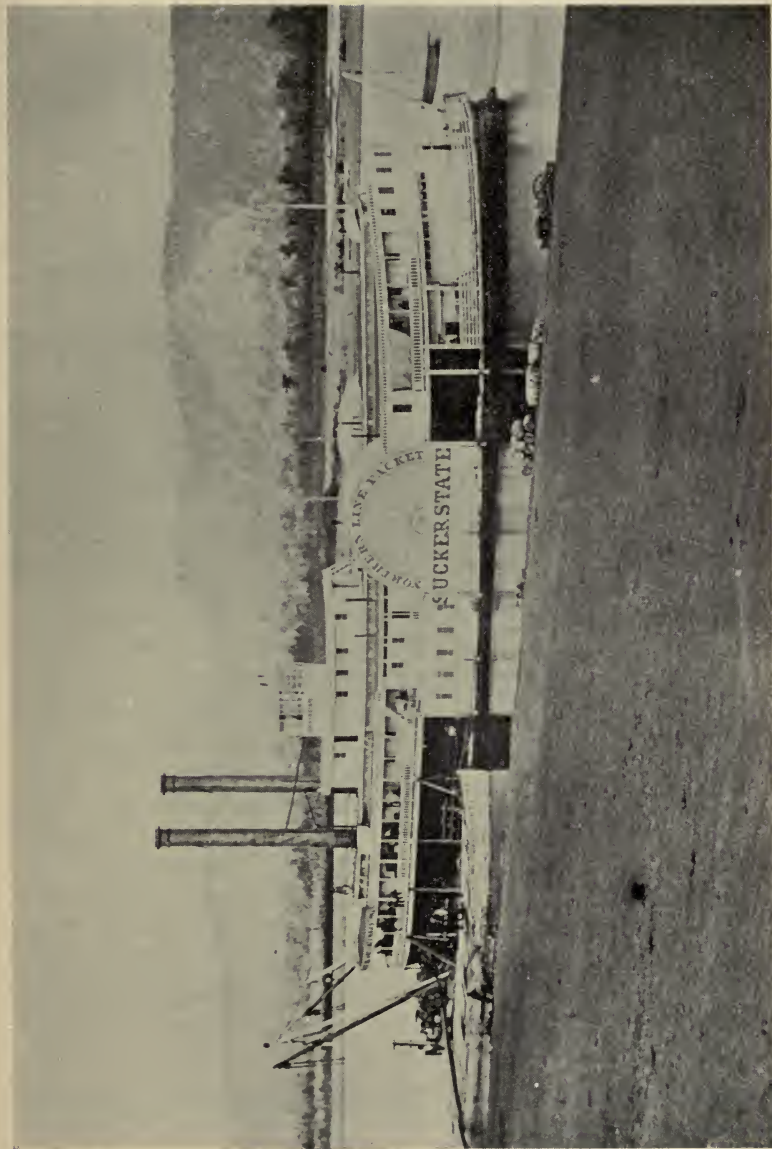
On the Milwaukee and La Crosse Line were the War Eagle, Capt. J. B. Davis; Keokuk, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; and the Fanny Harris, Capt. W. H. Gabbert.

The Minnesota Packet Company and the Northern Line Packet Company agreed to jointly run the great United States Express from St. Louis to St. Paul, Stillwater, and St. Anthony, to be double daily, and to leave St. Paul as follows:

Northerner, Capt. Alford, Monday morning; Gray Eagle, Capt. Harris, Monday evening; Canada, Capt. J. W. Parker, Tuesday morning; Northern Light, Capt. Lodwick, Tuesday evening; Metropolitan, Capt. J. B. Jenks, Wednesday morning; Itasca, Capt. Whitten, Wednesday evening; Sucker State, Capt. T. B. Rhodes, Thursday morning; Key City, Capt. J. Worden, Thursday evening; Pembina, Capt. J. B. Hill, Friday morning; W. L. Ewing, Capt. J. H. Rhodes, Saturday morning; New Hawkeye State, Capt. R. C. Gray, Saturday evening.

On the Minnesota river were the Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Frank Steele, Capt. J. R. Hatcher; the Antelope; and probably others.

