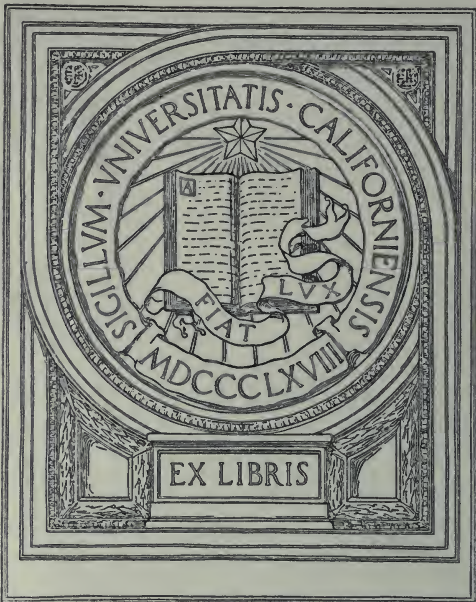
OUR DEBT TO THE RED MAN

LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON



BANCROFT LIBRARY

OUR DEBT TO THE RED MAN

REV. JOSEPH MARTIN, WIFE AND CHILD
French-Chippewa
Odonah, Wis.

Our Debt to the Red Man

THE FRENCH-INDIANS
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

BY

Louise Seymour Houghton

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
The Hon. Francis E. Leupp
FORMERLY INDIAN COMMISSIONER

Illustrated

1918
The STRATFORD COMPANY, Publishers
BOSTON

E99
.M693 H6

Copyright 1918
The STRATFORD CO., Publishers
Boston, Mass.

The Alpine Press, Boston, Mass., U. S. A.

45617
Bancroft Library

TAYLOR COL. AUG. 1940

To my Sons

AUGUSTUS SEYMOUR HOUGHTON
AND
HENRY HOUGHTON

The joy of my declining years,
and whose interest in my
work has made it
doubly delightful.

Foreword

THE mixed-blood Indian is so widely regarded with disfavor, owing to the superficial criticism heaped upon him in certain quarters, that Mrs. Houghton's book will make a strong appeal to all fair-minded students of our aboriginal race problem. The too prevalent impression is doubtless based on the fact that, of late years, the natural resources of some Indian reservations have attracted speculative white adventurers, not a few of whom, taking Indian women to wife, have sadly neglected the children born of their union. But, as those of us know who are familiar at first hand with frontier conditions, any such sweeping judgment is unjust; for on every side we meet squawmen who, though uneducated in the ordinary sense, have proved their possession of character and force, and have devoted their best faculties to the improvement of their families and the advancement of the tribes with which they are affiliated.

In the volume before us, Mrs. Houghton has largely confined her observations to the Indians who trace their white blood to French sources. Her great store of data is the fruit of a painstaking search of several years through records ancient and modern, official and scientific, religious and literary. I am glad to note that, after showing how much we owe the mixed-bloods for their contributions toward the upbuilding

of our country, she advises our responding appreciatively with three measures in particular: the prompt emancipation of all competent red wards from Government bondage; the systematic revision of our ragged mass of laws touching Indian affairs, and their reduction to a self-consistent code; and the provision for the opening of a court for the claims of Indians against the United States — a step which might be trusted to relieve honest claims of the suspicious savor many of them have absorbed from contact with scandal-tainted neighbors.

Francis E. Leupp.

Washington, D. C., March 25, 1918.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS book could not have been written but for the kindly help of scores of men and women to whom I was unknown, who have answered my letters, directed me to sources of information and assisted me to discover facts of importance and interest in this field. Especially are my thanks due to various members of the Society of American Indians, notably to its President, Mr. Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist and member of the New York State Board of Education, to the former chairman of its Executive Committee, Prof. J. N. B. Hewitt of the Smithsonian Institution, its Treasurer, Mrs. Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin, and its Secretary, Mrs. Raymond T. Bonnin. To Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine of the Chicago Historical Society I am under many obligations, and only in a less degree to Mr. Jacob P. Dunn, Mrs. R. M. Dunlap, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan and Mr. Doane Robinson, respectively of the Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa and South Dakota Historical Societies, as to Dr. F. G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, to Mr. Alanson Skinner of the Museum of Natural History, to Mr. O. H. Lipps of Carlisle Indian School and several teachers in that institution, to Mrs. McCoy, Mr. Dagenett and other persons in the employ of the United States Indian Bureau, to Father Gordon of the Roman Catholic Indian Bureau, to Gen. R. H. Pratt and to the Hon. Gabe Parker. To the Hon. Warren K. Moorehead, formerly Indian Commis-

sioner and to Mr. Arthur C. Parker, who read the book in manuscript and gave me valuable suggestions, as also to the Hon. Francis E. Leupp, formerly Indian Commissioner, who has written the Introduction to this book, I am particularly indebted.

LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON.

Philadelphia, March, 1918.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
	Foreword	v
	List of Illustrations	xi
I.	Introducing the Subject	1
II.	The Original American	22
III.	Indians of Mixed Blood — A General View	46
VI.	French Mixed-Bloods of the Middle West	51
V.	Metis of Noble Blood on Both Sides	60
VI.	French-Indians as Mediators	71
VII.	Metis Loyalty	79
VIII.	The Gift of Tongues	94
IX.	The Metis as a Trader	102
X.	French Indians and Exploration	121
XI.	French Indians in the Settlement of the West	132
XII.	French Indians as Farmers	146
XIII.	The Metis as an Industrial Worker	153
XIV.	The Metis Intellect	158
XV.	The French Indian in the Learned Professions	166
XVI.	In Literature and Art	176
XVII.	The Present Situation	187
XVIII.	French Mixed-Bloods and Our Indian Problem	196

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Rev. Joseph Martin, Wife and Child . . . *Frontispiece*

Opposite Page

Chicago in 1831 16
Sa Batiste Perrote 27
John N. B. Hewitt 37
Arthur C. Parker 70
Pierre Garreau 99
Caroline Beaubien 106
"Young Joe" Rolette 119
Jean Baptiste Bottineau 128
Charles E. Dagenett 155
Gabe E. Parker 163
Rosa Bourassa La Flesche 165
Emily P. Robitaille 169
Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin 173
Angel De Cora Dietz 185
Gertrude Bonnin 206

I

Introducing the Subject

OF the various races that have contributed to the development of the United States there is one whose part is as yet wholly unrecognized. Through intermarriage with a certain white race the original American, the Indian, has done more for us than we realize, or at this distance of time shall perhaps ever be able wholly to ascertain. We remember—or do we not rather forget?—that when the white men came in their winged canoe across "the Sea of big Stormes" to the bleak shore of the "Dawn Land," Chief Samoset met them with outstretched hand and the "Welcome, Englishmen," which he had learned from the fisher folk with whom he had traded on the Newfoundland banks. We quite forget that during that first cruel winter of 1620-21 it was the food and the furs brought them by the Indians that saved our forefathers from bitter death by cold and hunger; that Squanto came in the spring and taught them how to grow the unfamiliar corn, and that Samoset was their protector as well as their interpreter as they threaded the Indian-haunted forests. We forget that even earlier than this our Virginia ancestors had for several years been saved from starvation by the maize, pumpkins and succotash, and comforted by the tobacco, with which the Powhatans generously provided them. We

forget the early friendship between Roger Williams and the Narragansetts, a charming though too brief episode amid the grim realities of the early years. We only remember that—through the misapprehensions of the unschooled Red Men, shall we say? — or through the blunders of the civilized whites?—enmity arose between them, with hatred so bitter that so early as 1637, after the frightful massacre of Mystic River, Increase Mather could stand up in his pulpit and thank the Lord "that on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell." The events that followed may well have lent to the next generation of Puritan settlers some reason for sharing the opinion of Robert Sanford, writing home from the Carolina shore ("Relation") of "natives whose Piety it is to be barbarous, and whose Gallantry to be inhuman;" but in the beginning it was not so.

Though after the event at Mystic River, Winthrop records (quoted by Wilson, Prehistoric Man, 2: 253) "we sent the male children to Bermuda [the adult males having been 'sent to hell'] and the women and maid children were dispersed about in the towns," through whom some strain of Indian blood must have come into our New-England ancestry; though the first families of Virginia and Maryland are still proud to trace in their lineage some kinship to Pocahontas, the fact remains that notwithstanding the probability that the "vanishing race" has "vanished" not more through death than through marriage with the white folk, the contempt born of fear which came to be the

invariable attitude of Anglo-Saxon settlers toward the aborigines effectually prevented any mutual influence for good between those races in the early time.

The Dutch also, as well as the people of Connecticut, were notoriously unkind to the Indians. Madame Knight, in her famous journey through the region in 1704, not unnaturally, therefore, found them "the most salvage of all the salvages of the kind I have ever seen." The contempt thus engendered has lingered among their descendants to this day, to our lasting disgrace in our treatment of those who have come to be the "wards of the nation."[1] Therefore it is not among Anglo-Saxon "half-breeds" of any period that we may seek for any notable service of the Indians in the development of the United States.

Far otherwise, however, were the relations of French settlers with the red people. The difference inhered in the initial motives for the settlement of the New World. Mr. John C. Covert, former American Consul at Lyons, in *Les Français au Nouveau Monde,* written about 1890 to encourage French emigration to the United States, reminds his readers that the pur-

[1] "Wards of an irresponsible guardian," says ex-Commissioner Francis E. Leupp. "A composite guardianship," he adds, pointing out the vicious circle in which this trust is worked. The President must have permission of Congress for any measure, and both are helpless before an adverse mandate of the Courts, which themselves are the creatures of the President and Congress. He instances the Pembina Chippewas, of whom we shall later hear more: "As their guardian it (the Government) disciplined them when they disregarded its admonitions, as their guardian it took possession of large slices of their estate whenever it could claim that they were using their land unwisely and therefore would be better without it; as their guardian it concluded that they were likely to grow faster in grace if their wild-game supply were cut off, and on this pretext compelled them to give up hunting and submit to be fed and clothed like paupers at public expense —".

pose of early French emigration was the conversion of the natives, rather than commerce. For that matter, the first Royal Charter granted to the Colony of Massachusetts affirms that "to wynn and incite the natives of the Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the onlie true God and Saviour of Mankind is our Royall Intencion;" and the first Seal of Massachusetts Colony showed the figure of an Indian with the legend "Come over and help us;" but the slender interest lent to Eliot's devoted service shows how small a place the conversion of the natives held in the "Intencion" of Puritan or Pilgrim.[2]

Prof. C. W. Colby of McGill University reminds us ("Canadian Types of the Old Régime," pp. 82, 3) that while "to glorify God by the conversion of native races became a prime object with pious sovereigns and with the Latin Church in general," the comparative apathy of Protestant peoples is not to be attributed "altogether to a lower degree of spiritual force than existed in the Catholic Church" but chiefly to the difference between the sacramental scheme of salvation (in which to baptize a dying child or man was to save a soul from perdition), and the predestinarian theology of Calvinism, which offered a less strong incentive to missionary activity. It cannot be denied, however, that with the English government the motive of commercial profit loomed larger than that of love for

[2] Dr. James Douglas ("New England and New France", pp. 451, 452) says that no attempt was made by England to Christianize the Indians. Eliot's work was an individual enterprise in which the colonists had little or no part. Cotton Mather does not even mention it.

souls. "The great object of colonization upon the continent of North America," said the Lords Commissions for Trade and Plantations in 1772 (quoted by Turner, "Fur Trade" p. 75) "is to improve and extend the commerce and manufactures of this kingdom; therefore," they continue, "the Indians should not be disturbed in their hunting grounds" and "all colonization should be discouraged." That the fur trade was not profitable enough to warrant continuing the war was Lord Shelborne's defence for ceding the Northwest to the American colonies in 1783.

This contrast between the English and the French view of relations with the aborigines is aptly shown by Mr. Vincent Hazard in his report to the Smithsonian Institution in 1879. The English, he says, regarded the Indians simply as an obstacle to progress, a natural foe against whom they waged a war of extermination, while the French "from the first recognized in the red man a fellow being entitled to consideration." Very naturally, therefore, the colonization of New France being effected not by families but mainly by single men of enterprise and daring, the French youth of the colony early sought wives among the daughters of their Indian friends, and French priests gladly blessed their union with rites which deeply impressed the native folk, by nature and long inheritance devoted to ritual. From these unions sprang a people who played an important though usually a humble part in the colonization and civilization of the West, a people who far from "uniting the worst qualities of

both races,'' as the author of a popular historic study has permitted himself to assert,[3] does in fact, as I hope to show, unite many of the best qualities of both.

The limits of this study will not permit more than an allusion to the established fact of the importance of mixed races in the history of civilization. Wilson in the work already quoted observes that ''the half-breed has played a most important part in the advance of mankind to the stage of progress that it has reached today,'' a fact also incidentally shown by Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of Ethnology, who writes (in the Handbook of American Indians, 1, 914) that ''much of the advance in civilization made by the Cherokees has been due to the intermarriage among them of white men, chiefly (French) traders of the ante-Revolutionary period.'' Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University strongly holds this theory of the value of mixed races. It is well stated by M. Joppincourt in *L'Expansion Coloniale:* ''Half-breeds all over the world,'' he says, ''have played a most important part in the advance of mankind,'' showing by way of illustration that it was ''by allying themselves with the willing daughters of the Abenaki that the sons of France created that vigorous Acadian stock whose spirit more than once kept at bay the proud invaders of Old and New England.'' A case in point may be found in the descendants of Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin, who held a *Seigneurie* on the Penobscot, and

[3] S. A. Drake, ''The making of the Ohio Valley States'', p. 262; Scribner, 1894.

married the daughter of the high-souled Abenaki chief Madockawando (the heroine of Longfellow's Atlantic Monthly poem, Vol. 29, p. 334). St. Castin was adopted by the tribe and made their chief; he had many children and educated them all. Parkman calls him a terror and a menace to the English colonists, but all the evidence goes to prove that he rendered them more than one service before Governor Dongan claimed jurisdiction over the region including his Seigneury. He had no part in the outbreak of the war, though after it was declared he naturally took the French side. It is clear, however, that during its progress he had no share in any of those acts of barbarity which make its memory a horror.

We may safely assume that similar intermarriages, quite as much as military alliances, had a part in the maintenance of French dominion in Canada and the West, notwithstanding the immense numerical superiority of the English colonies, during the secular struggle between England and France.[4] "What a pity that the French were defeated! "lamented the Indians after the capture of Quebec; "their young men used to marry our daughters."

While these words were being written, several years ago, a current issue of New York Times was in-

[4] The overwhelming numerical superiority of English over French settlers of North America is a matter of common knowledge. In 1688 there were about 1100 French on the continent and nearly twenty times as many English. The population of Canada in 1721 was 18,000, that of the English colonies more than 400,000. Furthermore, at the time of the conquest of Canada, the English colonies were still compactly settled between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies, while the French were distributed from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

forming its readers that *American Medecine* had taken issue with Professor Boas, and incidentally with other ethnologists, in the matter of the importance of mixed-bloods, basing its contention on the physical weakness of the mulatto. The illustration was "well found," since it was the only one that could be found. Mr. George Bird Grinnell ("The Indians of Today," p. 165) had already pointed to the fact that, in striking contrast with the offspring of negroes and whites,[5] Indian mixed-bloods are a stout and hardy race, prolific and apparently not especially subject to consumption or other diseases. With the more recent findings of the census of 1910, he believes the increase of our Indian population since 1890 to be largely among mixed-bloods (p. 196). How far the physical weakness of mulattoes is due to special conditions *American Medecine* does not ask; nor has it apparently sought for a basis for its sweeping assertion that "half-breeds are a nuisance to themselves and to each parent stock;" but before recommending "a little more biology" to Professor Boas and other distinguished ethnologists, it might be well for *American Medecine* to acquire a little more history.

The French, says Mr. Arthur Gilman ("History of the American People"), adopted different means and left more lasting memories of success than the English or the Spaniards. They fraternized with the

[5] Dr. F. G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania finds that the admixture of Negro and Indian blood among the Creeks of Oklahoma has produced some splendid specimens of virility, and it is within the writer's knowledge that two generations ago (1869-1875) Florida could show the same.

natives in a manner not thought of by any other nationality, so that their names remain not only in Canada and Nova Scotia but in the western Lake region and in the Valley of the Mississippi. Mr. Gilman instances Jean Nicolet, the first white man to see Michigan and Wisconsin, whom Champlain sent to live with the Algonquin tribes to learn their languages, and who married an Indian woman and lived like the Indians. The late Reuben Gold Thwaites ("Colonies" p. 48) draws a contrast between the French and the earlier Spanish colonists: "Unlike the Spaniards they rather improved the savage stock [by intermarriage] than were degraded by it."

Mr. Elliot Coues, in his recent Introduction to Chittenden's "American Fur Trade," observes that "the extensive intermarriage of the two races [French and Indian] during more than a century, under the regime of the fur trade, has done more than any other one thing toward the ultimate civilization of an almost untamable race." Such tribes as the Peorias, Miamis, Choctaws, Cherokees and others which early intermarried with the French, are today among the most intelligent Indian tribes, and have made the best progress toward civilization.

History has until recently paid scant attention to the doings of common folk, yet between the lines of the earliest narratives of those high born adventurers of France who, while Jamestown was struggling for existence and Plymouth Rock had not yet been heard of, had penetrated by way of the St. Lawrence and the

Ottawa well into the west, we may discern as sharing their adventures a considerable proportion of humbler folk, the "poor whites" of France. It must have been so. From the fur-bearing animals of the new world, France, the clothier of Europe, gained more wealth than Spain from all the gold of the south country, and to the fur traffic working folk were essential. As time went on they came by the ship load to serve as hunters, as trappers, as burden bearers.

Not all of these, indeed, were of the lower classes. Men with good blood in their veins, but full of the spirit of adventure, cast in their lot with these humbler folk, chiefly preceding them in fact as *coureurs* and *voyageurs*. To these the United States owes an immense debt. They were the pioneers of commerce on Lake Superior and on other northern waters; in their bark canoes they crossed and recrossed the continent long before other white men had crossed the Alleghenies. They were the first roadmakers, broadening for their burden bearers the Indian trails that followed the buffalo tracks, showing the way for the military road, the plank road and the railroad. "Broadly speaking," says Mrs. John M. Kinzie, the author of "Waubun," "the continent has been opened by these men."[6]

With them or closely following them came priests,

[6] In 1914 New York and Massachusetts celebrated with interesting ceremonies the recognition of the Mohawk Trail between those states. Like most other Indian trails this one was in existence long before white men saw this region, but it was quite as much through French as English traders that even this trail became a highway of the white people.

who for the weal of all concerned encouraged their marriage with Indian girls and baptized their children — children who bore a notable part in the development of our Northwest, to the very shores of the Pacific. Many of these alliances were necessarily without other than Indian ceremony, for as the years went on, *coureurs* and *voyageurs*, "that wonderful race of men," as Parkman calls them, went farther afield than the good Fathers, with all their devoted enterprise, could follow; but relatively few of these bonds were broken. However universal the reputation of the French for marital infidelity, that reputation is not borne out by the relations of the French with Indian women from that day to this.[7]

Not that these men were models of all the virtues. The Jesuits in their "Relations" and La Hontan in his "*Voyages*" give them a pretty bad name. The priests were afraid of their brandy and of the influence of their recklessness upon their Indian converts. Intendants who, like Duchesneau, desired to establish the colony of New France upon a stable basis deprecated the influence of "the call of the wild," though Duchesneau doubtless exaggerates when he says (1680) that "forty per cent of adult males are running wild in the woods." The worst of them were no doubt profane and disreputable, but even the Jes-

[7] The Rev. John P. Williamson, a missionary to Indians who are nearly all mixed-bloods, himself the son of a missionary and born in a tepee, who has passed a long life among Indians, writes me that even in the present generation Frenchmen married to Indian girls, by Indian ritual merely, are usually more faithful than Americans whose connection with Indian women has been blessed by a religious ceremony.

uits and La Hontan never dream of accusing them of such sins as were committed by the Spaniards in Central and South America or the Dutch in the far Orient. The lower stratum of this class may have been, as Parkman says, "half savage," but they were not brutal. Men who could endure the hardships of the life must have been, as Professor Colby says, (op. cit.) physically picked men. And when we consider the stifling restrictions with which the French colony was controlled in the 17th and early 18th centuries, we can realize that the chief incentive of their escape to the woods was certainly not the low motive of profit. In an exaggerated form, as Prof. Colby says, the coureur represents the energy, the dash, the boldness which all the early settlers of New France to some extent displayed; and we may add that he gives evidence of singular fidelity in other relations as well as in those with women. It was the later voyageurs, the majority of them with Indian blood in their veins, whom Gov. Stevens in the early 19th century describes as "a hardy, willing, enduring class," who need to be treated kindly, and are "the most obedient, hard working fellows in the world;" but the race had not greatly changed since the beginning.

Not coureurs and voyageurs alone, but soldiers also were encouraged to marry Indian women, and more than one instance is found of men of rank taking Indian wives. Though the legend that the celebrated interpreter Madame Montour was the daughter of Count Frontenac is without foundation, yet such offi-

cers in the French army as Sabrevoir de Carrie, father of a long line of hereditary chiefs, the military Commandant Jean Baptiste Cadotte, ancestor of men of note in Indian diplomacy and in literature, the Baron de St. Castin, already mentioned, married the daughters of Indian chiefs.

Such Canadian writers as Mr. Benjamin Sulte and the Abbé Tanguay are indeed stout in the contention that very few of the scions of French nobility who made illustrious the early history of New France married Indian women, and with some notable exceptions they are doubtless right. But though for many reasons a large number of young men of noble birth were attracted to the New World, we have already seen that they were few in comparison with the whole. Mr. John Reade's statement (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 1885) that hardly any family of the lower ranks of original settlers in Canada is without some Indian blood is not in essential disagreement with Mr. Sulte and the Abbé Tanguay. Dr. James Douglas (op. cit.) finds comparatively few French mixed-bloods in Canada (he is referring to the earliest settled territory), but some in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, perhaps even in Maryland, and many in the Northwest. In fact, owing to the century-long enmity between the Iroquois and the French there was an unusually large proportion of captives, many of them women, adopted or married into the tribes of the Six Nations. Many of their descendants are today persons of prominence, proud to trace French-

Indian ancestry; notably such men as Prof. J. N. B. Hewitt of the Smithsonian Institution and Mr. Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist and member of the Department of Education of New York State. To a less extent the same was the case in Northern Pennsylvania, the "South Door" of the Iroquois Long House.

To Dr. Douglas's statement Dr. Charles Eastman adds that there are "many French mixed-bloods in Maine," and Dr. Speck particularizes with the statement that the blood of St. Castin flows today through the veins of seventy-five per cent of the Penobscots, "all of whom, practically, have French blood," he adds.

These statements are not necessarily in contradiction to the assertions of the Canadian writers just mentioned. The members of the ruling class naturally remained in the cities, Quebec, Montreal, and later Detroit, Mobile, New Orleans. It was the humbler folk who penetrated the forests and married among the Indians, and whose mixed-blood children bore a part, and as I hope to show a not unimportant part, in the early civiliation of the United States. Not a few of these Frenchmen of lower degree married the daughters of Indian chiefs. "Antoine Gamelin, messenger," as he signs himself in a State paper so late as 1832, was son-in-law of a Wabash or Miami chief. As early as 1693 a member of La Salle's expedition married the daughter of the chief of the Kaskaskia Indians. We shall later find the commandant of the

important post of Ste. Marie du Sault, as also the French nobleman who became the father of "the Father of Wisconsin," and other men of prominence, becoming sons-in-law of chiefs of the Sioux, Potawatomie, Winnebago and other tribes, and the ancestors of men to whom our country is deeply indebted.

However it may be in Canada, it is certain there is much Indian blood among the descendants of those Frenchmen who were the earliest settlers of a large part of the Middle States and of some parts of the Northwest. In the southern and western part of Pennsylvania were the Shawnees, who early in the 18th century had migrated from Carolina and settled on the western branches of the Susquehanna. Many of these were trading with the French before the Proprietory Government had extended its interest so far westward. More than one historic French name appears among this branch of the Shawnees, among them that of Cavalier, the famous Camisard leader. Nearly all the earlier cities of our western states, from Chicago to the Rocky Mountains, grew up, like Vincennes, around a French fur trading post, sometimes for convenience established, as were Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien, in an Indian village, sometimes, like Michilimackinac and later, Chicago, at a convenient site for a military outpost, whither the Indians flocked for trade; and in either case French and Indians mingled in marriage.

In fact, only in Detroit and Kaskaskia, of all the Middle West, was intermarriage of the French and

Indians not general in the early days. The late John Gilmary Shea said that few French families of this region are without some descent from "the noble Illinois tribe." Prof. Alvord of the University of Illinois thinks, indeed, that marriage between French and Indians was not so generally practised in Illinois as is commonly believed, yet the Handbook of American Indians appears to agree with Shea: "Few families of French descent in Illinois and Missouri are free from Indian blood." Mrs. Kinzie states in "Waubun" that most of the inhabitants of Chicago in 1831 (the year after the place was laid off in town lots) were Canadians or French mixed bloods with "occasionally a stray Yankee." It was in the next year, 1832, that Maximilian, Prince of Wied, on his travels through the West, found at Council Bluffs Agency, Mo., a number of French servants of the American Fur Company married to Omaha or Oto (Siouan) women. On the Osage River he also found many French-Osage Indians. So recently as 1845 very much the larger proportion of the white inhabitants of Minnesota were Canadian or Swiss French, and most of these intermarried with Indians. English was spoken by not more than three families in the State. In the Red River country in 1848 there were no white women. The inhabitants were French Canadians or *metis*, 405 of them with Indian wives, whose children were set down on the record as white.

Well into the third decade of the nineteenth century all the traders in Michigan were French mixed-

CHICAGO in 1831

The house nearest the fort, on the left, is that of "The first citizen of Chicago." See p. 105.

Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

bloods or Frenchmen with Indian wives, such honored names as Rolette, Beaubien and Grignon being among them. "No doubt the proportion of Indian blood in the United States is far larger than has been supposed," writes a student of the subject in a private letter.

It is painful to read in a text book designed, and very widely used, for the advanced instruction of youth, (An American History, David Sanders Muzzy, Ph. D., Barnard College, Columbia University), so utter a misapprehension of the relations between the two races in the early days as the following: (pp. 85, 86) "These wild Frenchmen often sacrificed their native tongue, their religion, even their very civilization itself, and joined the aboriginal American tribes, marrying Indian squaws, eating boiled dog and mush,[8] daubing their naked bodies with greasy war paint, leading the hideous dance and the murderous raid." Mr. Muzzy's estimate of the Peace of Paris is that "for Canada it meant the breaking of that unnatural alliance with savages;" utterly ignoring the true character of that alliance as its features are spread upon every page of early chronicle and later story of our western states. The only cogent, and the quite sufficient, protest against this historian's misreading of the data of history lies not in argument, but in the serious

[8] Mr. Muzzy apparently forgets that the crime of eating mush (hasty pudding) was universally committed by our New England ancestors, our Dutch forbears, too, and even persists to this very day among many who can claim no Indian blood. The soldiers of the Revolutionary army were mainly fed upon it, as the American public was lately (May 1917) reminded.

study of the contribution of French Indians to the development of our country and its civilization.

It must be admitted that such a study is not an easy one. The slow method of hand-picked facts, from chance allusions in local histories, in the publications of Historical societies and in Colonial and American State Papers, supplemented by correspondence and interview, alone avails, since the subject is as yet unworked. The difficulty is enhanced not only by the orthographical difficulties with which we shall find the priests struggling in efforts to register marriages and baptisms, but by others which have been encountered by later writers, making it not easy to trace the parentage of mixed-bloods.[9]

Moreover, certain names truly French are identical with names as certainly English or at least British. There is a fair probability that the George Morgan who in 1777 was Superintendent of Indian Affairs, as well as others of the name Morgan whom we meet in the old Illinois Country, were descended from some member of the family of the Sieur de Vinsenne after whom Vincennes, Indiana, was named, and whose family name was Morgane. Francois Morgan, nephew of

[9] "Mr. Carrow" of the Lewis and Clark expedition, for instance, was probably a mixed-blood by name Pierre Garreau, son or reputed son of a Frenchman or French- Canadian. (Fort Pierre: S. Dak. Coll: 1, p. 187.) "He was courteous in his manners very intelligent and was highly esteemed by all his associates, white and Indian. When I knew him he had no children left, . . . three of his sons were killed by the King." (Private letter to the librarian of the Chicago Historical Library.) This is one of scores of instances. The honorable metis name Boileau has three different spellings today; La Framboise has more than three. Viall, Vieux, are found for Viaud, etc.

the Sieur de Vinsenne, was the second Commandant at Ouatenon, near the later Vincennes. Yet we cannot be sure that this name, often occurring among Indians, even to the existence of an Indian village of that name on the Mississippi River, is not the result of adoption rather than of blood inheritance.[1]

Admiration, a grace of which the Indian is eminently capable, has its share in the difficulties of the student of this subject. "Logan the Mingo," the son of a Frenchman adopted into the Oneida tribe, effectively concealed that French blood which, if recognized, would have made him more than ever abhorred and dreaded by the whites of New York and Pennsylvania, by taking the name of his admired friend James Logan, Secretary and for a time Acting Governor of Pennsylvania.[2] (H. A. I., 1; 772).

The absence of data for differentiating between French and other mixed-bloods, and even between full and mixed-bloods, greatly complicates this study. The first attempt of the American Government to establish

[1] This was the opinion of so well informed a person as Senator Clapp (to whom I am much indebted), who, however, had forgotten until I reminded him of it that Morgan was the family name of the first (French) governor of Vincennes.

[2] The ethnologist, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt (H. A. I. 2; 548) quotes John Bartram as saying that Chief Shikellamy, Logan's father, was a Frenchman "born in Montreal, captured and adopted by the Oneidas." "A trusty good man and a great lover of the English", says the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1731. The Rev. George B. Donehoo, writing in "The Red Man" (Dec. 1914), says that Shikellamy made possible the settlement of Pennsylvania, if not the American Nation; and though we may take this judgment with a grain of salt, it seems certain that the English must have blundered fearfully in other acts beside that brutal murder of Indians, including a number of relatives of Shikellamy's son Logan, by white settlers on the Ohio in 1774, which made Logan the inveterate and fearful enemy of the whites which he became.

the latter distinction was made in the census of 1910, the results of which have been but lately given to the public, (published in 1915). In this census, however, no effort is made to distinguish between nationalities in the parentage of mixed-bloods, and inferences must chiefly be based upon what history tells us as to the localities in which the French for the most part entered into relations with the Indians. Even the invaluable Handbook of American Indians (H. A. I., Bulletin 30 of the publications of the Smithsonian Institution), "the Indian's Bible" as students of Indian subjects are apt to call it, seldom undertakes to make this distinction. The only studies of the subject as yet appearing in print are Mr. V. Hazard's already quoted "French Half-breeds of the North-west," made for the Smithsonian in 1879, and the Rev. A. G. Morice's recent *Dictionaire des Metis*[3] neither of which contemplates our immediate subject. This differentiation is however not less important as a contribution to our past history than for the light it throws upon the Indian character.

If the time for idealizing "the noble red man" after the manner of Chateaubriand and early novelists of his school is long past, past is also the time for contempt and objurgation of the race. Now, though late, is the time for a candid attempt to understand the Indian people, and if some exercise of the idealiz-

[3] To avoid repetition of an awkward compound I shall henceforth frequently adopt the Canadian usage, designating French mixed-bloods as "metis" a word which, though denoting mixed-bloods of whatever races, has in Canada and in our Northwest come to be restricted to persons of French-Indian ancestry.

ing faculty is necessary for such understanding, this is no more than is necessary for arriving at any truth. There was pathetic cogency in an utterance at the first convention of the Society of American Indians, held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1911: "I do believe our growing disbelief in ourselves is due to our having been misrepresented so long, and deferring everything to the white man's opinion of us."

"Think of me at my best," said Steerforth. It is the earnest longing of every intelligent Indian that his race should be thought of at its best. And because such Indians recognize that in general their best, at least from the white man's view point, are the French mixed-bloods, the present inquiry, pursued during a number of years, has in every instance been welcomed and facilitated by Indians and mixed-bloods, and also by whites who have been closely associated with them as scientists, artists, missionaries, teachers, postmasters or Indian agents. Such whites are well nigh unanimous in their judgment that, so far from "uniting the worst characteristics of both," the French mixed-bloods who form no unimportant fraction of our Indian population have for the most part inherited the best characteristics of their ancestors of both races, and are, generally speaking, superior either to full bloods or to mixed bloods of other white lineage.

II

The Original American

YET if we are to think of the Indians of the present day at their best, we must first ask what were the original inhabitants of this country, what were their standards, their ideals, before the white man came. "Warlike, ruthless, without settled homes or productive industries," comes the prompt reply from the vague knowledge or the satisfied ignorance with which we have until now been content.[1]

Even if this were a correct description of the Indian of that period, which it certainly is not, we must remind ourselves that it also describes all human beings, even whites, at certain stages of their existence. These are the accidents, not the essential characteristics, of any race. Each race is differentiated from any other far more by intellectual and moral characteristics — ideals, aspirations, standards of conduct — than by the physical traits of color, height, form of head or slant of eye, by which the unthoughtful dis-

[1] Mr. A. C. Parker, writing in the "Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians" (June 1915), distinctly refutes the allegation that American Indians were nomads. They were sedentary, and cultivated the ground for the greater part of their food, though at certain periods of the year they went far afield to hunt the animals which were necessary to them for clothing quite as much as for food. With regard to productive industry, the fact that our Government is now endeavoring at some expense to revive the well-nigh lost industries of various tribes is a sufficient answer, even without the witness of the moccasin, the Navajo blanket, much exquisite pottery and basketry, and the pemmican without which Arctic and Antarctic exploration would be impossible.

tinguish them. Cruelty, for example, no more characterized Samoset and Massasoit and Squantum of the earliest days of white immigration, than it characterized the Mohican Samson Occum who went to England with Whitefield, and so interested the people of that realm that not only private persons of influence but the King himself made contributions to the amount of $60,000 which were by Occum appropriated to the founding of Dartmouth College for the education of Indian youth. The undesirable qualities which we constantly ascribe to Indians no more necessarily characterize them than at the present day they characterize the full-blood Sioux O-hi-ye-sa, whom we better known as Dr. Charles A. Eastman, lately Agency surgeon for the Government, and in 1914 Director of the permanent Boy Scout Camp on Chesapeake Bay, whose writings and whose life have done much to remove the stigma which unjustly rests upon the Indian; or the Apache Dr. Carlos Montezuma, for long years Government physician on various Reservations, and later Professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons and in the Post-Graduate Medical School, Chicago; or the gifted young Winnebago minister Henry Roe Cloud, a graduate of Yale. We are quite ready to give these men rank with men of any race, but we are not so ready to recognize that such as they are legitimate interpreters of Indian character, true exponents of the forces that our country has wasted by its failure to give the Indian a chance to realize his best.

Such was the Creek orator Opothleyaholo, who

after long effort to save the lands of his people in Georgia for their possession, finally withdrew from that Nation when it decided, against all his eloquence, to espouse the Confederate cause, and with about a third of the Creeks joined the Union, leading them as they fought their way from Carolina to Kansas — a migration which for tragedy may rank with "The Flight of a Tartar Tribe."[2] Such were a large number of the Nez Percés, a tribe of unmixed blood, who in 1831 sent over the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a delegation to ask for "the white man's Book of Heaven," and who during the Civil War served as volunteers, never asking nor receiving a dollar of pay. This tribe eventually earned for itself a bad name by breaking out in protest against the outrages of white settlers on their lands. Its then Chief, Joseph, after a masterly campaign, in which however he was worsted by the United States forces, led his people, their old men, women and children, toward Canada, in "a retreat worthy to be remembered with that of Xenophen's Ten Thousand" (H. A. I. 1: 634), but which is none the less memorable for its witness to the compassionate heart of the Chief, who, almost within sight of the promised land, was moved by the sufferings of the non-combatants of the party to accept the bitter humil-

[2] They started with women and children for Kansas, three hundred miles away, pursued by men of their own race whom they resisted in many bloody battles. "Freezing, starving and dying, they at length reached Kansas. . . . The able bodied men enlisted, and the history of these three Indian regiments presents as honorable a record as any in the army." (George A. Reynolds, Agent. "Indian Affairs, 1869", p. 417.)

iation of surrender to the pursuing troops of the United States.

Such were John Otherday and Paul Mazakulamana, Christian Indians of the Sisseton band, who after the Spirit Lake massacre in 1857 followed the bloody trail of Chief Inkpaduta[3] and rescued the two surviving prisoners.[4] Such was the Seminole Chief John Chapko, a "splendid specimen," writes the agent in 1869, "sergeant in an Indian regiment of the United States Army during the Civil War," who "loves Lincoln," and "is an earnest church member." Such was Chief Ouray of the Southern Utes, noted for his services in suppressing the outbreak of his tribe, a man whom Carl Schurz thought the noblest man, of any race, he had ever known.[5]

It is not fair, it is eminently unfair, to judge of the original American by the Reservation Indian of today. "The Reservation Indian is not the noble red man of yesterday," writes Mr. Parker (Quart. Journ. S. A. I., 1, 1915), "though all the

[3] This fearful massacre is often adduced as an illustration of the revengeful character of the Indian. It cannot be denied that when it comes to avenging injuries he is ruthless, cunning, in many respects barbarous, but as Dr. T. C. Moffett ("The American Indian on the New Trail," p. 22) points out, the Indian is never the aggressor. There are two sides to the dreadful Spirit Lake massacre, whose leader Inkpaduta has been characterized as "too vile to be even countenanced by the Sioux"; for as Dr. Moffett reminds us (op. cit. p. 24, n.), "if the grievances of the Indians which led to this massacre were narrated as the Indians felt them it would lighten much of its dark hue."

[4] John Otherday not only rescued Mrs. Gardner in 1857 but in 1862 helped in the rescue of a missionary party of forty-three.

[5] Mr. Edwin Willard Deming, the well known painter of Indians, from his wide acquaintance with this people, is of opinion that, without detracting from the praise due to Chief Ouray, there have been many nobler Indians than he.

elements of nobility have not departed.'' He points out that even in Oklahoma the depressing effect of conditions evolved a people upon whom the agencies of human development there given took scant effect. ''The miseries'' of the Indian's external life ''are the result of a bewildered, disappointed and darkened mind.'' We may add that the doubtful status of the Reservation Indian, half pauper, half responsible for his acts — not as a free agent, but as a punishable creature, — is enough to depress any race to the lowest physical as well as moral terms, so that, as Dr. Moffett points out, it is a wonder that he is as good as he is.

When one hears an Indian, possessing the education of a white man, urging upon Indian students at Carlisle the importance of cultivating the ''hereditary virtues'' of the Indian, ''honesty, sympathy and the religious instinct;'' when one reads from a cultivated Indian pen the matured conviction that ''the great ideals of the old life must conquer the intrusive race'' (us white folk), one realizes that it is time to study those virtues, those ideals; and this knowledge to some degree gained, one sighs that the effort has been rather to root out than to understand the instinctive convictions and aspirations of the Indian.

The Rev. Henry Roe Cloud finds three basic elements in Indian character; belief in the Great Spirit, respect for personal authority in things religious, and the sense of need of vital relationship with the spiritual world. Dr. Eastman (Quart. Journ. S. A. I., 1,

SA BATISTE PERROTE
A descendant of Nicolas Perrot
In his costume as Chief Medicine Man.
French-Sioux. See p. 161.

1915) speaks of the "spirit of his democracy, the very essence of patriotism and justice between man and man" as a contribution to our own ideals, now recognized by painter, sculptor, author, scientist and preacher. Mr. John W. Converse (ib.), says, "his reverence, his honor, his hospitality, his bravery, his passionate love of freedom and independence" are "a few of many Indian qualities which must be preserved."

The impressions of early French travellers appear to bear out the opinions of present day Indians just quoted. Nicolas Perrot, *coureur du bois* and later interpreter between the Indians and three successive governors of New France, who in 1671, acting for the King of France, took possession of the Northwest, observes, in "Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississipi," which Mr. James Douglas (op. cit.) calls "the best account we have of the Indians of the Upper Lakes," that the Indians have both good and bad moral traits, their hospitality surpasses all that is general among Europeans. In these respects Perrot's editor, Jules Tailhan, (Translation by Miss Emma Helen Blair, p. 138), finds that Perrot "falls far short of the reality." If any one has a misfortune or accident, Perrot continues (p. 137), the entire village goes to console him, men for the men, women for the women." The justice among them is very great, he goes on; in a case of murder being committed upon one of another village or tribe, all in the incriminated village bear a part in the forfeit. To this Tailhan adds that among the Hurons,

if in case of theft the actual offender cannot be found, the nearest village is held responsible (a view which reminds one of a certain Mosaic law which provides, in case of an undetected criminal, that atonement shall be made by the inhabitants of the nearest village, Deut. 21 : 1-9), the crime being punished rather than the criminal.

As Perrot finds the Indians very cowardly, Tailhan supplements, "not cowardly, though cautious." Their idea of courage is not ours, but they are "almost as brave as the heroes of Homer." An anonymous author adds "there is no temerity among them." He possibly had in mind the practice ascribed to the warlike Iroquois, of sending three messages of peace to the enemy before engaging in war, a practice which again reminds us of the Mosaic code.[6]

"Lazy" and "Indian" seem still almost to form a hyphenated word in the white man's language. Intelligent investigation of the economic condition of the Indians before the white man's appearance on the scene might show that though their industries were not such as are essential in the present state of civilization, nor pursued with the same motive of acquiring a surplus of commodities, yet the people were by no means indolent or lazy. The existing assumption is chiefly due, perhaps, to the manifest indisposition of a

[6] We read in the Penn. Colonial Records (1768) that "Scarrooyady said 'The Great Being who lives above has ordered us to send Three messages of Peace before we make war.' " Scarouyady the "Half-King", was an Oneida chief of prominence in the middle of 18th century, a firm friend of the English colonists and as active an enemy of the French. He was with Braddock at the time of his defeat.

large number of Indians to cultivate their Reservation lands. This indisposition indeed hardly surprises those who know the story of the frequent removals of Indians from lands long cultivated by them to unbroken if not barren regions. In 1865, the Hon. D. M. Cooley, Commissioner of Indian affairs, wrote sympathetically of the enforced removal of the Winnebagoes from their homes in the "very garden of Minnesota," "where they were independent and happy and always loyal to the government and friendly to the whites," to a place where they would have starved and whence they were forced again to migrate. Two years later the then Commissioner reported his view that the Winnebagoes "have a just claim against government on account of their removal from Minnesota *at their own expense,"* (Italics mine). Commissioner Parker in 1870 reported to the Secretary of the Interior (Cox) that certain bands of Potawatomies and Winnebagoes in Wisconsin objected to being removed, as they owned or leased land which they were cultivating.

Bishop Walker, making a plea for the Osages in 1884, after their enforced removal, says "their newly allotted land is largely untillable. The rations which the Government provides are only sufficient to keep them on the ragged edge of starving . . . . . and this is the benevolent provision of the United States for its wards — peacable, loyal wards, too . . . . . the marvel is that in their wretchedness, their hunger and absolute despair, they have not risen and revenged themselves

in some way.'' ''They are a worthy people,'' he adds.

The intelligence of the Indian within certain lines is probably doubted by none. La Potherie in his *Histoire* (17th century, translated by Miss Emma Helen Blair) shows a shrewd apprehension of Indian characteristics, mental and physical: ''These peoples whom we treat as savages are very brave, capable leaders, good soldiers, very discreet and subtle politicians, shrewd, given to dissimulation (at that period deemed an important part of diplomacy among European nations, and by no means instanced by La Potherie as other than a virtue), understanding perfectly their own interests, and knowing very well how to carry out their purposes.'' An interesting illustration of Indian intelligence, much older than La Potherie, referred to by some early chroniclers but only recently clearly understood by our Indian agents, is found in the system of ''Winter Counts,'' practiced by the western Indians. Incidentally it bears witness to the prodigious powers of memory of an unlettered people. Mr. Samuel La Pointe, the metis agent at Pine Ridge, S. D. writes: ''I have a 'winter count' in my desk that starts from the year 1759, which year is recognized'' by the Sioux Indians as the ''winter or year when the people scattered;'' the following year, 1760, is known as ''the winter when the fishers were killed,'' and so on down to 1910, ''the winter or year of the death of Red Cloud; this year (1913) will be known in the Indians' 'winter count' as 'the year of the death of Hollow Horn Bear.' ''

The Blackfeet, who have been characterized as "fierce, yet gentle," are an outstanding instance of loyalty to a government that has not always been fair to them. This tribe (properly called Siksika) was a hunting tribe and was never at war with the United States, (H. A. I. art. Siksika) though in the early days its general attitude was hostile. Gen. Parker, when Indian Commissioner (1870), wrote of them as "a nation called hostile, but the Agent thinks it is because they are badly treated." Surely they had reason to deem themselves "badly treated" in the years 1833 to 1840, when coincidently with the extinction of the buffalo, which had afforded them their chief subsistence, their rations were cut off by Government, in consequence of which some six hundred of them died of starvation. At this writing (March 1916) many of them are still in a starving condition.