In the summer of 1859 the Milwaukee & La Crosse Railroad was so unfortunate as to have to go into court in Milwaukee, and the court appointed Mr. Hans Crocker of Milwaukee, Receiver. Mr. E. H. Goodrich was placed in charge of the road, and Mr. Harvey Rumsey was agent at La Crosse. The business of the boats appeared to be prosperous, and these gentlemen, through Mr. Rumsey, asked the writer for an interest in



STEAMBOAT SUCKER STATE.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

the business. This proposition was duly presented to the directors of the Packet Company and was respectfully declined. These gentlemen finally invited Capt. W. F. Davidson to send down his boats, the Favorite and Frank Steele (which had been shut out of the Minnesota river by low water), to La Crosse, stating that they would give him the business of the railroad. Capt. Davidson promptly accepted this very promising invitation.

The freight was transferred to Capt. Davidson, which had been consigned to the Minnesota Packet Company; and a ticket agent was put on the cars to take up the tickets for the old line and to give new ones for the Davidson boats. This action of the representatives of the court, in breaking a written contract without cause, created the natural result in such cases, and the present writer and Mr. J. R. Jones, the Secretary of the Packet Company, were directed to make them put the business back on the Packet Company's boats. Believing the best way to do that was to make the fight sharp from the start, we made the passage for all persons from above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago three dollars and fifty cents, and the rate for all grain shipped from above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago four cents per bushel; and we announced that all freight from Milwaukee and Chicago to points above La Crosse would be carried free on the Packet Company's boats. The price for passage from points above La Crosse to Milwaukee and Chicago was soon made one dollar, which made the trustees of the bondholders of the railroad call upon the court to know what was being done with the road. In making answer, the court, as in duty bound, ordered Mr. Hans Crocker to restore the business of the railroad to the Packet Company's boats according to the contract.

There were some other boats in the upper river trade this season, including, I think, the Henry Clay, Capt. Charles Stephenson. This summer's business started with a good class of boats, especially from St. Louis to St. Paul, the best that ever ran in the trade of the upper river. The Hawkeye State and Sucker State were new, and they all were in good shape; but the demoralization caused by the men in charge of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Railroad prevented anything like a profitable season. It, however, furnished some excitement for railroads, steamboats, and the public for about sixty days.

Navigation closed about November 23rd. The number of arrivals at St. Paul was 776; the number of boats, 45; and the season of open navigation, 240 days.

1861.

Navigation was opened April 8th, by the arrival of the Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb. The La Crosse Line ran the Keokuk, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; Northern Belle, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Ocean Wave, Capt. N. F. Webb.

The St. Paul, Prairie du Chien, Dubuque & Dunleith Line ran the Milwaukee, Capt. John Cochran; Golden Era, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; War Eagle, Capt. Charles L. Stephenson; and Itasca, Capt. J. Y. Hurd.

The St. Louis, St. Paul & Stillwater Line ran the North-erner, Capt. P. Alford; Pembina, Capt. Thos. B. Hill; Metropolitan, Capt. Thos. B. Buford; Sucker State, Capt. T. B. Rhodes; Canada, Capt. J. W. Parker; W. L. Ewing, Capt. J. H. Rhodes; Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris; Northern Light, Capt. John B. Davis; Key City, Capt. J. Worden; Hawkeye State, Capt. R. C. Gray; Henry Clay, Capt. C. B. Gall; and Denmark, Capt. J. J. Robinson.

The Davidson Line to La Crosse ran the Frank Steele, Capt. W. F. Davidson; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; and Winona, Capt. J. R. Hatcher.

The Minnesota River boats were the Albany, City Belle, Jeannette Roberts, Antelope, and Ariel.

The following were transient boats: Fred Lorenze, Fanny Harris, La Crosse, and Alhambra.

The Grey Eagle, Capt. D. S. Harris, was sunk at the Rock Island bridge at five o'clock P. M., May 9th, in going down stream heavily loaded with wheat and a large number of passengers. The steamer and cargo were a total loss. Capt. Harris, who had run the river and rapids so successfully for so many years, was standing at the wheel with his pilot, with the utmost confidence in the Grey Eagle's making the passage of the bridge. He was so hurt in his pride as a successful boatman, that he abandoned the river forever and sold his stock. On the 22nd day of June, the writer, under contract, shipped on board the War Eagle and Northern Belle, the First Minnesota Regiment for Washington, D. C., under the command of Col. Gorman.

Navigation closed November 28th; the number of arrivals was 972; and the season of open navigation, 233 days.

1862.

The years 1861-2 made a great many changes in the personnel of the old Galena and Minnesota Packet Company. Capt. D. S. Harris had sunk his great favorite steamboat on the Rock Island bridge and sold his stock. Mr. J. R. Jones was appointed United States Marshal of the northern district of Illinois, and removed to Chicago. Mr. James Carter also removed to Chicago. Mr. Henry Corwith also sold his stock. The writer also had removed to St. Paul.

The spring of 1862 found Mr. B. H. Campbell and Nathan Corwith as the principal owners in this Company, with Capt. Orren Smith, R. S. Harris and Meeker Harris in the active management. The summer business opened in the spring with some arrangements that surprised some of us who had not had time to attend the meeting in the winter of 1861-2. The first thing that challenged the attention of the writer was the advertisement of the Davidson Line from La Crosse to St. Paul, with the War Eagle, Northern Belle, and Moses McClellan as the regular boats, under direction of Capt. W. F. Davidson, President, and Capt. W. H. Rhodes as agent. It thus appeared that Capt. Davidson had two of our boats in his line, himself being in control of the line. On inquiry it was found that Capt. Davidson had organized a new company, that the old company owned one-half of the stock, and that Capt. Davidson was to run it. In addition, the boat store of R. S. & Meeker Harris was, on the opening of navigation, removed to St. Paul. This business was doing so beautifully well, that during the summer Messrs. B. H. Campbell and Nathan Corwith took authority to sell off the stock of the old Company, which they did forthwith, and called a meeting of the stockholders to ratify the sale, which was done notwithstanding the protest of the minority of the stock. The minority holders took their money and gracefully retired. The final result of these two *honorable* transactions was that Capt. Davidson became the owner of all the steamboats of the old line, very much to the disgust of the men who had made these sharp bargains without the consent of their old associates.

It was found in the fall of 1862 that St. Paul was not a good place for a boat store, and the remnants of the stock were removed down the river again.

The opening of navigation was April 18th, with the arrival of the Keokuk, Capt. J. R. Hatcher. The Davidson Line to La Crosse consisted of the Moses McClellan, Capt. Martin; Northern Belle, Capt. W. H. Laughton; and Keokuk, Capt. J. R. Hatcher.

The St. Paul, Prairie du Chien, Dubuque & Dunleith Line had the Milwaukee, Capt. E. V. Holcombe; Itasca, Capt. J. Y. Hurd; War Eagle, Capt. N. F. Webb; Northern Light, Capt. W. H. Gabbert; Key City, Capt. Jones Worden; Alhambra, Capt. William Faucett; and probably some others.

The St. Louis & St. Paul or Northern Line ran the Sucker State, Capt. James Ward; Denmark; Canada; Hawkeye State; and Northerner, Capt. P. Alford. The steamboat Davenport was added to this line in 1863.

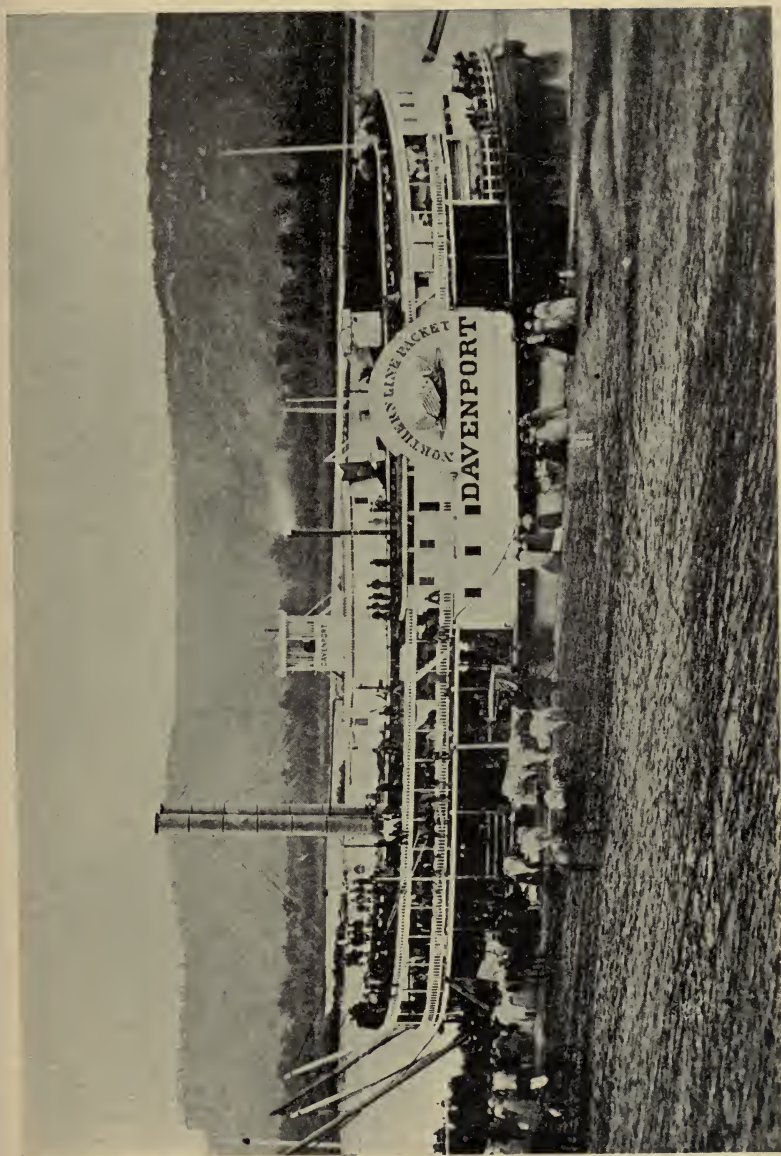
The Minnesota River steamers were the Frank Steele, Favorite, Jeannette Roberts, and probably some others.