Yet when three years ago (1913) a delegation of their chiefs came East for President Wilson's Inauguration, they paid a visit to Carlisle Indian School at Commencement, and in the course of the "experience meeting" which is a feature of that occasion, the aged Chief Hollow Horn Bear, through an interpreter, made an address which was a dignified expression at once of a deep sense of the grievances of his tribe and of genuine loyalty and fidelity to the Government. Highly significant was the remark of Mr. A. C. Parker to the Indian students on that occasion: "You can sing 'My Country, 'tis of Thee,' as none others can."

The death of Hollow Horn Bear in Washington,

on his return from attending the Indian ceremonies on Staten Island shortly after the Inauguration, will be remembered. He was not a head chief of the Blackfeet, but by reason of his great age and his superior intelligence was held in the highest respect by his tribe. That he was capable, even at an advanced age, of adopting new views was shown during his visit to Carlisle. Always until then opposed to sending Indian children away from home for education, after examining that school he confessed to an entire change of opinion.

Notwithstanding his reputation for taciturnity, amounting apparently even to surliness, the Indian is fundamentally social. This appears not only in his thinking in terms of clan, band, tribe, while whites think in terms of the individual, but in the construction of the Indian family. Husband and wife, though of the same tribe, must belong to different gentes or clans of that tribe; their children therefore have certain rights in and owe certain duties to the two clans or gentes thus united. (J. N. B. Hewitt, art. Tribe, H. A. I.: 2: 814).

The tribal organization naturally conforms to this inherently social ideal. "In order to constitute a tribe a people must . . . . . possess a more or less common mental content, a definite sum of knowledge, beliefs and sentiments, ... and must also exhibit mental endowments and characteristics that are likewise felt to be common, whose functioning results in unity of purpose, in patriotism and in what is called common

sense." (Ibid.) The racial consciousness of the Indian is therefore strong to a degree that it is difficult for the white to appreciate. Dean Inge ("Studies of English Mystics") has lately reminded us that "modern psychological science ascribes great importance to the racial consciousness as a factor in individual character;" and here perhaps we shall find a key to much in Indian nature and in Indian actions that have hitherto puzzled us. At least we may understand that that common mental content of which Prof. Hewitt speaks, and which more than geographical position, more even than kinship, is the bond of an Indian "nation," deserves sympathetic study.

The proverbial hospitality of the Indian has a deep affinity with this essentially social nature of his. No wonder that he finds it difficult to understand the high moral ground on which we white folk justify our so different practice. On the contrary, he distinctly doubts its high morality, and accounts for it on grounds little flattering to our self-esteem. Mr. Leupp, in his little study of "Red Man's Land," quotes from Chief Canestogo, of the Onondagas, an utterance very much to the purpose in this connection:

"You know our practice: If a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we warm him if he is cold, we give him meat and drink that he may allay his hunger and thirst, and spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return.

"But if I go into a white man's house and ask for

victuals and drink they say, 'Where is your money?' And if I have none they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog!' You see, *they have not yet learned the little good things our mothers taught us when we were children.*" (Italics mine).

The love of Indian parents for their children has been often noted, but the intelligence of their affection and their high standard of child culture indicated in the above words, is borne out by many Indians of recent times.

We are told by Sarah Winnemucca (Mrs. Hopkins), the "heroine of the Bannock war," Gen. O. O. Howard's interpreter, a full blood Piute, (who by her lectures in Boston so alarmed the venal Indian agents of her day that they retaliated by attacking her character, Judge Bromfield of Nevada effectually refuting the calumniators), that all Indian mothers teach their children "manners and refinements" and also "nature," which especially in its aspect as *orenda* [7] has so large a part in the religion of the Indian. She dwells upon the high toned morality taught by Indian mothers to their children; and there is perhaps not so much absurdity as might appear in her conviction that Christian society has "missed the moral reformation

[7] "Orenda"; the Iroquois word for the spirit which was supposed to be inherent in natural forces. The Algonquin "manitou" and the Siouan "mahopa" "correspond approximately if not exactly with this Iroquois term in use and signification." (H. A. I. 2, 148, art. Orenda.) Hence arose the assumption of the whites that the Algonquian word manitou was the Indian term for God. Dr. Moffett, in his very intelligent work already cited, so explains it and also gives "orenda" as the Iroquoian word for God; a very natural mistake, since "the possession of magic power is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods." (H. A. I. art. cit.)

it might have had if the white people had become acquainted with the noble Five Nations and others whom they have exterminated.''

Mr. Leupp expatiates upon the ''perpetual good humor'' of Indian children, who seldom quarrel, and are always sunny and kindly. Perhaps Dr. Moffett's observation (op. cit.) that ''there are no severe words in Indian languages'' throws light upon this disposition of Indian children. Dr. Eastman (''Indian Boyhood'') gives the same impression, and to a degree explains it by noting the respect with which parents treat their children. Perhaps the fact that children are never given nicknames, or what the French call ''little names,'' illustrates this respect, with the fact that each significant act of the child as it progresses in years is likely to result in the gift of ''a new name.''

The ethnologist, Mr. Francis La Flesche, a French-Omaha, says in the preface to his autobiographical story ''The Middle Five,'' that every Omaha child receives careful instruction from infancy not only in ''courtesy'' but in ''the grammatical use of his mother tongue,'' no baby talk being permitted. The full significance of this statement appears only to those who understand something of the characteristics of Indian languages, not only ''the manifold variety of Indian linguistic families, embracing a multitude of languages and dialects,'' but ''their rich vocabularies, flexible grammatical methods . . . . . above all their capacity of indefinite expansion, corresponding to culture growth.'' ''The intricacies of Indian languages

are even yet but partially understood,'' continues Mr. H. W. Henshaw in his masterly article on the subject (H. A. I. 1, 579). It is therefore not surprising that Mr. La Flesche should deem that ''the misconception of Indian life and character so common among white people has been largely due to their ignorance of Indian modes of thought, beliefs, ideas and native institutions.''

That saving grace, a sense of humor, has been recognized in the Indian, notwithstanding his proverbial taciturnity, by all who know him well. Such expert students of Indian character as Dr. Moffett and Mr. Leupp love to dwell on the mirthfulness and ready repartee of the Indian. Mr. Alanson Skinner of the American Museum of Natural History, a Menominee by adoption, urging the importance of recording and preserving the unwritten Indian literature and folklore, remarks upon the humor with which these national traditions are permeated. Dr. Charles Eastman (op. cit.), protesting against the notion that the Indian has no sense of humor and no faculty for mirth says, ''I don't believe I ever heard a real hearty laugh away from the Indian's fireside. I have often spent an entire evening in laughing with them till I could laugh no more. . . . . . However, Indian humor consists as much in gestures and inflections of the voice as in words, and is really untranslatable.''

All this is a strong witness to that idealizing faculty, which, though we admit that it is one of the most precious endowments of the Frenchman, we have

JOHN NAPOLEON BRINTON HEWITT
French-Tuscarora
Ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution.
See p. 181.

not so easily recognized in the Indian. Even the strong belief in magic power which was an essential element in the effectiveness of every tribe was more than a vulgar belief in sorcery; it was the outflowering of their religious attitude toward nature, and an important witness to the idealism of this people.

Of this idealism Indian art and especially Indian music,[8] which we are only beginning to appreciate, are telling illustrations. No one could hear the Carlisle School band render the Indian March, composed by an Indian student, so thoroughly Indian in spirit, even to the artistic adaptation of the war whoop, without feeling the idealism that pulsates all through it.

The well informed reader of today has better sources of information on these subjects than were accessible to the ever-to-be-admired Parkman, yet there are still many who show like ignorance with him of the religious instinct of the Indian; "The primitive Indian was as savage in his religion as in his life. He was divided between fetish worship and that next degree of religious development which consists of the worship of deities embodied in the human form . . . . His gods were no whit better than himself." (Introduction to "The Jesuits.") We of today may learn better from such men of Indian ancestry as Mr. Arthur C. Parker and Prof. Hewitt. They dwell with

[8] Miss Nathalie Curtis made a notable contribution to that understanding of the Indian mind of which we white folk stand in need when she published (in 1907) "The Indian Book", concerning which Mr. Roosevelt wrote to her from the White House, "These songs cast a new light upon the depth and dignity of Indian thought."

delight upon the lofty ideals and stately ritual of their ancestors, whose religion was founded upon that noblest of sentiments, thanksgiving, and found in the life of all nature the breath of him "who holds the skies." The "beauty and power" of the Iroquois rituals of Death and of Mourning, the dramatic character of the ritual of Condolence, founded upon the three words, peace, righteousness, power, — a ritual of which, say these gentlemen, no one person now knows the whole, but of which by diligent research they have succeeded in piecing together a large part — speak a high range not only of religious but of intellectual capacity, with a remarkable facility of poetic expression. The Iroquois are indeed the intellectual superiors of most Indian nations, though not of all of them. The Cherokees and the Sioux, not to speak of the southern Indian races, are in many respects their equals, and in some their superiors.

Though religion and morality do not always go hand in hand even among whites who profess and call themselves Christians, we find, with the genuinely religious spirit universal among Indian races, a high standard of morality, and even of decency, which may well put some whites to the blush. A recent illustration comes from the Nez Percés, whose children had been sent to the public school. The parents presented to the authorities this petition: "The long-haired Indians request that the whites in the school do not swear or use vile language with the Indians." An Indian policeman at Wolf Point, Mont., resigned his position

because his superior officer used profane language (Moffett, op. cit. p. 272).

This high standard of morality is especially noteworthy in sexual relations. There is no record of the violation of the marriage vow by any Indian woman married to a Frenchman. It may surprise some among us, familiar though we may be with our own early history, to be reminded that careful investigation of the records of our Indian wars fails to discover, in the bitter narrative of the atrocities perpetrated by "Redskins" upon the whites, the slightest evidence that any woman captive was ever violated by her captor or by any other Indian.[9] There are instances of white women being tortured by Indians — in Indiana, after extreme provocation, with offences against some of the holiest instincts of Indian nature — fidelity to the pledged word, and religious reverence for the land.

This remarkable standard of sexual morality is fundamental to Indian character and is based upon the Indian idea of woman. Notwithstanding the apparently unchivalrous committal of agricultural labor to the women — a division of occupation which in fact is necessary in every primitive society where the mili-

[9] So Schoolcraft, whose first wife was an Irish Chippewa; and so, at the present day, the distinguished ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, who also states that no house of ill-fame has ever existed on any Indian Reservation. Mr. A. C. Parker, who is of the Seneca tribe, tells of his white teacher in Salamanca, N. Y., who used to walk to and from school along the railroad track. She often met drunken and bad Indians, but was never afraid of them; of whites she was afraid. Mr. Alanson Skinner observes that some tribes west of the Mississippi today afford exceptions to this high sexual standard. It is perhaps not fair even if possible to inquire how far these western Indians of the present day may have been influenced by intercourse with whites.

tary spirit is dominant, and of which cultured Germany and France and even England and our own country are now giving an illustration — the low standard of female morality which is hardly separable from a servile condition was absolutely unknown. Mrs. Kinzie (op. cit.) says of the Winnebagoes among whom she lived what might be said of any other tribe: "The strictest sense of female propriety is a distinguishing trait among them." This would be impossible if the males of the race were sexually immoral.

The Indian considers the female sex to be inherently sacred, as standing in a peculiar relation to the earth, which is the mother of them all. It is Mr. Hewitt's conviction that Indian women would never have sold the land to the whites. In fact the sale of land was to the Indian unthinkable. "It was impossible for a chief, family, clan or any section of a tribe legally to sell or give away to aliens, white or red, any part of the tribal domain," says Mr. H. W. Henshaw (H. A. I. 2 : 283), "and the inevitable consequence of illegal sales was bad feeling, followed often by repudiation of the contract by the tribe as a whole. Attempts by the whites to enforce these sales were followed by disorder and bloodshed, often by prolonged wars." The almost isolated case already mentioned, of the torture of white women by Indians, occurred in connection with a flagrant violation of the rights of the Miamis and their confederates by settlers in Indiana from the English Colonies (the French had long been living among them in peace and amity), enforced by

St. Claire's expedition in 1791. The uprising of the tribes was a determined and for a time successful attempt to stop the occupation of their land by Americans. The recital by Blue Jacket, the Shawnee chief, in reply to St. Claire's demands, of the deeds of the "Big Knives" could hardly have been pleasant hearing, even to one so determined as was the American officer to find bad qualities in the Indians only, and none in the whites. The essential justice of the Indians' claim was admitted. The United States Commissioners, at a great meeting with these Confederated Indians (twenty two tribes who, in accordance with former definite treaties, had persisted in refusing to consider anything but the Ohio River their boundary), in 1793 acknowledged that they were in their right, but urged that it was now impossible to move the whites, and offered a large sum in payment. The Indians fiercely rejected the offer, but suggested a way out: "Divide this large sum of money which you have offered us among these people (American settlers), give them each a share of your proffered annual payments; further, give them all the United States must spend in armies to fight Indians, and there will be more than enough to satisfy them . . . . . We want peace. Restore to us our country and we shall be enemies no more." No ruler, they insisted, had a right to permit any one to buy Indian lands.

It was all a question of the point of view, if we overlook for a moment the cruelties of the disagreement. The Americans made no attempt to understand

the Indian view point, the Indians were incapable, both by long tradition and by inexperience, of understanding that of the Americans.

It will do us no harm to remember, when learning of the cruelty of the Indian, that the white man was not above imitating him, even in the State founded by the benevolent Penn, friend of Indians. Bounties were offered for Indian scalps, not only in Pennsylvania, but also, in accordance with the example there set, in Ohio; not for those of men only but also of women and children, if above ten years. "For males above ten years scalped and killed $134......for females above ten years scalped and killed $50." In both these states *Christian* Indians were hunted, and murdered like dogs, shot in church as they knelt to pray. (A. C. Parker, op. cit.).

In fact the "treaties" by which Indians of many tribes "ceded" lands to whites were not by them understood as giving absolute rights in perpetuity—an act to an Indian absolutely unthinkable—but simply the right of occupation and exploitation—a sort of perpetual life-rent.

An instance in point occurred when in 1797 Great Britain and the United States undertook to divide between them the lands of the Ojibways (Chippewas) on the border of what is now Minnesota, this being the agelong home of this people. The bewilderment which they felt at the proposal, so shocking to their religious susceptibilities, would have given rise to war, but for the explanations and persuasions of Jean Baptiste

Cadotte, whom they loved and trusted, and of whom we shall hear later.

It is the opinion of the early annalist La Potherie (*Histoire*) that "the existence of a high ethical feeling toward strangers (he is referring especially to captives) is often in evidence, even when no self interest is to be served," an ethical feeling which easily allies itself with the chivalry of the French.

In strong contrast with this ethical feeling was the murder, by their white guests, of the Cherokees who helped Washington in his later expedition against Fort Du Quesne; and the remonstrance of Chief Ottakullakulla, to those of his braves who urged retaliation, should go down to our children's children in their school text-books. Urging them not to violate the laws of hospitality, but to conduct those "who came to us in the confidence of a pledged friendship safely back within their own confines before we take up the hatchet," he all unconsciously emphasized the woes that our forefathers brought upon themselves by sheer stupid treachery.

Indian loyalty to the pledged word is indeed proverbial, and is all the more worthy of recognition in view of frequent painful evidence of the contrary characteristic, in its dealings with this people, on the part of the American Government, which, as General Sherman said, has "made a hundred treaties with Indians and never kept one." It is worth while for us to remember with humiliation the action of Congress, which in 1783 passed, and in 1789 confirmed (the action be-

ing reaffirmed by sixteen states when organized) the following: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty they shall never be invaded nor disturbed *unless in just, lawful wars authorized by Congress* (italics mine); but laws founded on justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrong done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." (Cited by Moffett, op. cit. p. 36) "The day will come," said that noble friend of the Indian, Bishop Whipple, "when our children's children will tell with hushed whispers the story of our shame, and marvel that our fathers dared so trifle with truth and righteousness." (Quoted by Moffett, op. cit.)

It was of the original American, not of the white man who is now in possession of his heritage, that Wendell Phillipps was speaking when he said, "Neither Greece nor Germany, nor French nor Scotch can show a prouder record than the Indian in his heroic stand for justice and right." Far too many conflicts between our government and the Indians have arisen from their deep recognition of the importance of justice and right, coming in conflict with the blindness of the ruling race to the essential nature of these principles.

The present Secretary of the Interior (1915), whose clear appreciation of the essential elements of the present state of the Indian problem augurs well

for both parties to it, has said that for one hundred years the Indian has been spun round like a blinded child in a game of blind man's buff. "Treated as an enemy at first, overcome, driven from his lands, negotiated with most formally as an independent nation, given by treaty a distinct boundary which was never to be changed while water runs and grass grows,[1] he later found himself pushed beyond that boundary line, negotiated with again, and then set down upon a reservation, half captive, half protégé — What could an Indian, simply thinking and direct of mind, make of all this?"

Nothing, surely could he make of "all this" than that ethical confusion of mind which, as Dr. Carlos Montezuma suggests, is the greatest of all the wrongs which his people have suffered at the hands of the whites. "Originally the Indian only knew that truth and righteousness governed all things, but the deceit and hypocrisy of the whites have made him doubt . . . . I challenge any paleface who can meet the fidelity even unto death that exists today and always has existed in the heart of every Indian in this country."[2]

[1] The usual formula found in countless early treaties. See American State Papers passim.

[2] An illustration not only of fidelity unto death but of the capacity to be fired by the desire for freedom may be found in the Wappingers of the Hudson who were friendly to the Patriots. A writer in the Quarterly Journal S. A. I. (I. p. 83) says that the first blood shed in the Revolution was that of these Indians. They were at Bunker Hill.

III

Indians of Mixed Blood — A General View

"THE French mixed-blood," said the Seneca Indian and Indian Commissioner, General Ely Samuel Parker, a man of note in whose veins ran both English and French blood — "stands out as superior to the full blood or the Anglo-Saxon mixed blood; not so much in the present generation, perhaps, but in the former he was a man of mark."

It would, however, be unjust to some Indians of Anglo-Saxon blood to make this assertion too sweeping. That the intermarriage of Indians with men or women of British, and later of American stock, has not in general resulted well, is no doubt in some degree to be accounted for by certain adverse circumstance prevailing in the Colonies and later in the United States. But to the writer it appears chiefly to be due to the inherent lack of sympathy between these and the Indian. The French, as I hope to show, were better adapted by natural characteristics to understand and be understood by the native peoples of this country (and the history of recent French colonization enables us to add, of any country) than men of other nationalities.

Mixed-bloods descended from Scotch or Irish fathers appear as a general thing to be of a higher grade than those of English or American parentage (especially in the Canadian Northwest, says Dr.

Speck). We learn that there are more characters of importance among the Cherokees (relatives of the intelligent Iroquois) than among other tribes, their mixed-bloods being as a rule of Scotch and Irish, with a little Huguenot blood. The noted Cherokee chief, John Ross, who took his Scottish father's name, stout defender of the rights of the tribe in their national territory, is a case in point. The Hon. Elijah Sells, former superintendent of Indian Affairs, found among the Cherokees "many persons of culture who would be ornaments to any circle, not excluding the halls of Congress." It was of the Cherokees, while they were still in their ancestral homes on the Atlantic seaboard, that William Bartram wrote, "as moral men they stand in no need of European civilization; ..... they are just, honest, liberal and hospitable to strangers, considerate, loving and affectionate to their wives and relations, fond of their children, industrious, frugal, temperate and persevering." After spending "weeks and months" among them he had "never seen the least contention or wrangling among them," .... "never saw one cross to his wife." "In this case," he observes, "they stand as examples of reproof to the most civilized nations ..... indeed their wives merit their esteem and the most gentle treatment, they being industrious, frugal, careful, loving and affectionate."

Each adult member of this largest tribe in the United States (41,798 souls) has at last been given his allotment of land, and now perhaps for the first time in eighty years they may forget that "journey of

horror, starvation and death,'' during which one quarter of the tribe was left in graves along the way, when the United States Government, forgetting its solemn confirmation to the tribe of the remnant of their vast eastern lands ''as long as rivers run and grass grows,'' drove them from the Atlantic seaboard to the Indian Territory.

Alexander Robinson (Chee-chee-long-way), son of a Scotch officer in the British army, who had been elected by his mother's tribe Chief of the Potawatomies, — those Potawatomies whom English and Americans thought fierce and cruel, but whom the early French settlers had found to be ''the most docile and affectionate toward the French of all the savages of the west;'' whose ''natural politeness and readiness to oblige,'' says Tailhan, ''was extended to strangers,'' — gave full proof of these characteristics of his tribe at the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre (1812). In that hour of tragic horror he and his French-Indian wife, Catherine Chevallier, sheltered the fleeing whites, and both are held in grateful remembrance in Chicago to this day. Robinson was later interpreter for Gen. Lewis Cass with the Chippewas in the treaty of Prairie du Chien.

Owen Mackenzie, son of a Scotch-Indian trader, is celebrated for ''his great feat in bringing the hostile Blackfeet ('fierce yet gentle' the early French had found them) to the treaty of 1830-'31, and thus opening up their country to trade. The descendants of the Scotch Colonel Dickson, commander-in-chief of all the

Indians who fought against the Americans in the War of 1812, who married a Sioux widow and at the close of the war became an American citizen and "raised a family of children and grandchildren of whom any state might be proud," (letter from the Rev. J. P. Williamson) — all these are examples of Scotch mixed bloods.

Among mixed-bloods whose white ancestry is not traced is the Cherokee Chief Sequoyah, who by his invention of the Cherokee alphabet turned his tribe from illiterate savages to literates; thus enabling Elias Boudinot, a (possibly) full blood Cherokee who adopted the name of the philanthropist to whom he owed his education to aid in the translation of the Gospels into his native tongue. Jolly, the half-breed Cherokee chief, adoptive father of Gen. Sam Houston and uncle of his wife, "very plain, prudent and unassuming in dress and manners, a Franklin among his countrymen, and affectionately called the 'beloved' father, "says Nuttall ("Travels"), has yet a bad name in the Handbook of American Indians for intrigue and disloyalty to his tribe. But after all is said in praise of mixed-bloods of British ancestry, their services in the development of this country sink into insignificance beside those of mixed-bloods of French lineage.

This is perhaps the best place in which to narrate the services to this country of that Indian already named, who inherited both Anglo-Saxon and French blood — General Ely Samuel Parker of the Seneca Tribe. Lawyer and civil engineer, forty years Grand

Sachem of his tribe, whose distinguished services in the Vicksburg campaign won him a place on Gen. Grant's staff as Adjutant, Colonel and Military Secretary, it was he who drew up the terms of Gen. Lee's surrender. He subsequently rose to be a general of cavalry in the United States Army, and after being Commissioner of Indian Affairs and holding other national offices, completed his honorable career by aiding the ethnologist, Louis H. Morgan, in writing his "Legends of the Iroquois."

IV

French Mixed-Bloods of the Middle West

IT was not only in regions now Canadian and in our own Northwest that alliances between French and Indians were frequent; our Middle West bears many traces of them. It was but a few years after La Salle passed that way, leaving a pathetic memory in Fort Heart-break (Crève-coeur) on the Illinois River,[1] that a number of French hunters and trappers followed Father Marest to the old Indian village of Kaskaskia and married among its daughters. The records of baptism begin with 1695, all of full-bloods, but soon the names of French fathers appear. Rather amusing is it to discover in those church registers of Kaskaskia, rescued after long disappearance by Professor Alvord of the University of Illinois, the difficulties of the good Fathers in entering names of Indian mothers and godmothers (names like Marthe Me-tou-nou-eth-amon-co-ne, Domatilla Te-hue-gou-anak-iga-bou-cona, and worse); and their desperate resort to the Greek alphabet to render the unfamiliar sounds.

Michel Aco, (Accault) who guided if he did not

[1] Joseph Wallace ("Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule") says that the Fort was not so named because of the desertion of La Salle's men, but after the fortress of Crève-coeur in Brabant, lately taken by the French and demolished. This is possible in view of the fact that La Salle's faithful friend and almost "alter ego", Henri de Tonti, had taken part in that victory; but the question is still an open one.

actually lead[2] Hennepin's expedition to the Upper Mississippi, married Maria Aramapiochicone, daughter of the chief of the Kaskaskias. She was one of Father Marest's first converts, and of great service to him in teaching the children of the tribe. Her son, Pierre Aco, was the first white (mixed-blood) child baptized in "Old Kaskaskia;" he lived to be a citizen of the second Kaskaskia, that "little Paris in the wilderness," in which, in the 18th century, was gathered more of grace and refined charm than could be found elsewhere in what is now the United States.

The daughters of the Piankeshaws early intermarried with the French traders at Ouiatenon, a post near the later Vincennes, and French blood may still be traced in the older families of that city, which, however, in the early days was far from equaling Kaskaskia in either refinement or charm. It shares nevertheless with Kaskaskia the honor of having welcomed, at much cost, the dawn of republican ideas as represented by George Rogers Clark and his small but intrepid force.

In 1790 the people of Vincennes sent to Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory and vested with the powers of Governor and Commander in chief, a letter expressing a sense of the privilege of beholding "the principles of free government unfolding among us," and signed by Antoine Gamelin, Magistrate, (father, probably, of the future "messenger") with

[2] Prof. E. G. Mason ("Kaskaskia and its Parish Records") is of the opinion that Aco may have headed the expedition of which "that intrepid falsifier" Hennepin, claimed the credit.

four additional French and two English names, as well as those of Francis Vigo, military commandant and Henry Vanderburgh, major of militia. So capable were these barely literate people of appreciating the significance of the new ideas.

The American Government showed itself incapable of a reciprocal appreciation. The French settlers on the Wabash had long been trading with the Indians, when in the first third of the eighteenth century they received from them a large tract of land. Their right to this tract was never questioned during French supremacy, but their claim to this land, which they had held for nearly a hundred years, was not ratified by the United States, which at heavy cost they had aided in its conquest of the region. (J. B. Dillon, "History of Indiana," p. 10).

French mixed-bloods were indeed long the dominant race in that part of the country. So late as 1855 all the electors of Knox County, Ind., in which Vincennes is situated, were French mixed-bloods. "A very sociable people," says Mr. H. S. Cauthorn, the recent historian of Vincennes, who, though like other Americans he fails to apprehend the true character of the Indian, shows some apprehension of the results of intermarriage between them and the French. Their children, he says, "inherited all the virtues as well as the vices of the French and Indians in combination. From the French vivacity and good nature, from the Indian wild, roving and irascible traits of character."

Upon the serious and essentially religious social consciousness which we have found in the Indian — a seriousness by no means devoid of the capacity for humor, — the lightsome gayety of the French was engrafted with peculiarly happy results. The early traveller Flagg ("Far West," Western Travels, I, 134), speaks of "that happy harmony with their ferocious neighbors for which the early French were so remarkable." In social relations the result could hardly fail to be that charm of manner which universal testimony accords to the French-Indian.

The French mixed-bloods, says Robinson ("Great Fur Land"), are of "social disposition, having many children, of which there is usually a daughter who is sent to a convent school and learns to read and write. Dancing and the social round occupy them in winter, leaving the morrow to care for itself. They are fond of color but have good artistic taste." This is no doubt a fairly accurate description of the more nomadic group of this class, the bushrangers, hunters, trappers and others holding subordinate positions connected with the fur trade. We shall see them at their best in the early narratives of the Green Bay region — those reminiscences of the Langlades, the Grignons, the Viauds, the Porliers ("Wisconsin Historical Collections"), in which nearly all the prominent folk were metis, living with their kindly treated Indian slaves under the paternal rule of the aged Charles de Langlade, the French mixed-blood "Father of Wisconsin." We see them again at a lesser degree of

culture, but with similar characteristics, in the story of such a town as Prairie du Chien, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River, the old Indian village sold to Canadian traders in 1781, which since the later years of the 17th century had been a great mart for traffic (Prof. J. D. Butler in Wis. Hist. Col. X.), and which through all its history as Fort Crawford, Fort Shelby, Fort McKay, and in its various mutations of governmental relations, French, English and American, to the end of the 19th century was almost exclusively a metis town. "Old Fort Crawford, a settlement of French half-breeds called Prairie du Chien," it is called by Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark Van Cleve in "Threescore Years and Ten." This revered and beloved woman, whose recent death is still mourned in St. Paul, was born at Fort Crawford in 1821, scarcely an hour after the arrival of her parents on their way to the newly established Fort Snelling, later St. Paul, of which Captain Clark was to take command. In that year the only white people within three hundred miles of Fort Snelling were shut in the hollow square of the fort, their only connection with the outside world being the bi-monthly mail brought by an Indian on a pony from the nearest settlement, Prairie du Chien, three hundred miles down the river.

The newly made mother had ample experience of the kindliness of the metis of Prairie du Chien, into whose hands she was thrown. The relations between them appear always to have been friendly. We read of a visit paid by little Charlotte Clark and her

mother to the friends at Fort Crawford a few years later, going thither by boat on the Mississippi from Fort Snelling.[4]

Some notion of the refinement of the French mixed-bloods at a relatively early period is given by Zebulon Pike, who in 1805, on his return from exploring the sources of the Mississippi, visited Prairie du Chien and found "the furnishings of the houses decent......those of the wealthy display a degree of elegance and taste." Their business enterprise was manifested in "the trail which they established overland" from their town "directly west to Sioux Falls" to facilitate the fur trade with the Omahas.

Mr. Hazard finds in French mixed-bloods "a clear, but not strong moral sense." The German historian Mommsen found high moral qualities in the French race. "The French are like their hero, Vercingetorix," he says, ("History of Rome"). "They have charm, they fight for liberty, they respect the pledged word, they die for their convictions." The American people, influenced in childhood by school histories based upon works of English origin, have not always entertained so high an estimate of the French people, but we may now surely admit that the French mixed-blood has a dual inheritance of a high order; the idealism, the religious instinct, the social endowment, the genius for loyalty, with other qualities

[4] It may be mentioned by way of parenthesis that the boat was so slow that all the children of a large party on board had chicken-pox and recovered before the end of the three hundred mile journey.

which in varying degrees characterize both the Frenchman and the Indian at their best.

If it is to be expected that the outstanding characteristics of both ancestries shall meet in the mixed race, equally perhaps is it to be expected that the inherited prejudices of generations with regard to both peoples should have perverted American judgment and blinded American eyes to the true character of the metis. He is not an angel, certainly not a superman, but he has qualities and he has performances to his account which deserve recognition.

Whatever may be the native intelligence of the Indian, the entire concensus of opinion on the part of those competent to form one is that the metis usually form the progressive part of the Indian population, being quick to learn, bright, and no more immoral than those around them. Nearly two and a half centuries ago Nicolas Perrot, that acute observer of Indians, had "always observed that the half-breeds (at this period all French) raised among the Indians were generally resolute, remarkably brave, and respectable in the nation." His opinion is borne out by countless illustrations down through the centuries.

Many French mixed-bloods have given full proof of valor; more than one has shown himself as capable of heroism as that child whose name unfortunately McKinney and Hall ("Indian Tribes" 2:116) omit to give, the twelve year old son of the Winnebago mixed-blood Wa-kam-ha-ka (son of a French trader and the Winnebago squaw Mon-ka-ush-ka), of whom

these authors narrate that in 1834 he was in a small encampment of Winnebagoes when a band of Sauks and Foxes surprised it and killed all but this boy. The little hero fired a gun, killing a Sauk brave, then swam the Mississippi and brought the news to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, thus enabling the agent at that post, by prompt interposition, to prevent a bloody war. The boy's father, who though half French was so much an Indian that his French father's name is not preserved, was "a fine looking, graceful man," who first and last had eleven wives, (the Winnebagoes up to that time being polygamous). Though, as our authors say, he was "familiar with the current transactions of the day," he was (perhaps not unnaturally, in view of the recorded dealings of our government with his tribe) "obstinately opposed to all the benevolent plans of the American Government or individuals for civilizing his race."

The necessity, if not the advantage, of removal westward was early recognized by the intelligent metis Pierre Chartiers, who about 1830 led a number of his Shawnee fellow tribesmen from the mouth of the Conedogwinut Creek near Carlisle, Pa., to the banks of the Ohio a few miles below the present Pittsburgh, where in the vicinity of a creek which still bears his name he established a trading post.[5] Thence they

[5] If the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania were our only sources, our opinion of Chartiers would be anything but favorable. For many years he was the object of the hatred and despair of the authorities of the Proprietory Government of that colony. Having a trading post on the Alleghany in 1745 (having "disposed of his effects" at Carlisle), he had "gone over to the enemy"

eventually went westward, joining their western kindred the Shawnees of Kentucky and Ohio at Shawneetown, which half a century later came into our history as Tippecanoe, the scene of the defeat by Gen. Harrison of Tecumthe and the Prophet. Later, as we shall see, the remnant of the tribe removed to Kansas under a metis whose name is still in honor.

Noel Mograin, a French Osage, was Gen. McCoy's interpreter on an exploring expedition ordered by the Government in 1828 with a view to the removal of the Indians of Indiana and Illinois. The Kansa (Kansas) region was selected and thither we shall presently see the French mixed-blood, Medard Beaubien, son of "the first citizen of Chicago," Jean Baptiste Beaubien, leading a party of his Indian relatives.

by accepting a military command under the French king. Quite naturally, the Proprietory Government feared him and regretted that he had not earlier been dealt with as he deserved, "but an Apprehension that the Shawnees (whose perfidious Blood partly runs in Chartier's Veins) might resent upon our Traders any severities upon him had saved him" (Memorial of the Government to the Assembly, "Col. Rec. Pa." IV. 75-77). Though he had persuaded a party of the "perfidious" Shawnees to remove with him "to a greater distance upon another River," the Governor never recovered from the deadly fear that "a Person of his Savage Temper" would "do us all the Mischief he can," and suggests that it would be well to attempt to conciliate the Shawnees. This dread runs through all the records of the time, though with no mention of any overt acts on the part of Chartiers against the proprietory government. In 1748 (Ib. V. 311) a footnote observes that some of the Shawnees had been seduced by Peter Chartiers, a noted Indian trader, and removed from their town to be nearer the French.

V

Metis of Noble Blood on Both Sides

WE have seen that while "not many noble" sons of France intermarried with the natives of the western world, yet there were some distinguished exceptions.

An instance of a family of French mixed-bloods carrying in its name through several generations the "noble particule" appears in that of Charles Michel de Langlade, "the Father of Wisconsin," whose early career as an officer in the armies of New France awakens especial interest, since it was by the tactics which he planned and almost forced upon his superior officer that Washington met the most crushing defeat in which he ever had a part. De Langlade's father, Augustin, was of the old French family Mouët de Moras, and the first to adopt (doubtless, according to French custom, from his mother's family) the name de Langlade. He was a fur trader at Machilimacinac, and after English possession one of the first to settle in the valley of the Fox River. Of this Augustin and his Ottowa wife Domitilde, widow of the Sieur Daniel de Villeneuve, and sister of the Ottawa head chief La Fourche (Mis-so-wa-quet), Charles de Langlade was the son. Accustomed almost from infancy to Indian warfare, he led a band of 650 Indians to reinforce de Beaujeu's 1250 regulars at Fort Duquesne. He di-

vined the tactics which alone could prevail over Braddock's disciplined army; and after de Beaujeu's thrice repeated refusal, induced him to surprise Braddock by an attack on the Monongahela.[1] The result is history. Only Washington and his Virginia militia saved the rout from becoming a massacre.

De Langlade's training for such warfare had begun early. Always more than half Indian in spirit, as Tassé says, at the age of five he was taken by his Ottawa uncle La Fourche as a sort of mascot to war against another tribe allied with the English. The Ottawas conquered, and the tribe, believing the child to be protected by a powerful manitou, yielded always to his influence. He was later sent to Montreal for education, but at the age of fifteen we find him pre-

[1] Mr. Joseph Wallace (op. cit.), basing his statement upon an old French account ("Rélations Diverses sur la Bataille de Malanguéle gagné le 9 juillet 1755 par les Français sous M. de Beaujeu, Commandant du Fort Duquesne, sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock, général en chef des troupes Anglaises"), says that Braddock's defeat was due to Daniel Lienard de Beaujeu, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, and makes no mention of de Langlade. Under the circumstances this was natural enough, but the above facts are too well attested for doubt to be possible. Naturally M. de Beaujeu, once having yielded to the persuasions of his subordinate, would receive credit for the victory. Other explanations of Braddock's defeat are not lacking. The Rev. G. P. Donehoo (op. cit.) says that it "was due far more to the alienation of the Delawares and Shawnees in Ohio, because of the fearful abuse of the rum traffic, than to any lack of ability on the part of Braddock." "The Indians on the Ohio had been driven by the nefarious land sales and the traffic in rum away from the English and into the arms of the French." Unquestionably the blunders of the English in their relations with the Indians contributed remotely to this defeat, but its immediate cause was that given in the text, drawn from original records in the Wisconsin Historical Society publications and confirmed by Judge Campbell ("Wisconsin in Three Centuries"), by Archbishop Tassé ("Les Canadiens de l'Ouest," I. 5. 1878), and more recently by the late Reuben Gold Thwaites (Colonies). Dr. Eastman (Quart. Journ. S.A.I., I. 1915) accounts for Braddock's defeat by his neglect of and disregard for his Indian scouts, a most probable contributory element to the event.

paring for the important part he was later to take in the struggle between two great nations. He was a cadet of acknowledged bravery and ability, and King's interpreter, understanding many Indian dialects. He had already given proof of military ability by various notable exploits, when at the opening of the Seven Year's War Vaudreuil put him at the head of the Indian forces, with whose aid he conquered the Miami allies of the English, and freed the valleys of Northern Ohio from English occupancy. He was twenty-six years old at the time of Braddock's defeat.

De Langlade with his Indians was active all through the subsequent struggle, until on the Plains of Abraham he surpassed himself, after giving counsel which, had it been followed, might perhaps have changed defeat into victory (Tassé, op. cit. p. 28). The war over, he became as loyal to the conquering nation as he had been to the French, settling in Green Bay as Superintendent of Indians for Great Britain, and Captain of militia.

Here, getting word of the conspiracy of Pontiac (who had been one of his young braves on the Monongahela), he might have frustrated it, had not Captain Etherington, "tired," he said, "of hearing his old woman's stories," refused to heed his warning. De Langlade, however, succeeded in rescuing Etherington and his lieutenant, Leslie, coming with a band of Ottawas when they were actually bound to the torture stake, and cutting their cords, defied the Indians to attack him. It was only owing to his powerful inter-

cession that any English life was saved (Tassé, op. cit. p. 52).

At the outbreak of the Revolution Charles de Langlade, then a loyal British officer as he subsequently became a loyal American citizen, offered his services to Bourgoyne, but was met with such open lack of confidence that his Indians refused to fight. He returned to Green Bay and became the leading merchant and landowner in the Fox River Valley.[2] His sons and sons-in-law, whether the children of his first, Ottawa, or his later, French wife, fill a large place in the history of the Upper Lakes during the last half of the 18th century (Thwaites, "Wisconsin"). Though not, as has often been asserted, the first white settler in the state, (not even his father was that), Wisconsin delights to honor Charles de Langlade as its "father." Absolutely fearless on the field of battle, a born strategist, one of the most courageous defenders of the French cause in Canada, he knew how to accept the inevitable, and devoted the last years of a long life to building up the economic prosperity of his state. Yet in his old age he loved to recall his life of adventure, the ninety-nine battles, skirmishes and border forays in which he had taken part, and which he wished had been one more to make

[2] Langlade, "one of the most courageous defenders of the French cause in Canada" (Tassé in Wis. Hist. Col. VII., p. 124), was an admirable illustration of that French type of loyalty to truth which consists in acceptance of the accomplished fact, — a type of loyalty notably witnessed to by the Huguenots, who became "English in England, Germans in the Rhine Provinces, Dutch in Holland and Americans in America," and of which we shall find more than one instance among the metis of the west.

a hundred. He died in 1800, universally mourned throughout the Northwest. His integrity was proverbial. "It would have been easy for him to defraud the government," says Archibishop Tassé (he being at the head of the militia), but his accounts were "always remarkable for the strictest rectitude." The Indians called him A-ke-wan-ge-a-can-so (He who is fierce for the land, i. e. the country).

Two near relatives of Charles de Langlade were in his force in the battle of the Monongahela, and afterward distinguished themselves in the defence of French interests in America: the French-Menominee Souligny, husband of one half-sister (by their Indian mother's former marriage), and Gautier de Vierville, the son of another. This latter sister, Marie Louise de Villeneuve, had married a Frenchman of family, Claude Gautier de Vierville. Their son, the younger Gautier de Vierville, a heroic youth who later with his Indian relatives "fought like a lion" (Tassé) on the Plains of Abraham, did valiantly by his young uncle's side on the Monongahela. Like other French mixed-bloods of intelligence, at the close of the war he "cheerfully rallied under his old enemies the British," and with his uncle de Langlade was active in keeping the northwest Indians faithful to England's interests during the Revolutionary war. For his services during this war he was rewarded with a captain's commission under Hamilton. On the surrender of the latter to Clark, Gautier left the army, and eventually, like others of his family, became a loyal

American citizen. He married first a Winnebago girl, and later Miss Madeleine Chevallier, a "woman of rare beauty." His "numerous descendants at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien" "rank with the best of the old families there," says Thwaites. In his extreme old age he wrote (in pretty bad French) a narrative of a journey he had earlier made to the upper Mississippi.

Gautier de Vierville's eldest daughter married Michel Brisebois, a wealthy trader of Prairie du Chien, and in her home, in that village of metis, the aged campaigner died.

The sons of Charles de Langlade by his Indian wife Domitilde took an active part on the English side in the war of 1812. His grandson, Louis Grignon, held a Lieutenant's commission under Col. Dickson in that war. Great Britain being then in actual possession of Wisconsin, nearly all the metis of that region held British commissions during that conflict. Unlike the French habitants and voyageurs of Illinois and Indiana, who had gone over to the patriots during the Revolution, they were closely bound by blood and social ties to the French subjects of Great Britain in Montreal (Campbell, op. cit.), and therefore were in favor of Great Britain. We have seen Louis Grignon holding a British commission at this time. Another grandson of de Langlade, Augustin Grignon, held a captain's commission and took part in the capture of Fort McKay at Prairie du Chien in 1814. Louis Grignon had long had a trading establishment at that

post and was Indian agent of the western district for the British Government. His correspondence book, which he kept in French, was given by his grandson, Charles Grignon of Green Bay, to the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Col. McDowell, the British commander of the Fort at Prairie du Chien, wrote to Gen. Drummond from Michilimacinac in 1814 that he had appointed Mr. Joseph Rolette, Mr. Anderson and Mr. (Louis) Grignon of Green Bay to be Captains of volunteers, and that the two former had raised 63 men in two days. It was not long after this, however, that Louis Grignon wrote to Barthelotte from "La Baie Verte" (May 18, 1815) "by the Gazette we see that we are ceded to the Americans." He evidently became a good American, like the rest of his family. In 1821 the young American civilian who afterward became Gen. Ellis, U. S. A., went to Green Bay to be teacher of English in the school founded by the five Grignon brothers, metis grandsons of Charles de Langlade, who saw the importance of the English language for the rising generation. The "most princely hospitality" of Augustin Grignon, whose permanent home was at Grand Kakalin, made a deep impression upon the future general officer.

The innate refinement and charm which such mixed-bloods inherited from their French ancestry was an important element in the crude civilization of the northwest.

The traveller Farnham writes ("Western Travels," 18: 39) of the mixed-blood wife and beautiful children of a half-pay officer of French extraction, M. Paimbrun, adding that Mme. Paimbrun had "shown great kindness to Marcus Whitman." Even so late as 1885 the author of "The Wonderland Route to the Pacific," writing of Miles City, then a town of 3000 inhabitants, observes that "the few ladies that keep chivalry alive in the small community are mostly of the aboriginal stock," their mothers or grandmothers having married Frenchmen. Mrs. Kinzie in her fascinating story of the beginnings of Chicago ("Waubun") tells of Mrs. Mitchell, the "extremely pretty and delicate" French-Sioux wife of a Scotch physician settled at Michilimackinac, who had been "a great belle at Fort Crawford in her youth," and of her three daughters, half Scotch and half French-Indian, who, "handsome, attractive and charming," says their younger contemporary Mrs. Baird of Green Bay, had been educated in Europe.