Navigation closed November 15th, the season of open navigation having been 212 days. I think that the boats named did most of the business this season.

There are many persons whose names should be mentioned in this paper for their long and faithful service in connection with this history of the navigation of the upper Mississippi river. I only regret that in the nature of the case I shall omit many that are justly entitled to a record here. I am entirely dependent upon my memory for those that are named, as there is no record for reference.

Among the clerks who were employed on the boats of the Packet Company, I remember, with the greatest pleasure and high respect, Messrs. Daniel V. Dawley, John H. Maitland, John Brooks, John S. Pym, A. C. Monfort, Geo. R. Melville, Robert Melville, Chas. T. Hinde, Ed. Halliday, George A. Hamilton, George S. Pierce, John Cochran, Mr. Cooley, Joseph D. Du Bois, Geo. C. Blish.

The pilots are also among the responsible and courageous men on a steamboat who should always be remembered with the highest respect. No one knows better the obligation that all souls on board a steamboat are under to them than the man on watch on the deck with them, in dark and stormy



STEAMBOAT DAVENPORT.

AT WINONA, LOOKING EAST.

weather. Among this class of men I am gratified to be able to remember, among my early acquaintances, Moro and De Mara, the French pilots at Prairie du Chien, for their faithful service; and, with these and in later years, Pleasant Cormack, William White, John Arnold, Joseph Armstrong, John King, Rufus Williams, E. A. West, E. V. Holcombe, Hiram Beadle, William Cup, Jerome Smith, Henry Gilpatrick, T. G. Dreming, William Tibbles, Jackson Harris, Stephen Hanks, Stephen Dalson, Charles Manning, Peter Hall, George Nicholas. Many of these men worked during many years for the Packet Company. I deeply regret that my memory does not reach the others.

STATISTICS.

Below are given, in regular succession, the dates of the earliest steamboat arrivals as furnished by Mr. Philander Prescott, the interpreter at the Indian Agency at Fort Snelling, from 1844 to 1849, and as given in the St. Paul newspapers after 1849:

1844.	Otter	Capt. D. S. Harris.....	April 6.
1845.	Otter	Capt. D. S. Harris.....	April 6.
1846.	Lynx	Capt. J. Atchison	March 31.
1847.	Cora	Capt. J. Throckmorton ...	April 7.
1848.	Senator	Capt. D. S. Harris.....	April 7.
1849.	Highland Mary.....	Capt. Atchison	April 9.
1850.	Highland Mary.....	Capt. Atchison	April 19.
1851.	Nominee	Capt. O. Smith	April 4.
1852.	Nominee	Capt. O. Smith	April 16.
1853.	West Newton.....	Capt. Harris	April 11.
1854.	Nominee	Capt. Blakeley.....	April 8.
1855.	War Eagle.....	Capt. D. S. Harris.....	April 17.
1856.	Lady Franklin.....	Capt. M. E. Lucas.....	April 18.
1857.	Galena	Capt. Laughton	May 1.
1858.	Grey Eagle.....	Capt. D. S. Harris.....	March 25.
1859.	Key City.....	Capt. J. Worden	April 20.
1860.	Milwaukee	Capt. Cochran.....	March 28.
1861.	Ocean Wave.....	Capt. N. F. Webb.....	April 8.
1862.	Keokuk	Capt. Hatcher	April 18.

The number of arrivals each year were as follows: 1844, 41; 1845, 48; 1846, 24; 1847, 47; 1848, 63; 1849, 85; 1850, 104; 1851, 119; 1852, 171; 1853, 235; 1854, 310; 1855, 536; 1856, 759; 1857, 965; 1858, 1,090; 1859, 802; 1860, 776; 1861, 772; 1862, 846.

The average close of navigation was about November 22nd; and the average number of days of navigation, 222.

All persons who read this history of forty years of steamboat commerce in Minnesota will agree with me that there must have been an immense amount of valuable material that has been left out of the record, which would be very interesting. No one can be more painfully aware of that fact than I am. I have known almost every man named in the list of boatmen that I have given, have taken them by the hand, and their persons come back in very familiar form to my recollection, but they are nearly all gone; very few are left, and those are of the younger men that came into the trade as I left it.

Those that are gone have left no record, although some of them spent a lifetime in the business. There is but one of my corporate associates of the Packet Company left, and but very few of the employees; and they are the younger men who came in at about the time I was retiring, thirty-five years ago. All are gone, and there is no one that can supply what has been forgotten. I am gratified that I have been able to preserve so much.

The plates accompanying this paper, prepared from photographs, show some of the principal steamboats of the early commerce of the Mississippi river. On these and the other steamboats whose records appear in the foregoing pages, the majority of the immigrants during these early years of the Territory and State came to Minnesota.

Many of my readers may regard this as a sudden end of the history of steamboating in Minnesota.

It is not an agreeable thing to relate the events that followed the summer of 1862; but on the whole I am tempted to say a word or two. Capt. W. F. Davidson entered into an arrangement with the old Galena Company, which finally resulted in his becoming the owner of the stock of that company. The construction of railroads caused him to send some of his boats to St. Louis, which, as a matter of course, brought him into competition with the Northern Line and with the St. Louis and Keokuk Line.

Captain Davidson finally held a controlling interest in all the business on the river above St. Louis. But the holders of a large portion of the stock of the Northern Line became dissatisfied, and applied to the court for a receiver to manage the business, by which Capt. Davidson was compelled to fight for

his property. This took so long that the boats and barges were worn out before he again got possession (to say nothing of the cost of litigation). The business was ruined; his health was broken; and the remnants of what had been a grand industry, building up the commerce of the Northwest, were destroyed.

In conclusion, I regard it as appropriate to notice some of the oldest and earliest boatmen in the commerce of the Upper Mississippi, by adding the following:

OBITUARIES.

CAPTAIN DAVID G. BATES. The first trace that I can find of Capt. Bates is when he was going into the lead mines on a keel-boat, with a crew of Frenchmen, in the summer of 1819. In 1822 he engaged in Indian trade and smelting near Dubuque. In 1824 he went to St. Louis and bought the steamboat Rufus Putnam, on which he came to Fort Snelling in 1825. Later he built the Galena, and is reported to have visited the Fort with her in 1828. He was a genial gentleman; was born in Virginia; died November 22, 1850, aged fifty-eight years; and was buried in the old cemetery on the hill in Galena.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH THROCKMORTON was born June 16, 1800, in Monmouth county, New Jersey. As a lad he entered into mercantile business in a house in New York. Later, in company with others, he purchased the steamboat Red Rover on the Ohio. She was sunk, but was finally raised and taken to St. Louis, and was employed in the Galena trade about 1830. In company with Capt. George W. Atchison, he built the Winnebago and employed her in the Galena trade until 1832, when he built the Warrior in Pittsburgh, which had a barge that she towed for the accommodation of passengers. When he was in command of her, the Black Hawk War broke out. She was chartered to take troops and supplies to the Bad Axe battle ground, and she took an active part in that battle. Capt. Throckmorton continued on the upper Mississippi river, and in 1835 built the steamboat St. Peter, in 1836 the steamboat Ariel, in 1837 the Burlington, and in 1842 the General Brooke.