Full of charm are the "Reminiscences of Life in Territorial Wisconsin," by this Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird, whose maternal grandmother, Misigan (Marie) Mascotte, wife of the trader George Schindler, was a French-Ottawa, and whose *métisse* mother Adrienne Lesalière, Mme. Schindler's daughter by a former marriage, opened the first boarding school for girls in the Northwest (teaching reading, writing, sewing and general housekeeping); who herself at the age of fourteen was married to a young American lawyer of

Green Bay and lived there till her death in 1890. Mrs. Baird tells how on their arrival in Green Bay the young couple were met by Mr. Louis Grignon, (long before this a loyal American citizen), who spoke little English but excellent French, but whose manners were delightful; how Mme. Grignon spoke neither English nor French, but only Chippewa. She dwells on the ''extreme gentleness and politeness'' of Mme. Augustin Grignon, whose daughter spoke no English when married to an American who spoke no French by Justice of the Peace Porlier, who also spoke no English. The Grignon house was ''full of handsome daughters,'' those Misses Grignon of Green Bay upon whose charm and good breeding Mrs. Kinzie had expatiated. The description of the large circle of inter-related Grignons, Porliers, Viauds, La Framboises and Rolettes (Joseph Rolette, a man of note, Thérèse's godfather, of whom we shall see much, had married her elder sister), all prosperous, all persons of influence in the pleasantly developing settlement, all apparently able in case of emergency to fall back on one or another Indian tongue when French or English failed, gives a charming glimpse into a primitive society characterized by industry, simplicity and refinement. Not a few, both men and women, had been educated in Europe, or at least in Montreal; yet the little fourteen year old bride would certainly have occasion to feel no sense of inferiority when, notwithstanding her mother's boarding school and the Boys' Academy of her grandfather Schindler, hus-

band of the Ottawa grandmother, her lawyer husband was fain to induct her into the intricacies of written and printed English.

It is doubtless due to the inherent grace and charm of French mixed-blood women that marriages between them and whites of good standing are hardly yet a thing of the past. The first cousin of former Vice-president Fairbanks married a metisse of the Chippewa tribe and we shall shortly peep in at the wedding of a brother of a future President of the United States and a lovely and highly cultured French mixed-blood girl.

A noted instance of a family of noble French blood not only marrying into an Indian tribe, but entirely identifying itself with it, greatly to the advantage of the civilization of the tribe, is that of Lucien Fontanelle. Chittenden in his "Fur Trade," describes him as "one of the best examples of Rocky Mountain 'partisan' leaders of brigades of itinerant hunters and trappers, believed to have been of royal lineage." More probably his mother was the daughter of the Marquis de Fontanelle whose estates were near Marseilles. His parents emigrated to Louisiana in the end of the eighteenth century, and not long afterward lost their lives in a flood and hurricane, while their son and daughter were with relatives in New Orleans. In his sixteenth year Louis ran away to seek his fortune, reached Nebraska, and was employed by the American Fur Company, About 1824 he took to wife the daughter of On-pa-ton-ga (Big

Elk), Chief of the Omaha tribe (who adopted Joseph La Flesche). From this union five children were born. The son Logan was educated in St. Louis, and on the death of On-pa-ton-ga in 1846 became the head chief of the Omahas.[3]

Logan Fontanelle made the most of his education and position for the betterment of his tribe, zealously safe-guarding their rights in treaties with the Government, and having many dealings with the early white settlers, who gave his name to the town of Fontanelle, Neb. Logan's Creek is also called after him. He was killed by the Sioux in June, 1855, while on a hunting expedition. His youngest brother, Henry, was appointed United States Interpreter, and was also Government Farmer on the Reservation, instructing the Indian agent as to the best methods of dealing with the Indians and inducing them to work. He died in 1899. All the four brothers and the sister, Susan Fontanelle, who married the half-blood Louis Neals, were educated, and all used their influence toward civilizing and advancing the status of the Omahas. A number of their descendants are now living in Nebraska.

[3] So the Rev. N. A. Shine, who is a missionary among these people. The La Flesche family dispute this assertion, on the ground that their father, Joseph La Flesche (Estimaza, Iron Eye), was adopted by Big Elk. The cases of adopted sons being chosen to be chief are many, and it is not necessary to decide the question here. The La Flesches have distinguished themselves in many lines of noble service. The Fontanelles have remained with the tribe and are evidently doing good work for their people.

ARTHUR C. PARKER
State Archeologist of New York, President of the Society of American Indians, Editor of the American Indian Magazine, etc.

See p. 179

VI

French-Indians as Mediators

THE Cadotte family is another instance of metis in whose veins runs noble blood both Indian and French. Sons of the last French Commandant at Fort Ste. Marie du Sault, Jean Baptiste Cadotte and his wife Anastatie, daughter of Keech-ki-mun, Chief of the Objibways, Jean Baptiste and Michel Cadotte were educated at Montreal, and married into their mother's tribe. The elder, Jean Baptiste, was the peacemaker between the Objibways (Chippewas) and the British and American authorities.[1]

He was explorer as well, the first to open to trade and settlement an important domain. Having inherited 40,000 francs from his father, the Commandant, he had at once gone into the fur trade, but his generosity to his Indian relatives soon impoverished him. The leading fur trader of that day, Alexander Henry, a friend and partner of Cadotte's father, lent him a large sum of money — a loan which in after years he repaid — and equipping himself anew he started in 1792 for the then almost unknown headwaters of the Mississippi, accompanied by his brother Michel and a party of sixty trappers, coureurs and Indians. This was the country of the Dakotas (Sioux), and many

[1] Supra, p. 42.

were the disagreements between this tribe and the Objibways, many the dangerous moments averted by the courage and wisdom of the two brothers. The immediate result was the establishment of important posts in the extreme north of what are now Wisconsin and Minnesota, till then entirely undeveloped territory. It was here that the difficulty between the Objibways and the two governments occurred, and was appeased by Cadotte's tact, reinforced by the Indians' confidence in him. In 1792 Cadotte was in charge of the Fond du Lac post of the Northwest Fur Company.

It is from his grandson, Mr. William Whipple Warren, that we learn that during the war of 1812 Cadotte's two sons, also named respectively Jean Baptiste and Michel, were either captured or enticed into the British lines, and were given the option of submitting to imprisonment or acting as interpreters for Great Britain. They chose the latter, were active in all the principal battles on Canadian soil, and severely wounded. The elder, Jean Baptiste, third of the name, held a commission under Col. Dickson, but after peace both brothers resumed their American allegiance. Their two sisters, finely educated women, married Lyman and Truman Warren of Massachusetts, descendants of the Mayflower pilgrim Richard Warren, and relatives of Joseph Warren who fell at Bunker Hill.

The Cadotte family is still an honorable one in the region. The younger son of the Commandant, Michel Cadotte, whom the Indians called Ke-che-mi-

shane, "great Michel," a man of liberal education, sent his two sons to college in Montreal. Later in life he retired to his farm on Chequamagon Bay, where years before he had built up a large trade, which afterward passed to his sons-in-law, the two Warren brothers. His wife, who, like his mother, was the daughter of a Chippewa chief, was living in 1850 at the age of ninety. She used to tell her grandsons how in the days when her husband and his brother were establishing trading posts in the north, the women and children were left at Fond du Lac, as the farther regions were dangerous. Her son Michel, who at the age of sixty was living with his mother at La Pointe (Chequamagon) could tell of many hairbreadth escapes of his own. He was the best Objibway interpreter in the Northwest.

Mr. William Whipple Warren, son of Mary Cadotte, in protest against Judge Campbell's statement that most of the Objibways supported the British cause, says that in 1812-15 only one or two of the 9,000 on Lake Superior and the Mississippi River joined the British, under the urgency of Colonel Dickson, who had traded among them and married an Indian woman. The old chief Keesh-ke-mun, grandfather of the two young Cadottes, "nobly refused to join them," says his great-grandson.

Upon the occupation of the Ohio valley at the close of the Revolutionary War the metis among the Miami and Wabash Indians were found to be useful to the government as interpreters and go-betweens,

not only because they were bilingual, or indeed multilingual, but chiefly because, as was always the case, they were trusted by both parties. Confidence on the part of the Indians was especially important in the cases of removals from lands held by them not only by immemorial occupation, but also by treaty — removals which are among the most flagrant cases of injustice ever perpetrated by a powerful nation upon a weaker people. Notable among mediators in such cases was Baptiste Peoria, son of a French Canadian trader and the daughter of a sub-chief of the Peoria tribe. Speaking well both French and English and greatly beloved by the Indians of the Middle West, Peoria's integrity commended him to the United States Government, which he served in the Indian department nearly thirty years. He represented his tribe at the treaty of Edwardsville in 1818, and between 1821 and 1838 assisted in the peaceable removal of the Potawatomies, Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, and Kickapoos to Kansas, where a principal city bears his name, Paoli, the Indian pronunciation of Peoria being Paola. Later he collected the fragments of several Illinois tribes scattered in that state, consolidated them as the "Confederated Tribes," became their chief, and led them peacefully to their newly assigned Reservation in the Indian Territory. There, in 1873, he died. His widow, a Brothertown Indian[2] who had

[2] A mixed group composed of remnants of various Algonquian tribes of New York and New England, who, in the later 18th century, under the leadership of the well known Indian minister Samson Occum, settled in Oneida County, N. Y., called their settlement

previously been the wife of the well known metis, Christmas Dagney,[3] long survived him in "her elegant homestead at Paoli."

The name of Le Roy or Roy has an honorable record among mediators. About 1703 Pierre Roy of Quebec married the Miami girl Madeleine Quaban-quin-quois. For several generations there were sons and daughters of this family who married into the best families of New France, and others who married into Indian tribes, their descendants being found in our Lake Superior region and elswhere in the Northwest, sometimes appearing among the Winnebagoes as Le Roy. In 1871 Peter Roy, a metis, was sent by the Government from Lake Superior to St. Paul as special commissioner to investigate the fraudulent use of Chippewa scrip. It is a long story, dating from the treaty of 1854, by which each Chippewa (Objibway) mixed-blood over twenty-one became entitled to 80 acres of land, secured to him by patent in the usual form. This article was incorporated in the treaty at the request of the most intelligent metis, who hoped that all of their tribe would thus be induced to abandon the roving life and settle upon their land as farmers. Scrip for these lots of eighty acres each was issued to the agent to be claimed by the metis, and having by processes only too well under-

Brothertown (now Brotherton) and adopted the English language. In 1833, with the Oneidas and Stockbridges, they moved to Wisconsin, and soon after abandoned their tribal relations and became citizens. (H. A. I., I, 166).

[3] Infra, p. 155.

stood in those days fallen into other than the proper hands, the government investigation was finally ordered which Peter Roy successfully carried through, to the discomfiture of "some parties who had found it profitable to get this scrip and deal in it." (Ind. Aff.).

The names of metis continually occur in the American State Papers in connection with Indian treaties. In negotiating such treaties they were not only especially useful but indispensable, since only by their persuasions could the Indians be induced to give up their lands. In 1785 there were a number of metis among the Cassetas, Cowetas, Cherokees and Creeks, when commissioners from those tribes (then in Georgia and Carolina) met the American Commissioners and were assured by the latter that the Americans "want none of your lands nor anything that belongs to you" (America State Papers, Class 2, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 41). One is amazed to find these tribes, notwithstanding what must have been a painful disillusionment, still making treaties with the American Government some fifty years later, though apparently taking the precaution of selecting their own (metis) interpreter, James Douzezeau, "by the request of the lower Creeks, the two chiefs, the Hallowing King of the Cowetas and the Fat King of the Cussetas," and others. This Douzezeau (Du Rouzeaux, Dureziaux, and various other orthographies) appears in the State Papers of the first half of the

nineteenth century as government interpreter in the making of treaties with the Indians of the South.

It is interesting but not surprising that French Indians, inheriting from centuries of European ancestry a genius for chivalry, should have thrown in their lot with the race which has been oppressed by the breaking of unnumbered treaties, rather than with that of the oppressors. These treaties, made in all good faith by the less intelligent, or more correctly the less educated, parties, were so seldom broken by them[4] that as one looks through the volumes of American State Papers, the reading of countless instances of unfaith on the other part makes the blood tingle with shame. That was not the first of the list which in 1789 confirmed to the Six Nations in consideration of $3,000 all the land west and north of Oswego Creek in New York State "to remain as a division between the lands of the Six Nations and the territory of the United States forever." Made without prevision of the future, no doubt, but whose fault was that? No wonder that only three years later (1792) Cornplanter

[4] There appears to be no documentary evidence that Indians ever broke a treaty, though once broken by the whites their vengeance was often fearful. One would be glad to believe that it was in sheer shame that treaty-making with Indians was abolished by law in 1871 and "agreements" substituted, if so competent a witness as ex-Commissioner Leupp were not here to testify that the only difference has been that since the substitution Congress has felt free to "take all sorts of liberties" with the latter. A flagrant case of ill faith did indeed lead the Indian Rights Association to bring a suit; but this, after being carried all the way to the Supreme Court, only resulted in a decision of that august tribunal giving the Government an absolutely free hand in disposing of the property of Indians. Since when Congress has acted as if all Indian property belonged unreservedly to it. ("In Red Man's Land", p. 42).

was moved to utter the protest which in the light of all that has since occurred overwhelms the white American with shame: "Father Washington, we know that you are very strong and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear that you are just." It was again from inability to foresee the future that our Government secured lands east of the Mississippi to the Choctaws and Cherokees "as long as water runs and grass grows," only in 1870 to remove them to the Indian Territory. For nearly a century the Government went on lightly making and breaking treaties, from sheer incapacity to anticipate the growth of population; and in the face of remonstrances of Indian agents and Commissioners it has continued the process after that excuse has ceased to serve. It appears only to have learned how to be "just" now that there are no more lands of which to defraud its "wards."[5]

[5] Alas, not even yet! The "still pending" claims of the Pembina Chippewas (p. 118 infra), the long drawn out Senatorial controversy over the payment to the "loyal Creeks" who were freely giving their lives for the Union (supra p. 24), for the cattle taken from them by Government to feed its army during the Civil War, all spread upon our Congressional records, are a disgraceful monument to the bad faith of the American people; for in a government of a people by the people not one citizen is without responsibility for its misdeeds.

VII

Metis Loyalty

IN view of facts like those mentioned in the previous chapter one is ashamed to use the words "Indian treachery," yet the idea has become almost an axiom of American thought. How much depends upon the point of view! The conspiracy of Pontiac, for example,[1] was an unselfish, independent attempt to be loyal to the French, who had always been the friends of the Indians, and under whose subjugation by the hated English the high minded Indian chief found it as impossible to sit down tamely as the English of today under the violation of Belgium's territory.

From these same motives, a generation later, the Potawatomies, "tall, fierce and haughty" from the English point of view, who, said the Jesuits in 1640, "of all the peoples are the most docile toward the French," whose early friendship with the French remained unbroken through all vicissitudes, but who (like the French, with whom they largely inter-married), were capable of accepting the accomplished

[1] H. A. I., art. "Pontiac" gives this chieftain Indian parents, (though their ancestors might have been of mixed blood). John Reynolds ("Pioneer History of Ind.", 1852), who, however, is not always accurate, says he had French blood. In any case he hated England, and "declared before the Great Spirit, the Master of life, eternal hostility to the English", as Hannibal to Rome, says Reynolds. "His soul, like that of Patrick Henry, was fired with pure patriotism."

fact of English domination, perpetrated, out of pure loyalty to the English, then at war with United States, that massacre at Fort Dearborn which is the first event in the history of Chicago. Yet here again, accepting the accomplished fact, the Potawatomies ceded all that region to the United States, and for twenty years more dwelt peaceably among the white people of Illinois, until they were peaceably removed to a western reservation.

Loyalty may thus be the inheritance of the metis alike from his French and his Indian ancestors. Notwithstanding the fact that even the well born and well educated among them appear to prefer to be reckoned as Indians and to cast in their lot with Indians (and this, generations before such a choice involved a share in reservation lands,[2]) their story from the earliest days shows a singular loyalty toward the whites.

In the unsettled years of the latter part of the 18th century, the Kaskaskia tribe in Illinois had a

[2] The number and the quality of men and women having some French blood who in times past and to the present day have elected to identify themselves with their Indian relatives gives not a little surprise to the student who does not appreciate the Indian character. In fact the attraction exerted by Indians over whites of any race is a matter of history. School text books tell of white captives who when rescued managed to find their way back to their captors. Dr. Donehoo (op. cit.) tells of the missionary Pont who, having been sent to Carlisle in 1762 as escort to a large body of Indians and their white captives, had from the very outset trouble in keeping the captives from running away and returning to their Indian homes. These captives were from the Ohio region and therefore were presumably French. And again two years later, when Col. Bouquet came to Carlisle bringing home the white captives of the Tuscaroras, they "had to be bound to keep them from returning to their Indian homes in the villages of the Red Men."

metis chief named Ducoign, "a cunning half-blood of considerable talents" (Reynolds, op. cit.), who was noted for his allegiance to the American government, and whose boast it was that neither he nor his nation had ever shed a drop of white blood. His well-proved friendship for the United States gained him the hatred of all the other chiefs, "and ought to be an inducement with us to provide for his happiness as well as his safety," wrote General Harrison, who had many dealings with him, to the Secretary of War. Ducoign signed the treaty of Vincennes; his name is preserved in the town of Ducoign, Perry Co., Ill.[3]

It was before Clark's expedition to the Illinois country that the three hundred metis who were the only male inhabitants of Mailletstown, learning from their founder, Paulette Maillet, of the defeat and capture by the British of "Mr. Tom" Brady of Kaskaskia, at La Salle's old fort St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, uprose as one man, marched swiftly and secretly across the prairie, captured the fort, though defended by British regulars and cannon, took all the stores, and brought them with the wounded of Brady's party to Cahokia; thus showing, two years before Father Gibault and Francis Vigo, an instinctive conviction of the righteousness of the American cause.

Sadly was their loyalty rewarded! At that time Mailletstown, a metis village on the present site

[3] Senator Clapp is my authority for saying that towns with French names are "nearly all named after Indians", that is, after French mixed-bloods.

of Peoria, Ill., was the home of "a quiet, peaceable people, with no schools and few who could read and write, but in manners, conversation and refinement comparing well with educated folk," (N. Matson, "French and Indians of the Illinois River"). "Only the merchants and priests could read, a gay, happy, sociable people, living in harmony with the Indians, having no laws and paying taxes to no power." Thirty-four years later, in 1812, it was still a village of French mixed-bloods, gay, social and ignorant, living at peace with all the world, far from any American settlement, and not so much as knowing that there was war between the United States and Great Britain. Suddenly, one Sunday morning, as they were all in church, they were attacked by an armed force of Illinois militia with cannon; their town — church, mill and every house — set on fire, their goods plundered, the women insulted, the men all taken prisoners and marched away, leaving women and children helpless and destitute. It had been done at the order of Governor Ninian Edwards, who, deceived by false reports, and perhaps with the recent event at Fort Dearborn in mind, assuming that these peaceable people, being both French and Indian, must be traitors to the United States, had thus set an example to the invaders of Belgium. One man alone escaped, Antoine La Bell. He carried the news to neighboring Indians, who hastened to the rescue of the naked and starving women and children, and carried them in bark canoes to Cahokia. With what must have seemed to him bitter

irony Captain Maillet had before this been rewarded by Congress for loyalty.

La Bell took refuge in Prairie du Chien and later joined the Sioux. In 1882 his descendant, Charles La Bell, was sent to Washington to represent his people in a suit for the recovery of their land — then largely covered by the city of Peoria. Naturally his mission failed, and it was not until after long litigation that eighteen claimants, representing the widowed and orphaned survivors of the massacre, received from the subsequent occupants of the land a considerable sum as damages. At the present day the La Bells are prosperous and influential among the metis Sioux of South Dakota.

In Custer's party in the tragic event on the Little Big Horn were a number of Crow Indians, — Crows, whom Catlin has described as "one of the most loyal, honest and highminded races on earth," and who in this conflict gave full proof of these qualities. It was, however, a French-Sioux, Mich Bouya, who on this occasion gave the supreme illustration of loyalty to this country. He had been captured in childhood by the Crows and brought up among them, marrying the daughter of a Frenchman who had become a member of the Crow tribe. Mich Bouya was leader of the Indians in the action on the Little Big Horn, and had the gallant Custer heeded his warning the awful massacre of that day might not have occurred. Bouya had ascertained that there were more Sioux and

Cheyennes in the valley than Custer supposed. He went with his head men to the Council and warned the officers that it would be death to open the attack before Gen. Reno could be brought up. The answer was that if the Crows were afraid they might stay in camp. "The Crows are not afraid to die," was Bouya's answer, and perfectly clear-sighted as to the result he led his braves to the attack. The Sioux, knowing Bouya to be of their own tribe, made every effort to take him alive. He died by torture at their hands, and his grave is near the top of the hill where Custer fell.[4]

The name of the town of Keokuk, Iowa, preserves the memory of a metis chief who was also a friend of the whites, not only at personal risk but at the peril of his ambitions, for Keokuk, "Watchful Fox," the son of a Fox father and a metisse mother[5] was not born of a ruling family. Through his unrivalled oratory and ability in negotiation he rose to be head chief of the Sauk and Fox nation. Always a loyal friend of the Americans he played into their hands during the Black Hawk War. His greatest oratorical achievement was a debate with representatives of the Sioux and other tribes, in which he established the claim of the Sauks and Foxes to the territory of "The Beautiful Land," which we know by its Indian name,

[4] His daughter, from whom these facts were indirectly obtained, is still living, the wife of a white man, and his grand daughter, reckoned as an Indian, was recently graduated from Carlisle.

[5] So H. A. I. "The Ohio Archeological and Historical Quarterly", 1900-1901, says that his father was half French and his mother a full blood Sauk.

Iowa. He later peacefully led his tribe from Iowa to Kansas Territory and there died in 1848. In 1883 his remains were brought to Keokuk and buried in the public park, a fine monument being erected over them by citizens of the town. Catlin, who has much to say about him, painted his portrait. McKinney and Hall ("Indian Tribes" 2; 20) speak of him as "in all respects a magnificent savage . . . . an able negotiator . . . . dignified and graceful." A bronze bust of Keokuk stands in the Capitol at Washington, sharing with Sequoyah, the father of Cherokee literacy, the only honor thus paid to an original American.

His son, Chief Moses Keokuk, also a metis, continued the tradition of friendship with the United States. He had, says Mr. Charles Dagenett who knew him as an old man, much of his father's ability, was perhaps even his intellectual superior, and of higher ethics. Moses Keokuk died at the Sauk and Fox agency in Oklahoma in 1903, his death being regarded as a tribal calamity. The Report of the Indian Commissioner to the Secretary of War in 1902 speaks of him as "a remarkable Indian," "84 years old, intelligent, progressive, of the very highest character, who with his father have been chief counsellors of the Sac and Fox Indians for 75 years." Moses Keokuk "has done every thing to induce his people to use to good purpose the money they receive for the sale of lands, has taught them to improve their farm houses, stock . . . . every council meeting is as it were a school

of instruction.'' Moses Keokuk became very religious in his later years, was baptized in the Baptist Church, though always a close friend of the Roman Catholic missionary. He ''never ceased to love the old-time life and its associations'', says Mr. Dagenett.

Though Keokuk's state, Iowa, stands alone among states of the Mississippi basin in having no French names in its early annals, yet it still delights to honor the memory of its greatest benefactor, Keokuk's friend, the French Potawatomie Antoine Le Claire. Fort Armstrong, built in 1816 on Rock Island, was the only American settlement in the state when in 1818 Antoine Le Claire, then a youth of twenty, later ''the first citizen of Davenport,'' came as Government interpreter. He was the son of a Canadian French trader of Michilimackinac who had married the granddaughter of a Potawatomie chief. The elder Le Claire had traded at Fort Dearborn, where in 1812 he espoused the American cause, though surrounded by hostile tribes. Happening to be in Mailletstown on business when Governor Edwards ordered the destruction of that village, he was taken prisoner with the other men. While he was still in prison, his son Antoine, whose linguistic abilities were already, at the age of fourteen, remarkable—he speaking French and some fourteen Indian languages—was taken into the government service and sent to school to learn English. From 1816 to 1842 he was government interpreter, serving at many treaties by which vast territories were conveyed by the Indians to the whites.

The most important of these was the Black Hawk purchase of 1832, when, at the price of $20,000 annually paid for thirty years, the extinguishment of the debts of the tribe, and the support of a gunsmith and a blackmith among them, the United States acquired from the Sauks and Foxes 6,000,000 acres west of the Mississippi. During this negotiation Le Claire's warm friend Keokuk, the metis chief of the Sauks and Foxes, had stipulated that out of the tract a square mile (on which Davenport, Iowa, now stands) should be given to Mrs. Le Claire, who was the granddaughter of the Sauk Chief Acoqua, the Kettle, her father being a French Canadian. Another square mile at the head of the rapids, now the town of Le Claire, was given Mr. Le Claire. By the treaty of Prairie du Chien, when the Potawatomies stipulated that Le Claire should receive two sections, lands now in Molines, Ill., and Keokuk, Iowa, became his, the last by gift of his friend, Chief Keokuk.

Hardly was the Black Hawk Purchase concluded when settlers rushed in. Two contending claims for a tract of land in the lower part of what is now Davenport being put in by respectable parties, Le Claire settled the contest by buying both claims, giving the claimants $150 each for a quarter section. In 1835 the town of Davenport was platted by a committee of seven men, Le Claire being one. It adjoined his square mile, which he subsequently added to the city in "additions." Shares in the new town were sold at $250 each. The first religious services (Roman

Catholic) were held in Le Claire's house, a priest coming from Galena; but before long the need of a church became imperative. The first brick building in Davenport, named St. Anthony's Church, from its largest donor, was dedicated in 1838. For this church Le Claire gave a whole square in the very centre of the town, besides meeting a large share of the expense of building. In this church and the school house attached to it were held the first public meetings of the city and its first courts. Business clustered around the little church, which still stands in the heart of the city on property immensely valuable. The same spring (1838), "that well known gentleman, Mons. Le Claire," laid out his First Addition. As the locality was desirable and the title perfect the lots were soon sold, and on this Addition were erected several business blocks, in which, among many other newly organized companies, the Rock River Railroad and the Mississippi Steam Navigation Company had offices.

That same year Le Claire laid out and added to the city his Second Addition. As the town grew he made munificent gifts to all the churches of whatever denomination, he being a Roman Catholic; and on the hill in his Eighth Addition stands St. Margaret's Church, built by Mr. and Mrs. Le Claire, and named for the latter, the granddaughter of Acoqua, "the Kettle." Le Claire had already built a second Roman Catholic Church entirely at his own expense and had presented to the Congregationalists a lot for a church, with similar gifts to other denominations.

From the earliest days Le Claire was closely associated in all matters connected with the weal of the place with Colonel Davenport, for whom the town was named. When in 1838 Davenport was in a bitter fight with Rockingham for the county seat, one promise made by the Colonel was that a court house "as good as the one in Stephenson" (now Rock Island) should be given the county. On the subscription list circulated for this purpose appears the name of Le Claire for by far the highest subscription—$3,000, the next highest being for $1,200, and so on down to $5.00. When the contractor felt a doubt as to the responsibility of the list, Le Claire told him to go ahead. That appears to have been sufficient, but the time came when there was no money for the contractor, who promptly sued Mr. Le Claire. The latter had no money; he went to St. Louis and appealed for help to his friend, Chouteau, the wealthy French fur trader, offering as security a mortgage on his Davenport lands. Chouteau bade him go to the strong box and help himself, refusing any mortgage. Thus the court house was built. The incident shows the character of the man, the way business was done among the French, and the debt that Davenport owes to the French mixed-blood who established the first commercial ferry, served as the first postmaster (for some time carrying the entire mail across the river in his pocket), was the first justice of the peace, who built business blocks, carried on stores and machine shops, dispersed a mob and saved a banker's life by

promising to stand good for the bank's issue; a man who gave his physician a handful of gold when he recovered from illness and later a half dozen blocks of ground in the heart of the present Davenport. For many years Le Claire was Justice of the Peace for all matters between whites and Indians over all the territory bought of the Sauks and Foxes, from Dubuque to Burlington.

In 1840 Le Claire, who had already built the first tavern in Davenport, planned and erected a hotel which was "the finest on the upper Mississippi," "and thus," says the local historian, "did more to build up the place than anything else of the day." ("Davenport Past and Present," Frank B. Walker, 1858). It cost $35,000 and was long a summer resort for people of St. Louis and the South. One of its early guests was the Prince de Joinville, who stopped there with his suite in 1840.

Le Claire was very generous, and his gifts, not only to individuals but to the towns on his lands, were so large that he left but a moderate fortune, which after his wife's death was distributed among fifty-seven heirs, Mr. and Mrs. Le Claire leaving no children.

"Antoine Le Claire," writes a citizen of Davenport, "became rich because he had so much that he could not give it away fast enough to impoverish himself. He realized but little from his mile-square at the head of the rapids. He had a friend who had been sheriff for some time, and who was thrown out

by the whirligig of politics. To this friend, Adrien Davenport, he made the proposition to go to this small settlement, lay out a town (Le Claire), sell the lots and send him some of the money. His Keokuk mile square, or whatever it was, went the same way. He practically gave it to his French friends who needed it more than he did.''

During the early years Le Claire lived in a story-and-a-half house on the ''house site'' stipulated by Keokuk when he reserved the tract for Mrs. Le Claire. When the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad was to be extended across the town Le Claire took $25,000 worth of the stock and gave up his homestead, as the company wanted it for a depot. He subsequently built a ''palatial brick mansion on the bluff,'' where he exercised a generous hospitality. The first locomotive to enter Iowa was named for him.

Le Claire was a genial, vivacious man, fond of society, with conversational abilities of a high order. The first ball ever given in Davenport was given in his house in 1835. Part of the time he played the fiddle for the dancing, but he was the lightest dancer on the floor. The literature of this country owes him thanks for having gathered from the lips of Black Hawk all those traditions of the Sauks and Foxes in which that intelligent chief was deeply versed. The work was copyrighted and published in 1834.

Illustrations of Le Claire's generosity are numberless. In the first train to cross the first bridge over

the Mississippi (April 21, 1856), came a considerable French contingent. Le Claire took them under his wing and established them in one of his "additions." Almost till his death, which occurred in 1861, he was known as "the moneyed man of the town," celebrated as "the original proprietor of Davenport." In 1858, when the Pioneer Settlers' Association was organized, Le Claire presiding, a cane of native hickory with a gold band bearing his name was presented to him, to be handed down to succeeding presidents. The eighth toast on this occasion was to "Antoine Le Claire, first in settlement, first in efforts to make our city peerless among rivals, first in the esteem of his fellow citizens, first President of this Society; may his shadow never be less" (from being very slight he had grown exceedingly stout).

Some of Le Claire's relatives still live in Davenport. A private letter says that Mr. Joe Le Claire (also a mixed-blood) has been a useful citizen of Davenport, has held a number of county and city offices, and is greatly appreciated by a large circle of the older inhabitants.

Though Le Claire left no direct descendants his name is perpetuated by some who perhaps, hardly know why they are proud of it. We find at least two who bore it in the settlement of the far west, though the relationship has not been traced. There was an Antoine Le Claire in Carlisle School a few years ago, and a recent issue of the Carlisle Arrow

announces his marriage to another student of the school. This Le Claire is in the Government employ at Fort Hall Agency, "educated, sober, progressive, and a first class man."

VIII

The Gift of Tongues

AS the French have never been noted for aptitude in languages, it is doubtless from their Indian ancestry that the metis inherited that gift of tongues which in their capacity of interpreters and go-betweens perhaps enabled them to give their largest service to this country throughout its early history.

Though not all metis interpreters have conferred such large benefits upon this country as Antoine Le Claire and other negotiators of treaties who have been here mentioned, it is very certain that few of the treaties by which the United States Government has acquired clear titles to land ever would or could have been made but for the assistance of French mixed-bloods. Archbishop Tassé gives the names of sixty-four treaties which were negotiated by metis, and these are by no means all. Their names are affixed to documents which by peaceable purchase give millions upon millions of acres to the United States, acres which without their aid could only have been acquired at the cost of many lives.

The Laroque name, with such variants as La Roche, Le Rocque, etc., is famous among metis interpreters. Joseph Rocque interpreted between the Government and the Sioux in 1786. Two interpreters

named Jean Baptiste Larocque, father and son, were with the younger Alexander Henry from 1799 to 1814.

Not only in the negotiation of treaties but, and with perhaps still more important results impossible now to trace with definiteness, in the every day intercourse between the whites and the Indians who for generations were their near neighbors, and upon whose kindly feeling the very existence and growth of white settlements depended, have the services of metis interpreters, and their skill in languages, been beyond all reckoning.

Margaret Montour, granddaughter of a French nobleman who was captured by the Iroquois in 1665 and married a woman of the Oneida tribe, an educated woman of remarkable vigor and energy, was "a marvel of linguistic accomplishments." She was official interpreter to the Colonial government, first appearing in that capacity at Albany in 1711, between delegates of the Five Nations and Governor Hunter. She acted in the same capacity at a conference between delegates of the (then) Six Nations and Lieutenant-Governor Gordon[1], and on various other occasions.

The Montour family, by whom, as Justin Winsor

[1] Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt in his article "Montour" in H. A. I., shows what evidence there is to support the conjecture that Mme. Montour was a French Canadian with no admixture of Indian blood, who "for some unaccountable reason" preferred "the life and dress of her adopted people." He himself traces her parentage to "a French nobleman and an Indian woman." She married an Indian, and in any case her linguistically gifted children were metis.

says, the history of the 18th century was not a little shaped, deserves a better notoriety than that which clings to the career of Madame Montour's granddaughter, "Queen Esther," the blood stained heroine of Wyoming. Mme. Moutour's daughter Mary was "a living polyglot of the tongues of the West, speaking the English, French, Mohawk, Wyandot (Huron), Ottawa, Chipewa, Shawnee and Delaware languages." No fewer than seven men of the name served the government as interpreters. Mme. Montour's eldest son Andrew, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, an interpreter of exceptional ability, was long in the employ of the Proprietory Government of Pennsylvania. His influence and power over the Ohio tribes was remarkable. Governor Hamilton, giving him a commission as captain of Indian allies, in 1752, speaks of "your public character and the relation you stand in to the Six Nations." Notwithstanding the damaging fact that it was Captain Montour's Indians who deserted Washington at Fort Necessity (he appears to have misunderstood the proffered terms of capitulation), he seems not to have lost credit with the authorities, for in the same year we find him receiving a grant of land at Carlisle, Penn., and nearly twenty years later he went with the Moravians[2] to ask permission to establish a mission at Wyoming in that State. He and his brother Henry received grants of

[2] Count Zinzendorf had visited Andrew's mother, Mme. Montour, in her home at Shamokin, Pa. Andrew's nephews, Margaret's grandsons, joined the Moravian Church.

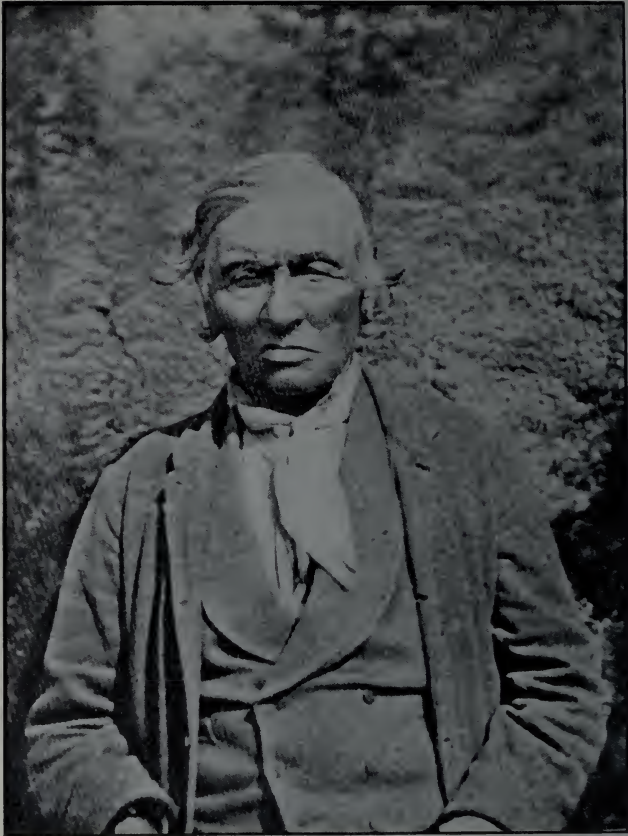
"Donation lands" from the government of Pennsylvania, in recognition of their services[3].

A French mixed-blood who valiantly aided the United States by interpreting for Col. Henry Dodge in the Sauk and Fox war was the Winnebago Pierre Paquette or Pauquette (Kau-kish-kaka, or White Crow). Born in St. Louis in 1796, he was in charge of the trading post at (Portage City) Fort Winnebago, where he kept fifteen yoke of oxen to haul boats over the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin Rivers. He also interpreted for Generals Scott and Armstrong at the treaty of Fort Armstrong in 1832, and was afterward deputed to teach the Winnebagoes to cultivate their "Indian Farm" town at Caledonia (formerly Black Earth, Wisconsin). At one time Paquette had a farm and tavern at Bellefontaine, and supplied beef and horses to the Winnebagoes under government contract. He was killed by a drunken Indian. The Hon. Henry Merrill, a native of New York State, the first senator in the Wisconsin Legislature, who was postmaster at Fort Winnebago ("the Indian Farm"), describes Pierre Paquette as "the best specimen of nature's nobleman I ever met." All who knew him would take his word as soon as any man's bond. He used to trust the Indians from year to year without books, carrying the accounts in his head, and when they brought in furs they were

[3] Donation lands were unoccupied lands in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio county, reserved to be allotted to soldiers of the Revolutionary War in lieu of pay. Their use was later extended to cover other claims against the United States.

always satisfied with what he said they owed. When he died the Indians felt that they had lost their best friend. Man-za-mon-aka, who killed him, was never happy again, and dared not show himself anywhere among his nation, but had to hide. At Paquette's death, says Mr. Merrill, the Indians owed him, and afterward paid, $22,000, but the Fur Company took possession and his heirs never received a cent. Paquette built the first (Roman Catholic) church in that region.

When the Territorial government of Wisconsin was formed in 1836 we find Governor Dodge appointing one Pascal Paquette his aide-de-camp with the rank of Colonel, but the connection between him and Pierre has not been traced. Pierre's son Moses was made Indian agent at Portage, "an earnest, truthful man," says Thwaites. In the present generation there are a number of Paquettes scattered through the Northwest, all of them of good repute. The Rev. Peter Paquette is Indian agent in Arizona; J. Paquette is superintendent and agent of the Fort Defiance government school, of which his sister, Mary Paquette, is Girls' Matron. Of the brother the Hon. Warren K. Moorehead writes ("The American Indian," p. 252, 1914), "Superintendent Paquette at Fort Defiance is extending educational work throughout his Reservation, and reaches a larger percentage of school age than are being reached elsewhere in the Navaho country." The Rev. Frank Paquette is an Episcopal minister in Duluth. The Rev. F. H.



PIERRE GARREAU in 1879
French-Arickara
Interpreter at Fort Berthold Agency
Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

Paquette, Methodist minister at Sawyer, Minn., is doubtless a member of the same family, which in Canada counts many members of pure French blood.

A metis of the Aricara tribe, Pierre Garreau, son of the "Mr. Garreau" of Lewis and Clark, was taken to St. Louis for education and taught the baker's trade. He spoke French and several Indian languages, but never gained a thorough acquaintance with English. He served as interpreter at the Fort Berthold Agency, though in matters of importance he would work through the medium of some Frenchman who spoke better English than he. He was courteous, very intelligent and highly esteemed by whites and Indians alike. Notwithstanding his opportunities in St. Louis he could neither read nor write, but understood picture writing remarkably well. He died in 1881.

The complicated difficulties sometimes incident to interpretation, suggested by the experiences of Garreau, were well exemplified during the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark, especially among the unknown tribes of the Rocky Mountains. "We spoke in English," they write (2; 298), one of our men translated into French to Charbonneau, he to his wife (Sacajewea) in Minnetaree, she into Shoshonee, and the young Shoshonee prisoner explained to the Chopunnuh in their dialect."

As the gift of tongues was in the earlier days a necessary part of the equipment of the successful scout, we naturally find many French mixed-bloods

serving the government in this capacity. Scores of names might be given where only a few may be mentioned. "Pierre Navarre, the famous scout of 1812" (Toledo *Commercial*, 1874), was of distinguished French lineage, as we shall later see. He was General Harrison's scout, and was reported to have been "among those who killed Tecumseh." Gabriel Renville, a Sisseton (Sioux) chief, a master in outing and who rendered very brilliant service under Gen. Sibley, was the son or grandson of a French trader. His mother was the beautiful Winona Crawford, daughter of Captain Crawford of the British army and a Sisseton woman. Born in 1824, Gabriel was a playmate of "the Sibley boys," and hunted with them when they all lived in St. Paul. During the Sioux massacre and war of 1862 he was a valued friend of the whites. Later he was instrumental in the return of many white captives taken by the Sioux. In 1867, when thirty-seven Sioux were taken to Washington to sign a treaty, Gabriel Renville and Wakanto (Good Medecine) went with them, the former as interpreter. Gabriel Renville won distinction as Chief Scout under Gen. Sibley, and for many years held the honorable office of Chief of Scouts in the Army of the United States.

Joseph La Framboise of the well-known La Framboise family was army scout under Gen. Sibley and figured largely in the surrender of the Eastern Sioux after the Menominee outbreak. John Bruyier

was Gen. Miles's scout and "one of the best he ever had."

It was interesting to see that almost without exception the interpreters who accompanied the Indian delegations to the Inauguration of President Wilson were metis. Joseph Packineau, the Gros Ventre from Fort Berthold; Gus H. Boileau or Beaulieu, the Ojibway lawyer, who worked hard and valiantly for his people[4]; the Menominee Mitchel Dick from Keshena Agency, the Flathead Louis Pierre (descendant of Pierre Pierre, who was killed by Iroquois at Lachine in 1690); Antoine Denomie from South Dakota, a graduate of Carlisle; Chancey Yellowrobe, the successful young rancher of the Sioux tribe, also a graduate of Carlisle, who believes that "the basis of success for the Indian is remaining on the soil," and "being wary of the white land shark," and who finds that the three great problems before the American Indian today are "the successful solution of the bread and butter question, intelligent and effective control of tuberculosis and trachoma, and complete emancipation as a government ward,"—all these have French blood.

[4] Gus Beaulieu's father was Paul Beaulieu, one of two brothers who in 1853 accompanied Gen. Stevens on his exploring tour from the Mississippi to the Pacific, (Supra, p. 125,6). He was born in 1852 at Crow Wing, Minn., a town founded by his father, an agent of the American Fur Trading Company. He was a leader among the Chippewas and devoted much time and money to fighting for their interests. In this struggle he made himself obnoxious to the Indian Bureau, but his motives appear to have been unselfish. His popularity is shown by the fact that at his funeral at White Earth (August, 1917) both the Episcopal and the Roman Catholic rectors took part, and the Agency flag was lowered to half mast.

IX

The Metis as a Trader

THAT the French mixed-blood has a marked aptitude for trade appears on every page of the history of this continent. Mr. Andrew Macfarland, writing in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" of the bushrangers who married freely into Indian nations, says that their offspring were conspicuous among traders for their skill and courage. Of like opinion was Gen. Lewis Cass, who wrote to Secretary James Buchanan that "the half-breeds scattered through the Lake Superior region, principally the descendants of French voyageurs, have for many years been engaged in the laborious duties of the Indian trade." This is natural enough; the first relations between French and Indians were trade relations. The early civilization of much of our Middle West may be traced to metis traders.

We have seen the attitude of England on the subject of the Indian trade and we find the government of the United States from the beginning alive to the value of Indian and later of metis aptitude for trade. State papers from 1785 (American State Papers, Vol. 2, p. 116, and *passim* for more than fifty years) show treaties with the Indians carefully fostering their trade for the benefit of the whites. The

methods of trade in those early days made such fostering important, but it was the French mixed-bloods who in every case blazed the trail for the American trader. In 1775 Louis Viviat, a trader in the Illinois country, negotiated for the purchase of two large tracts on the Wabash from the Piankeshaw Indians, who, as we have seen, had intermarried freely with the French settlers in Ouatenon (not far from Vincennes), and were friendly to the Colonies through the Revolutionary War.[1] All the traders on the Red River of the North in 1801 were evidently metis. The names Michel Langlois, J. B. Desmarais (a Huguenot name) Louis Dorion, Charbonneau (both of whom we meet four years later with Lewis and Clark), Auguste Brisebois, whose son Michel was twenty years later a trader in Prairie du Chien, are identified with the Indian trade. In 1803 the future Chicago consisted of only four rude huts or cabins of Canadian-French traders with Indian wives, on the site which the earliest explorers who came this way, in 1670, had found occupied by a Miami village. La Salle's party, on their way through this region, met "the noble savage" Chief Chicago of this tribe.

In the region of the Great Lakes the way of trade had largely been opened before American occupation, and such men of pure French lineage as John Baptiste Beaubien in Fort Dearborn (Chicago) and Solomon

[1] The Wabash Indians were deeply disturbed, after American occupation of the Ohio valley, that they had not the French traders to deal with, (instead of Gov. St. Clair). The French traders are leaving, they complained to him, "because you plunder them every day."