In 1845 he sold the Brooke to the American Fur Company, and commanded the Company's steamer Nimrod; but, after purchasing the Cecilia, he relinquished his command. In 1848 he purchased the Cora, and was in command of her a year or two, being succeeded by Capt. O'Gorman, and then engaged in the insurance business at St. Louis. He returned to his former occupation as steamboat captain and built the Genoa and commanded her until 1856; in 1857 he built the Florence; and in 1864 the Montana. In 1868 he purchased the Columbia and ran her in the St. Louis and Fort Benton trade, subsequently made several trips in the Illinois trade with the Illinois Packet Company, and finally sold the Columbia to the Arkansas River Packet Company. During the last two years of his life he was in the employ of the United States under Col. Macomb on the upper Mississippi river. He died in December, 1872.

This sketch is taken from Scharf's "History of St. Louis City and County."

CAPTAIN DANIEL SMITH HARRIS was born at Cartwright, Delaware county, New York, July 24, 1808. His father, James Harris, moved to Connecticut and finally to Cincinnati, Ohio. From Cincinnati he removed with Dr. Moses Meeker on the keel-boat Col. Bomford to Galena, Ill., in 1823. The family were descended from Mayflower Pilgrims. Mr. Harris was engaged with Dr. Meeker in erecting his lead furnace in Galena, and during the doctor's absence had charge of his business. The foregoing pages give the personal history of the Harris brothers, and it need not be repeated here.

D. S. Harris married, May 22, 1833, Miss Sarah M. Langworthy, sister of Mrs. Capt. Orren Smith, and sister of the brothers James, Lucius, and Solon Langworthy, early and well known settlers in the mines and Dubuque. Mrs. Harris died on the island of Cuba, January, 1850. He was again married to Miss Sarah Coats in August, 1851. She died February 23, 1886. The children by the first wife were Mrs. M. M. Dodge, Mrs. C. T. Trego of Chicago, Mrs. Amelia C. O'Ferril, Chatfield, Minn., Mrs. T. G. Maupin of Portland, Ore., and D. S. Harris, Jr., of Madrone, Washington; and by the second wife, Mrs. J. V. Hillman, Galena; Mrs. C. F. Taylor of Warren; Mrs. Irene Gillette; Mrs. H. L. Jenks; and Paul Carrington Harris. Captain Harris died March 17, 1893, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery in Galena.

The following is from the *Dubuque Telegraph*:

CAPTAIN ORREN SMITH, well known to the early settlers of Galena and Dubuque, and in fact along the Upper Mississippi, died October 31, 1881, at the residence of his brother, Sam T. Smith in La Crosse, Wis. Capt. Smith was born in Hamilton county, Ohio, near Cincinnati, in August, 1806, and was over seventy-five years old. Before he was eighteen he emigrated to the lead mine region with Moses Meeker in the capacity of a clerk at Galena or vicinity. After a year or two he engaged in mining with James Langworthy, and they discovered the famous Phelps lode near Hard Scrabble, Wis., since known as Hazel Green. About 1827 he married Miss Mary Ann Langworthy, a sister of the Dubuque Langworthys. In 1833 he removed his family to Dubuque, and still engaged in the lead trade by building a smelting furnace near the Wilson grove, now better known as the William Y. Stewart farm. Two years later he went with Lucius H. Langworthy to spend the winter in Cincinnati. In the spring of 1835 he bought the steamer Heroine and engaged in river commerce. In that and other navigation enterprises, aided by the Langworthys, he was so successful that he commanded and largely owned a number of steamboats in the course of the next twenty years, and was for a long time president of the Minnesota Packet Company. About 1866 he removed to Chicago and engaged in manufacturing and commercial affairs. He returned to Dubuque a year or two ago. His wife died about five months since. One daughter and two sons survive. The remains of the deceased arrived at Dubuque November 1st and were interred November 2nd at Linwood.

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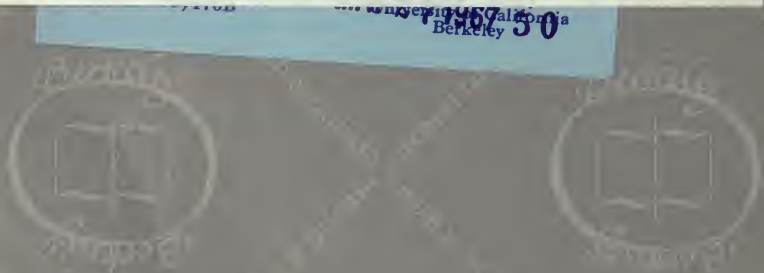
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