Juneau in Milwaukee (both of whom had Indian wives) carried on an extensive business by sailing vessels with Detroit, Mackinac and the Lake Superior region. Joseph Lacroix came to Milwaukee in 1804 with his Ottawa wife and family, one of a number of metis who traded at this post before the coming of Juneau in 1811. In the Green Bay region trade was entirely in the hands of such French mixed-bloods as the Langlades, Grignons, Viauds and La Framboises. Judge Morgan L. Martin, a graduate of Hamilton College, who went from Utica, N. Y., to Green Bay in 1827, found about three hundred civilians there, mainly French and metis voyageurs. In the fall, he says, a trader, metis or American, setting out for the Indian country, would engage four or five of these, equipping them with one-horse carts built with immense wheels without irons (the "barefoot carts" of the Pembina metis), some of them to cut and haul wood, make little truck patches and help in trading, the more trustworthy to be sent in canoes along the waterways with goods to various points, or on pack horses to Rock River or Winnebago Lake, to remain all winter trading. Among the traders with Indian wives was "the gentlemanly half-breed Lapence," who had been Senator from the Territory,[2] and Joseph Baies, whom the English called Bailly, and who

[2] The letter book of William Burnett, who traded at Michilimackinac and in 1792 had a storehouse where Chicago stands, contains a playful allusion to "the bearer of this letter, Mr. Lapence, one of the principal senators of this province". The letter is dated Feb. 6, 1791 and a footnote says that Lapence is "a gentlemanly half-breed", and that "principal senator" is "a recognition of an important part of the new American government."

traded at Fort Dearborn[3] before American occupation, sending his half-Indian daughters to Detroit and Montreal for education. Esther Bailly married the son of Lieut. Whistler of Fort Dearborn; Rozanne married the president of the Illinois State Bank of Chicago. In the treaty of 1833, the last treaty with Indian executives in Chicago, we find a long list of mixed-bloods receiving money from the government in consideration of land claims; Esther Bailly receiving $500, Sophie, Hortense and Thérèse Bailly $1,000 between them. Probably the last three were daughters of Joseph Bailly's second wife, a full blood Indian, who had a wonderful gift of story telling, and who was in charge of the trading post at Wapasha.

A leading merchant in the infant village of Chicago in 1829 was Medard Beaubien, the metis son of "the first citizen of Chicago," who with his elder brother, Charles Henry, received by the treaty of 1833 a half section of land near the old Ottawa village Kewigrahkeem, or Kewishkum, probably the site of Grand Rapids, Mich. Their father, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, of an ancient French family (perhaps originally of the name Trotier) from the old French department of La Perche (says Ohio Antiquities), married Mah-naw-beno-qua, sister of the Potawatomie Chief Shab-bo-na. The two sons were sent to Princeton for education, and the younger, Medard or Medore, became a leading merchant in his home city.

[3] Fort Dearborn was completed in 1804, burned in 1812, rebuilt in 1814; Chicago was divided into town lots in 1831.

He was also clerk of election in 1830 and trustee of the first Town Board. He married his cousin, a daughter of the Potawatomie Chief Joseph La Framboise. We read in Wentworth's "Early Chicago" that this was "a high-toned wedding, well worthy of an Indian chief's daughter, the Indian war dance included, in which many of the white young men and ladies joined." Medard Beaubien subsequently joined the tribe of his mother and wife, was elected chief, and eventually led the tribe to Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas, of which city he was mayor when he died in 1883.

The Indian mother of these sons having died in their early childhood, in 1814 J. B. Beaubien, who was becoming very wealthy in the Indian trade, married the charming Josette La Framboise, *métisse* daughter of Francis La Framboise, and sister of the Potawatomie Chief Joseph La Framboise. She was living with the Kenzie family at the time of the massacre at Fort Dearborn (1812) and with them escaped in a boat, taking shelter with the Potawatomie Chief Alexander Robinson. Josette Beaubien had twelve children, whom she brought up in a home of much refinement and beauty, sending the sons to New York and the daughters to France for education. A relic of the latter fact remains in the "marvelous French lace veil" owned by Mrs. Josette Beaubien, now in the Chicago Historical Library.

The La Framboise family, all French mixed-bloods, had a large part in the early business life of

CAROLINE BEAUBIEN
Daughter of Jean Baptiste and Josette La Framboise Beaubien
French-Potawatomie
Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society

the Middle and North West, all of them being trusted and influential employes of the American Fur Company. Chief Joseph La Framboise and his brother Claude were voters in Chicago in 1825. In the same year the Chief, one of the fourteen taxpayers in that village, bought one thousand acres of forest reservation in its vicinity and opened it to settlement. It was doubtless in recognition of the services of Claude La Framboise as interpreter that a grant to him of a section of land on the Rivière aux Plaines, Chicago, appears in the treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1829. The two sections next adjoining were granted to Chief Alexander Robinson, of the recently united Potawatomie, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes. The metis children of Robinson and his wife, Catherine Chevallier, were born on this land, and their venerable and much loved daughter still lives there. The Chicago Historical Society would like to have "this lovely bit of woodland, with the adjoining La Framboise Reservation" reserved as a public park, "for associations more romantic it would be difficult to find." (Report, 1912.)

When Chicago ceased to be a fur-trading post these and many other French mixed-bloods in the company's service moved farther west. Very early in the history of those territories we find La Framboises under varied orthographies in Wisconsin, South Dakota and even in Oregon. So early as 1785, indeed, Alexander La Framboise, cousin of Chief Joseph and Claude, was trading on the site of Milwaukee, then

a village of agricultural Indians cultivating five or six acres each. He was joined about 1802 by his brother, Joseph-Francis, who had long been trading from Michilimackinac, with his metisse wife, Madeline, daughter of Jean Baptiste Mascotte, whose acquaintance, with that of his wife Misigan, daughter of Chief Ke-wan-a-quot (Returning Cloud), we have already made.[4] Mascotte had a large family of sons and daughters, whom he sent to Montreal for education. Dying, however, when the youngest two, Madeleine, afterward wife of Joseph-Francis La Framboise, and Thérèse, later Mrs. Schindler, whom we have met as the grandmother of Mrs. Baird of Green Bay, were respectively three months and five years old, these two little girls failed of a like opportunity. In 1809 Joseph-Francis La Framboise, "a fine worthy man," says Judge Morgan of Milwaukee, and a man of deep piety and great force of character, was sent by the Company to found a post at Grand Haven, Mich. That winter, while kneeling in prayer, he was shot by a Winnebago to whom he had refused to sell drink. His wife, Madeline Mascotte, "a woman of extraordinary ability," says Col. Hubbard of Chicago, successfully carried on his business after his death, being long retained in the employ of the company as one of its most competent and trusted managers. She is described as tall, handsome and refined, speaking French like a Parisian though always wearing the dress of an Indian squaw. Col. Hubbard says that

[4] Supra p. 67.

she had been taught by her husband to read and write, and after his death, notwithstanding her business responsibilities, she kept up her studies, becoming really proficient in French literature, with an extensive acquaintance with French classics. She devoted much attention to the instruction of Indian youth. Her cabin in Grand Haven has been preserved as the earliest historic relic of the city. She died in 1846 at the age of sixty-six.

Madame La Framboise was not the only successful metisse trader of her day. Her sister, Thérèse Mascotte, the energetic wife of the trader, George Schindler, after the failure of her husband's health successfully carried on his business, while he, being a man of education, opened a boys' school on Mackinac Island. Another metisse member of the Michilimackinac circle, the beautiful wife of Dr. David Mitchell, surgeon in the British army, intelligent, as well as "extremely pretty and delicate," but with no book-learning, was not only a successful farmer, raising hay, potatoes and corn for sale, but an able fur trader. She educated her two sons in Montreal, and her daughters, like so many French-Indian girls, were sent to Paris for education.

It was while visiting these "handsome, attractive and entertaining" daughters of Mrs. Mitchell, that in the winter of 1816-17 Mme. Madeline La Framboise's daughter, the cultivated and charming Josette, met the Commandmant of Michilimackinac, Captain Benjamin Pierce, whose brother Franklin later became President

of the United States. They were married that same winter. The wedding was a brilliant affair, writes after long years, from her childhood's memories of the occasion, the bride's younger cousin Mrs. Thérèse Baird, granddaughter of Mme. Schindler.

Mme. La Framboise's eldest son, Joseph, born in Michilimackinac, who was graduated from college at the early age of fifteen, was the first settler of South Dakota, having been sent in 1817 by the metis manager of the American Fur Company, Joseph Rolette, to establish a trading post in what is now Flandreau. His first post was at the mouth of the Teton River and was called Fort Framboise. He afterward built Fort Teton and later Fort Pierre. In that remote region he always kept with him a small but choice collection of books. He was "a gracious host and delightful companion," says Catlin. He spoke not only French and various Indian languages, but was a master of English. His first wife was the daughter of the Wahpeton (Sioux) chief Walking Day, and their son Joseph, third of the name, born in 1839, was a "typical Sioux," who "rendered inestimable service to the whites in the days of the great massacre," says Mr. Doane Robinson, the historian of South Dakota. His mother died young and he appears to have lived with her tribe, especially after 1846, when his father married Jane, the Scotch-Indian daughter of Col. Robert Dickson. In 1900, in his seventy-first year, he was living on his reservation, unlike his father, illiterate, a condition easily explicable in the early

days of Dakota Territory, but like him highly intelligent, his mind a repository of family traditions, and proud of being, according to Indian relationship, "cousin of the President," through his cousin, Josette La Framboise Pierce.

It was apparently Joseph's cousin Frank, perhaps a son of Alexander, since he is called the nephew of old Joseph La Framboise, who built and was in charge of the second Fort La Framboise, which was later occupied by Gen. Sully's troops.

In early days the advantages of the site of the Potawatomie village where Milwaukee now stands, for a branch post of the great fur trading centre at Michilimackinac, were perceived by others than the La Framboise brothers. The Frenchman Le Claire, father of the metis whom Iowa remembers with gratitude,[5] was a partner of Joseph-Francis La Framboise, and appears to have been like minded with him in refusing to sell liquor to Indians. They traded blankets, ammunition, calico, woolen cloth, pipes, knives, awls, needles and vermillion paint for furs and peltries, which La Framboise took to Michilimackinac and Le Claire to Detroit.

In 1785 came also to Milwaukee Andrew Jacques Viaud, metis grandson of a Frenchman of Huguenot strain who had migrated to Canada during the later Wars of Religion, and whose son, born near Montreal, had married a half-blood niece of the Potawatomie chief On-a-que-sa, Angelique Le Roy, of the

[5] Supra p. 86.

Le Roy family, which we have already met.[6] Andrew Jacques Viaud, Sr., grandson of the emigrant, who had married into his mother's tribe, traded in Milwaukee with Alexander La Framboise in 1785, also establishing a branch of his business in Green Bay, where he soon secured a farm, to which he retired in 1836. He had numerous children. Andrew Jacques, Jr., who later became a United States Senator, was a partner of Solmon Juneau, who had married Viaud's half-sister, the charming metisse Josette Viaud. Andrew Viaud, Jr. dictated his reminiscences to the late R. G. Thwaites in 1887. Mr. Thwaites said that he could not read or write, but in view of the educational advantages which we have seen to exist at Green Bay in his generation this seems hardly possible. No doubt he could not read and write English.

Mr. Viaud's sister, Mrs. Juneau, among many contributions to the welfare of the new community, Milwaukee, rendered it and the whole country a signal service when the Indians, not unnaturally incensed because their property was thrown open to settlement before the time stipulated by treaty, planned a general massacre and would have carried it out but for her. Her husband being absent, she remained in the streets all night watching over the whites. (Buck's "Early Milwaukee," p. 2, note). She became the mother of twelve children, all of whom were educated and became prominent. One of her sons was the founder of Juneau, Alaska.

[6] Supra p. 75.

Madame Juneau, says Judge Lewis Morgan, was "a most amiable and excellent woman, noted for deeds of charity. . . . She was one of the proverbial neat and tidy French women," he adds, furthermore saying that "the old trading house" of Solomon Juneau, so far from being the filthy, disgusting house represented in the "History of Milwaukee" (Buck's), was in all respects neat and tidy, "for the French women knew how to make their habitations attractive."

Mrs. Juneau's younger brother, Louis Viaud, became Chief of the Potawatomies, and accompanied his tribe when in accordance with the treaty of 1833 they went west, first to Council Bluffs and later to Kansas. Jacques Viaud, the third brother, went into business in Milwaukee, and in 1835 was keeping the Cottage Inn in that town. We get a glimpse into pioneer social life in Buck's remark (op. cit.) that "Jacques Vieux (sic) kept the Cottage Inn, as he said, 'like hell,' and he did." The Inn was a rendezvous for both Indians and whites. Jacques Viaud, like his brother Louis, married a metisse of his tribe. He accompanied Louis the Chief when the Potawatomies moved west, and died in Council Bluffs. Another brother, Amable, was a noted fur trader in Milwaukee. He died in Muscogee in 1887. Many Viauds received a section of land under the treaty of 1833, and under the name Viaud or Viall their descendants, all of them metis, may be found today in various parts of the Northwest. In 1871 James Viall was Superintendent of Indians in Montana.

Permanently identified with the pioneer history of Wisconsin is the Grignon family, whom we have already met in Green Bay.[7] The father, Pierre Grignon, of the old French Grignan family into which the daughter of Madame de Sévigné married, was a voyageur in the Lake Superior region and an independent trader in Green Bay before 1763; "very dignified and well bred and charming," writes Mrs. Kinzie. "The most important man in Green Bay," wrote an American who later joined the Green Bay colony. His first wife was a full blood Menominee, his second Louise Domitilde, the metisse daughter of Sieur Charles de Langlade, "the father of Wisconsin." By her he had nine children. For their education he had as private tutor a French-Canadian gentleman, Jacques Porlier, who in 1820 became Judge of Brown County, Wis., and after Chief Justice of the State.

Jacques Porlier, some while tutor of the Grignon children, became a member of the house of Porlier and Grignon and married a metisse, Margaret Grésie, daughter of a Frenchman living with the Menominee and a woman of that tribe. While Judge of Brown County, Porlier translated into French the Revised Statutes of the State, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Society. His descendants received a section of land and money by the treaty of 1833. His metis son, Jean Jacques, who died in 1838, left a large family; one son, Louis, who

[7] Supra, pp. 65, 68.

married a daughter of Augustin Grignon, has been a generous benefactor of the Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Pierre Grignon's daughters, as we have learned not only from Mrs. Baird but also from Mrs. Kinzie, were strikingly dignified, well bred young ladies. His sons, Pierre, Augustin, Amable, Charles, and Perriot (grandsons and heirs of Charles de Langlade), were "courteous and open-hearted" men, partners in an extensive business, the centre of which was Green Bay. All had a numerous posterity. The business houses of their sons and sons-in-law were well known all over the West. In 1836 Amable Grignon and his partner, Lieut. Marcy, built at Grignon's Rapids the first sawmills on the Wisconsin River. Antonin Grignon was interpreter with John de la Ronde, who tells (in the seventh volume of the Wisconsin Historical Collections) a most interesting story of their adventures. Charles Grignon established a business at Fort Winnebago (Portage) near Oshkosh, Wis.

These traders, says Turner (op. cit.) fixed the sites of the leading cities of the Northwest; their trails became our early roads. By 1834 there were "at least forty-five main posts and 'jack-knife' posts in Wisconsin."

The Grignons did not, however, confine their interest to business. Judge Martin (W. H. C. xi), mentions Pierre and Louis Grignon as farmers in Green Bay, "fine, very good hearted and hospitable;" Augustin Grignon, who had a frame store and traded

with the Indians, had also a "good farm, well stocked, with a comfortable log house and a large frame barn" at Kaukana Rapids, below the present city of that name. These brothers, Pierre, Louis and Augustin, were partners in trade with John (afterward Judge) Lawe at Green Bay. Judge Martin says that Lawe, Grignon and Porlier (afterward Judge) were leading farmers, but did little work, though "wide awake in business." Alexander Grignon, "a young half-blood Menominee," doubtless a son of one of these brothers, went as interpreter with Judges Doty and Martin when they explored the region between Green Bay and Prairie du Chien in 1829.

In 1829 Louis Grignon, whom we have seen holding a British commission in 1812-16, was chairman of the first public meeting ever held in Green Bay, at which a petition was drawn up asking Congress to build a road from Green Bay to Chicago, and also to improve the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, water being at that period the chief means of travel.

The trading interests of this family carried them far afield. Turner writes in his "History of the Fur Trade" that Amable Grignon "of the parish of Green Bay, Upper Canada," wintered on Lac Qui Parle (Minn.) in 1818, Lake Athabasca in 1819, in 1820 in the hyperborean regions of Great Slave Lake, "receiving from the American Fur Company a salary of $400 and found in tobacco and shoes and two doges" besides "the usual equipment given to clerks."

Joseph Rolette, whom we have met in Green Bay,[8] and who has been mentioned as holding a British commission in 1812, was one of the most marked characters of Wisconsin in the early days. He was probably the grandson of Jean Joseph Rolette, who came from France to Canada in 1750. Whom the emigrant married or where he lived there seem to be no means of ascertaining, but from the fact that his son lived in Prairie du Chien, which at the time of his arrival was an Indian village, and later, almost to the present day, a town of mixed-bloods, it is not improbable that he married an Indian. Joseph the grandson married the daughter of "the gentle Sioux Chief Wapasha II," and later, as we have seen, the elder sister of Mrs. Thérèse Baird. Like all French mixed-bloods who held British commissions in the war of 1812, he became a good American citizen at the close of the war, though during its progress he was court martialed by the British on the charge of being in collusion with his father-in-law, Wapasha, against their interests, the Chief being in nominal alliance with the British in this war.

The war over, Rolette traded widely for the American Fur Company, being reputed to be not only the most active and the largest trader in the Northwest, but also the best educated and most enlightened. Though we repeatedly meet him at the Sault and in St. Paul, he being a partner in the Company with Henry H. Sibley (afterwards Brigadier-General), his home appears to have been Prairie du Chien. There he had a contract to supply the troops at Fort Snelling

[8] Supra, p. 68.

with beef, the Astors going on his bond, and there in his later years he exercised a fine hospitality, entertaining many celebrities, among them the Bishop of Nancy and various French noblemen, and also Jefferson Davis and Gen. Zachary Taylor, with both of whom he was intimate. In these later years he delighted in reading Horace, as he had done in his boyhood. In 1837 he gave one thousand piastres toward building the first church in Prairie du Chien. Under it he was buried.

His son, "young Joe Rolette," joined the Pembina band of Chippewas (Ojibways), nearly all of them metis, of whom Judge Flandreau, in his "History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier" (1900, pp. 70-79), gives a picturesque description. For years they had traded with the American Fur Company, which in 1844 had established a trading post at Pembina, Mich., two miles south of our northern frontier. The Pembinas brought in furs and took back their trading supplies by the famous Pembina or Red River carts, which as we have seen [9] were a peculiar two-wheeled construction, entirely of wood and raw hide, with "barefoot" wheels five and a half feet in diameter, with a tread of three and a half or four inches. They were drawn by one ox, and long trains of these carts would come in, loaded each with from 600 to 800 pounds of furs and peltries, four carts to one driver, making fifteen miles a day through swamps and sloughs impassable to other vehicles. Their trail

[9] Supra, p. 104.

"YOUNG JOE" ROLETTE, MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MINNESOTA
French-Chippewa, Pembina Band
See p. 162
Courtesy of the Minnesota Club, St. Paul, Minn.

in the prairie was deeply cut and lasted for years. The driver always wore the Pembina sash, "a beautiful girdle, giving them a most picturesque appearance." Two full length portraits of Joe Rolette are preserved, one in the Gallery of the Minnesota Historical Society, and the other in the Minnesota Club, St. Paul, both the gifts of a very dear friend of the original, says Judge Flandreau.

Not a few Huguenot names appear among these Pembina Chippewas,—Demarais, Le Noir, Denomie and others, especially Bottineau, as we shall later see. They probably date from the expulsion of the Huguenots from Quebec by Richelieu. Mr. R. R. Elliot, in "The Last of the Barons" (Mich. Pion. and Hist. Soc. 21:509), says of men like the Rolettes, Renvilles, Beaubiens, La Framboises and other French mixed-bloods, "if baronial rights and dignities were admissible under Federal law, these were entitled to such special privileges . . . . they compose a chaplet recalling ancestral virtues most worthily perpetuated."

In 1892 two Rolettes, by name Joseph and Jerome, signed as members of the Turtle Mountain band of (Pembina) Chippewas in North Dakota.

There were many French names among the mixed-bloods of whom in 1885 the future Senator Owen, then agent at Shawnee Town, I. T., wrote that they in particular were intelligent and progressive, using all means in their control to acquire the advantage of accumulated wealth. In general those means, like those of their ancestors, were those of

trade. The late Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, for many years a missionary among the Ojibways, wrote to the author, shortly before his death in 1914, "there are, I believe, hundreds of French mixed-blood traders or storekeepers among the Indians. This is the occupation they most naturally take to, rather than farming or artisanship. It is perfectly natural for them to engage in trade among the Indians; speaking their language gives them an advantage over others."

Among the Sisseton Sioux of Dakota are at the present day well-to-do traders bearing the names La Framboise, La Bell and La Croix. The French ancestor of La Croix was a large trader who employed many Indians, was much loved by them, and married a Sioux girl. The ancestor of La Bell was the only survivor of the destruction of Maillettestown,[1] who, as we have seen, escaped from the ill-fated village to the Sioux, where his son became a trader, married an Indian girl and had a large family. The sons took homesteads in Babylon, twenty miles from Sisseton. Louis La Bell is one of the largest farmers, white or Indian, in all the region. All these families have intermarried among one another, and all are progressive and extremely well to do. Indeed, "the majority of these metis Sioux," writes their priest, the Rev. Odoric Derenthal, "are doing well in business and trade."

[1] Supra, p. 82.

X

French Indians and Exploration

AT the foundation of exploration lies trade, which in fact, by supplying the means for its support, alone in the first instance made exploration possible.

How much the exploration of the region immediately beyond the boundaries of the Thirteen Colonies owes to metis traders! Not quite so deeply, perhaps, is the successful occupation of the Far West indebted to them; still their part in it was large, if subordinate. Not an insignificant number of the trading posts of which in 1805 Alexander Henry sent returns to the American Fur Company was in existence when the Frenchman Verendrye explored the Far West in the early eighteenth century, and nearly every post named in Henry's report of nearly a century later was in charge of a French mixed-blood. In Henry's roster of a single brigade of French voyageurs and "their wives and papooses" are many names familiar to the student of exploration: Charbonneaus and Renvilles, Roys and Leclaires, whose memory after more than a century is honored in the Northwest.

Though the region beyond the Rockies was not quite such a terra incognita as Captains Lewis and Clark supposed when in 1804, not far west of the

Little Missouri, they wrote, "No white man has ever been here except two Frenchmen, one of whom, Lepage, is with us," yet it is certain that the French Canadians who after the English Conquest of Canada went to the Pacific Coast and established trading posts in Oregon, as well as in Vancouver, went thither by a far easier routé than any within the present boundaries of the United States. That taken by Lewis and Clark was entirely untrodden except by metis.

But for their "half-breed" guides, interpreters and watermen, men like Drewyer, "offspring of a Canadian Frenchman and an Indian woman," "past master in woodcraft, uniting in a wonderful degree the dexterous aim of the frontier huntsman with the intuitive sagacity of the Indian, in pursuing the faintest tracks through the forest;" Crusatee, "principal waterman," whose "fiddle resounded night after night in the desolate camp, while the men danced off their pains and fears;"[1] "Labiche, one of the best trackers," the interpreters, Jessaume and Toussaint Charbonneau, the French-Minnetaree, who, wrote the explorers on his departure, "has been very serviceable to us,[2] and his wife (the intrepid 'Bird

[1] Not so good a marksman as fiddler, perhaps, since he shot Captain Lewis by accident. No harm came of it, however.

[2] This Charbonneau has been characterized by some recent writers as "a worthless fellow", and probably he does not shine forth with the lustre which seems to have adorned his slave-wife, the heroic Sacajawea; but he seems to have given good satisfaction to Lewis and Clark. Later we find him an attaché of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and Major Andrew's interpreter with the Arickara. Still later we hear of "Toussaint Charbonneau, a half-Indian boy" whose education was paid for by the Government — perhaps the "papoose" that accompanied Charbonneau and Sacajawea on the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Woman,' Sacajawea), particularly useful among the Shoshones,'' all of whom in one capacity or another had been in the service of traders,—but for all these it is hard to imagine that they would ever have won through.

Between 1810 and 1820 there were many metis voyageurs in Spokane, servants of the American Fur Company. Captain Bonneville, whose adventures were immortalized by Irving, had a notable metis guide and interpreter, Antoine Godin by name. So agile and vigorous was he that he could hunt a buffalo on foot and kill it with arrows. His name is perpetuated in a river near Fort Hall, Oregon. Astor's experiment at Astoria brought to the Pacific Coast many more voyageurs, some of them English half-breeds, but most of them French-Indians, the enterprise being deemed too difficult and dangerous for any but Canadians. Their metisse wives were reputed to be good housewives, very good-looking and clever, speaking French and English.

Baptiste Dorion, son of a French trader whom Lewis and Clark met on the Upper Missouri and a Yankton woman, whose adventures with her children after Dorion's death would figure well in a romance (''First Settlers on the Oregon,'' by Alexander Ross), was with the Astor party as a child in 1810, and in 1834 was guide to John K. Townsend when he crossed the Rocky Mountains. Townsend, with whom was also ''Goddin's son'' (Antoine Godin), found, as Lewis and Clark had also found, the ''spirits of the

mercurial young half-breeds" an important factor in the endurance of his party. On the farther side of the range he came in contact with "a great variety of French Canadians calling themselves white, but nearly as dark as the Indians," the metis fur traders of the Northwest, the men who had reached the Pacific long before American explorers had entered Oregon, and who, wild and reckless as they might be, prepared the way for advancing civilization.[8] So late as 1858 it was Michel La Framboise, living on the Willamette, who took the initiative in signing a petition to the Government in Washington asking its protection, and begging it to occupy the territory of Oregon.

Up to 1849, the only population other than Indian between the Upper Mississippi River and the British possessions was the Pembina settlement in Minnesota (supra, p. 118), a settlement perpetuating a post established soon after Verendrye built Fort Rouge in 1734. Captain Pope, who in 1849 was exploring this region for the Government, reported that these French mixed-bloods had explored the whole country and described it to him as exceptionally fertile and rich. With the usual American contempt of Indian intelligence Captain Pope discredited their statement as extravagant, though admitting that these Pembinas "could be favorably compared in enterprise, industry, and law-abiding character with any people on earth. By far the greater number speak

[8] Wilkes, who crossed the Rocky Mountains previous to any American settlement, found in Oregon 700 or 800 French Canadians, mainly metis, and about 250 in what is now Washington.

both languages equally well," he adds; "in dress and manners more French than Indian." Captain Pope took some of them to guide and help him on a long canoe excursion, and in his report he expatiates upon their "strangely fascinating manners," adding that they "are absolutely unwavering in fidelity to agreements with the United States."

Alas, that the same cannot be said of the fidelity of the other party! One blushes to read in the recent argument of their attorney, the late Jean Baptiste Bottineau, Esq. (Sen. Doc. 444), that the Pembina Indians are in a very poor and helpless condition because of depredations of white people on their property.

The outstanding aid lent to American exploration by French mixed-bloods was of course in the capacity of scouts and interpreters, though their part in augmenting the food supply is not to be overlooked. We have read Captain Lewis's tribute to his hunter Drewyer, and noticed the prowess of Antoine Godin in the chase. Maximilien of Weid, to whose western explorations in 1832-34 we owe much, had a number of French mixed-blood hunters, among them Deschamps, whose entire family was afterward murdered at Fort Union.

When in 1853 President Pierce selected Gen. Stevens to carry out his policy of exploration and settlement of the great west from the Mississippi to the Pacific, the major part of which was still unexplored, the guides selected by Gen. Stevens were one Beland,

Henry and Paul Beaulieu, Le Frambois and Pierre Bottineau, all of them metis, and all except the first named of metis families long distinguished in western settlement. Of these Pierre Bottineau calls for special mention. Guide, voyageur, counsellor, lifelong advocate of the interests of his tribe, he had well earned Stevens's description as a "most interesting companion. . . the great guide and voyageur of Minnesota. . .famous as a buffalo hunter," who "surpasses all his class in truthfulness and great intelligence. . . with the broadness of view of an engineer. . .greatly esteemed, and known through all the Territory. . .a natural gentleman." A few years earlier he had gone with Captain Fisk as guide and Objibway interpreter of a large party of emigrants from St. Paul to what is now the State of Washington. An appropriation had been made by Congress to protect home seekers from the Indians, the Sioux and Ojibways being then at war. A member of the command wrote an interesting journal of the expedition, still preserved in manuscript. In Bottineau's home at St. Anthony's Falls, where Stevens breakfasted with his family, he "saw exhibited the most refined and courteous manners."

This Bottineau was one of three brothers, Pierre, Sévère and Charles, all well known in the Northwest, who were born on the Red River of the North of a French father of Huguenot extraction whose ancestor came to Boston with the Faneuils, to whom he is said to have been distantly related, and who married Margaret Sougab, of the Ahdik (Reindeer) clan of the great Ojibway (Chippewa) tribe. The sons followed

the life of their father, that of voyageur, trapper and hunter. In 1835 Pierre married Genevieve La Rance —a full blood Ojibway, notwithstanding the decidedly French sound of her name,—and settled in what later became St. Paul, Minn. Through his marriage he became related to the most noted Indians of the Ojibway tribe. The descendants traced from his mother, Margaret Sougab, in 1910 constituted 60 per cent of the Ojibway tribe.

Pierre Bottineau had been Gen. Sibley's interpreter at Fort Snelling in 1837, and was later his guide in exploring the Missouri River and the Far Northwest. He is described ("Hist. of St. Paul and Ramsey County," J. Fletcher Williams, p. 107) as "one of the most notable characters of the Northwest." "Perhaps no man in the Northwest," continues the historian, "has passed a life of more romantic adventures, exciting occurrences, hairbreadth escapes, and 'accidents by flood and field', than Mr. Bottineau.. He has travelled over every foot of the Northwest and knows the country like a map. He speaks almost every Indian language in this region."

Early in the fifties Pierre Bottineau went with Gov. Miller, as hunter and guide, from Minnesota to Puget Sound, the two Beaulieus being of the party. With Col. Noble Bottineau explored Fraser River in 1859, and Idaho with Captain Fisk in 1862. A county in South Dakota is named for him. Like Antoine Leclaire in Davenport and Charles Picotte in Yankton in later years, he was extremely generous to his adopted city, St. Paul. In 1846 he bought a new tract,

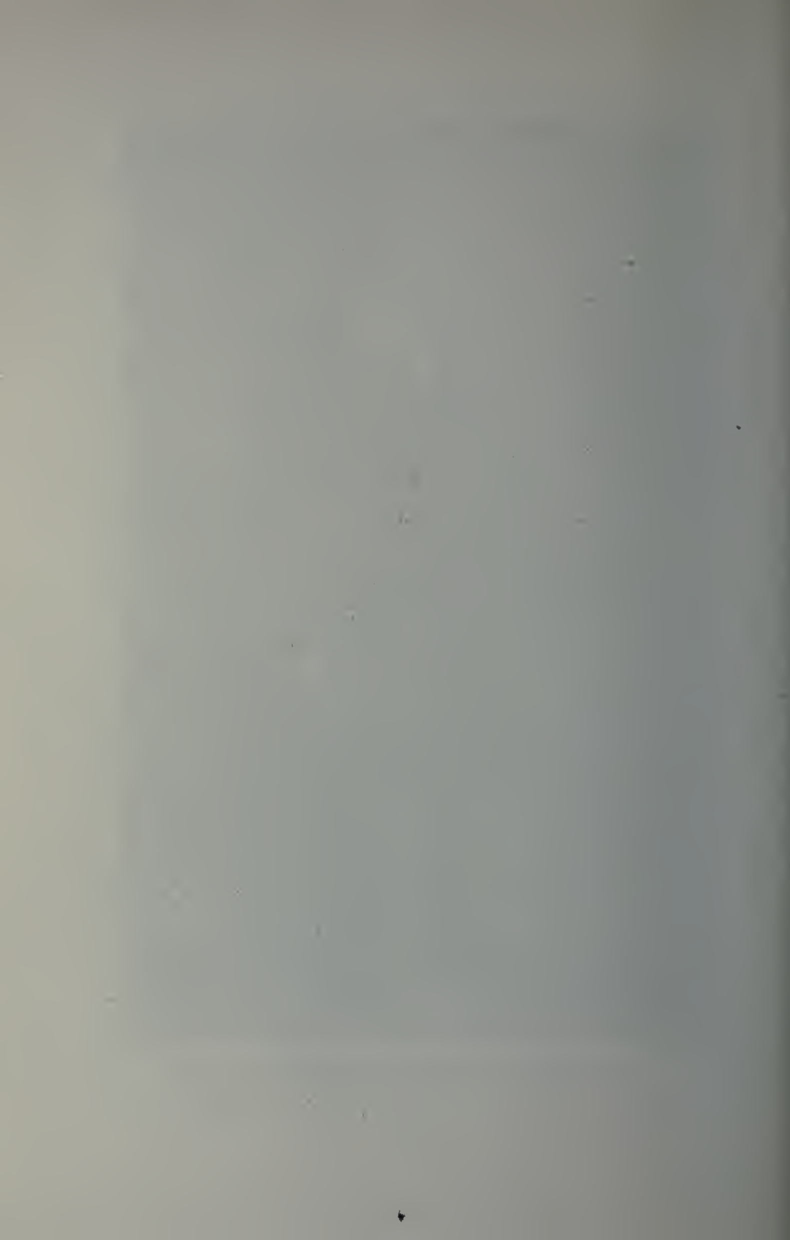
later called Bottineau's Addition, at St. Anthony's Falls and gave it to the city.

"These Bottineau brothers were especially notable for their relations with the natives," says Morice (op. cit.), "and numerous metis descendants have done much for their fathers' cause and for the evangelizing of their mothers' people." Sévère Bottineau was hardly less prominent in St. Paul and the adjacent region than his brother Pierre. Pierre's son, Jean Baptiste, later counsellor of the Pembinas, (sup. p. 125 and inf. p. 170) and his granddaughter, Mrs. Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin, (inf. p. 173), have worthily continued the family tradition. Pierre Bottineau died at Red Lake Falls, Minn., in 1895, at the age of 81. With him passed the days of the voyageur, the coureur du bois, of which he was one of the most noted. He was easily the most famous in the long trail from the Falls of St. Anthony to old Fort Garry. A mighty hunter, trapper and guide, he was the last of a long line of hardy pioneers that France gave to America, following in a later generation in the paths of Perrot, Le Suer, Du Luht, Charlevoix and La Salle.

Antoine La Roux, a Chippewa metis, was a celebrated guide in the Southwest, as was his son Charles. The family is now living on the White Earth Reservation.

Indirectly science, especially geographical science, owes something to French mixed-bloods, aside from the services which they have rendered to exploration. They have also borne some part in map-making. The metis François Beaubien, born in 1771, became Sir

JEAN BAPTISTE BOTTINEAU
French-Chippewa, Turtle Mountain Band
See p. 169



John Franklin's guide and drew him a map which was of considerable service to him. Jean Baptiste Adam, a metis, also served Franklin as interpreter. M. Jean Baptiste Nicollet, "the scholarly and distinguished astronomer in the employ of the United States," as Monette calls him, who in his report of 1843 presented to Government an invaluable chart of the Upper Mississippi, had as his principal guide the metis François Brunet, "a man six feet three inches high, a giant of great strength, but at the same time full of the milk of human kindness and withal an excellent geographer," says Monette; adding that it was due to this guide that Nicollet was able "with such wonderful accuracy" to set down " in his chart many lakes, rivers, creeks and islands which he did not see."

The younger Joseph La Framboise[4] drew for Catlin a map of the Pipestone quarry in South Dakota and guided him thither. It was probably Joseph's son, whose mother was a full blood Indian, who interpreted for Audubon when he was in that region.

Schoolcraft owed much of his understanding of the Indians to the French Chippewas of his first wife's tribe. In 1820 he received the hospitality of the aged Michel Cadotte,[5] then living in comfortable retirement on his farm on Chequamagon Bay. Catlin was more than once under obligation to metis, notably to the son of a French clerk of the American Fur Company, Pierre Le Blanc and a Sisseton woman, who

[4] Supra, p. 110.
[5] Supra, p. 73.

protected Catlin from the rudeness of the Indians on that Reservation. This young man was probably the Sisseton scout Pierre Le Blanc, who served the United States during the Civil War.

Louis Cadotte, a descendant of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, was a carpenter at Sault Ste. Marie when Catlin made him the head of a company of Sauteurs that he took to London with him.

Audubon depended largely upon metis in his travels and investigations. Amid the general chorus of approval of this useful class of men his is almost the only voice to express a lack of confidence. "I fear that all my former opinions of the half-breeds are likely to be realized, and that they are more *au fait* at telling lies than anything else," he writes, remarking also elsewhere that they are so uncertain he can't tell whether they will move a step or not. Yet even Audubon dwells with affectionate gratitude upon "our good hunter Michaud," and gives due credit to Joseph Basile, "an excellent marksman and very brave in action," as well as to François Détaillé, who offered to accompany him through the Bad Lands, where he would find for him various quadrupeds; and also to "one Primaux," who had previously interpreted for Maximilian of Wied, and who appears to have been the metis son of the well-known fur trader after whom Fort Primaux, S. D., was named.

"How much Audubon owed to people of French descent for his work!" says one writer. In Natchez, Nicolas Berthoud, who owned a keel boat and took

Audubon in it to New Orleans; M. Garnier, hotel keeper; Charles Carré, son of a nobleman of the old regime. All these were perhaps of pure French extraction, though there was not a little intermarriage between the Choctaws and the French of Natchez, and indeed of Mobile, Biloxi and New Orleans.

XI

French Indians in the Settlement of the West

THE subject has been indicated but not exhausted in previous chapters. Such names as Grignon, Le Claire, La Framboise, Beaubien, Rolette, not to refer to many less conspicuous, perhaps, but hardly less important in the opening and development of the vast region which at the dawn of our national history was hardly even a name, illuminate the story of French mixed-bloods and should always be remembered as a part of our own. But to the already long list other names must be added.

Senator Clapp tells of the metis Bouché, a character in the early days of Wisconsin, who had much to do with getting settlers there and "making things pleasant for them." Such a part, in the formative days of any region, is by no means an insignificant one.

It was in 1837 that the region west of the Mississippi, which in 1848 was organized as Minnesota Territory, was thrown open to settlement by a treaty with the Indians, Gov. Henry Dodge of Wisconsin negotiating the treaty, Alexis Bailly, J. A. La Framboise and A. Roque, all of them French mixed-bloods, being interpreters, and the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, Special Commissioner; other Americans being present.

As we shall see, Bailly became a member of the Minnesota Legislature, taking office in 1849.

Whether Alexis Bailly was related to Joseph Bailly of Chicago, (supra, p. 105), is not definitely established; he was certainly connected with the prominent metis family of Indiana, whose ancestor, Joseph Aubert de Gaspé Bailly de Messein of Mackinac Island, was a nephew of Bishop Bailly de Messein. The nephew, Joseph Bailly of Baillytown, Indiana, was a Frenchman of great energy and ability who settled in the wilderness of sand dunes of Northern Indiana, having come thither from Michilimackinac by way of Parc aux Vaches, Michigan Territory, in 1820, when this region was still a part of Indian Territory. His wife, Marie Le Fevre, was a metisse widow of the Ottawa tribe. This metis family was prominent in the early history of Indiana; it became enormously wealthy and furnished much romance. One of the daughters, Rose Victoire, in 1841 married Francis Howe of Puritan descent, whose father, General Hezekiah Howe, served in the War of 1812. Frances R. Howe, a daughter of "the beautiful Rose Bailly Howe," wrote a book which throws an interesting light on the early history of Indiana — "An Old French Homestead in the Northwest," in which her metisse grandmother, Marie Le Fevre, figures prominently.

Among those present at the treaty of 1837 was Jean Baptiste Faribault, whose father, born in Paris, had come to Canada in 1754 as Secretary of the Marquis Du Quesne's army (Tanguay). The son, Jean

Baptiste, had come to this region in 1820, bringing Leavenworth's horses. He had been in the service of the Northwest Company and had married a Sioux metisse, Pélagie Kinney.[1] She became the mother of Alexander Faribault, founder and principal land owner of the city of that name, and builder of the first Roman Catholic chapel in Minnesota. For more than sixty years Jean Baptiste Faribault, whose influence over the Indians was very great, had a large part in the settlement and civilization of the Northwest. His mixed-blood sons and grandsons, especially David and George, continued that influence.

With Louis Provençalle, Faribault was identified with every movement of trade in the Territory. Provençalle, who was a metis and a man of great good sense, knew many Indian dialects, and invented a system of picture writing for his accounts with the Indians with whom he traded.

Among other metis settlers of early Minnesota was Oliver Rousseau, who lived in St. Paul when the Territory was organized; the son probably, of one of "two fur traders by name of Rousseau," who lived there in 1823. The name is found with many variants in Canada.

Joseph Ronde, a French trader, who married the Kootenais metisse Josephine Beaulieu, or Boileau, a name widely known among French mixed-bloods, early settled in the Territory. The sister or niece of Josephine Boileau, Elizabeth Beaulieu or Boileau,

[1] "La dite Pélagie Kinney est la fille de François Kinney par une femme de notre nation", runs a treaty.

married a Danish gentleman, Dr. Charles W. Borup, who came to Minnesota as general manager of the American Fur Company. Of their several children, one daughter married an officer in the United States Army, another, an officer in the Navy. Two sons were long prominent in railroad business, a third, Col. Dana Borup, U. S. A., retired, was for a time in charge of the harbor of New York. With Mr. Charles H. Oakes of Vermont, who married another Boileau sister, Dr. Borup in 1853 established in St. Paul the first banking house in Minnesota, which weathered all the financial storms that swept over the Territory in its early history.

Among many French mixed-bloods who rendered valuable service in the early settlement of the Dakota Territory stands pre-eminent the French-Sioux, Charles F. Picotte, son of Honoré Picotte and a Dakota (Sioux) girl. Honoré Picotte, his brother Joseph and nephew Henry, were French traders with the Columbia Company on the upper Mississippi in 1820, Honoré becoming the leading partner in the great company. He was one of the party of government road-makers that aided greatly in the development of Dakota. Very venturesome, and trusted by the generally hostile Sioux, he could go where he would among them without a military escort. His metis son Charles, born at Fort Tecumseh about 1823, was educated in St. Louis, but went back and married first a woman of his mother's band, and after her death a Yankton Sioux, living with her tribe. Charles F. Picotte was greatly useful to General Harney in

1855-56, and was made third Chief of the Yanktons. He was with Captain Todd in the winter of 1857-8, and it was he who induced fifteen Yankton head men to accompany him to Washington, where in April, 1858, a treaty was effected by which the Yankton Sioux relinquished all the Dakota territory except the Yankton Reservation, to which the tribe removed in 1859. It is interesting to note, as an illustration of the degree of education attained by these remote Indians at that relatively early time, that twelve of these fifteen signed their names to this treaty, Picotte signing for the other three.

Picotte's influence over the Indians was great, and in all their treaties he carefully safeguarded their interests. "Loyal to both races, his career was an honorable one," says Mr. Doane Robinson, the historian of South Dakota. He describes Charles S. Picotte (S. Dak. I., p. 113, n. 3), as a well educated, influential mixed-blood, "the best and most favorably known on the Dakota frontier," and an especially useful citizen in the organization of the Territory.

On the other hand, the Indians were not unmindful of their debt to him. By the express stipulation of their headmen the treaty included a clause by which "on account of the valuable services and liberality to the Yanktons" there was granted to Picotte one section of land; the old metis guide, Zephyr Rencontre, also receiving a gift of land. On Picotte's reservation now stands the city of Yankton, of which young capital he was "a leading and public-spirited citizen." With his partner, Moses K. Armstrong, he built the

first Territorial Capitol, still acting on many important occasions as guide and interpreter, and councillor between the French (who to a considerable extent settled Dakota Territory) and the Indians. "Too generous to succeed in business," says his biographer, "Picotte eventually lost his Yankton property." He died a few years ago, among his people on the Yankton Reservation.

The widow of Charles Picotte married a Frenchman (possibly a metis) by the name of Galpin, and is remembered as having rescued many whites at the time of an Indian raid. One of Picotte's granddaughters is now teaching in Bismark, Minn., and has been of assistance to the artist, Edwin Willard Deming, well known for his paintings of Indian subjects, by lending him photographs.

Father De Smet, who was agent of the Dakota Superintendency in 1867, had for interpreters, and descants upon their "amazing influence," the son of that "old Zephyr Rencontre" whom we saw receiving a reservation with Charles Picotte, and Joseph Picotte, one of the large family of which Charles was the most prominent member.

The importance of French mixed-bloods as a means of civilizing the Indians appears to have been recognized in the early land policy of our government. It was not many years after the war of 1812 that Congress enacted a measure providing that such mixed-bloods as so chose might renounce their interest in tribal lands and receive a patent for a section, to be chosen by themselves or their guardians.

Not a large proportion at that time accepted the offer. Still, the method was not abandoned. President Monroe's Treaty of Chicago (1821) explicitly recognized as Indians, and as we have seen allotted land,— among a large number of others — to such well known and well educated French mixed-bloods as Charles and Medard Beaubien, sons of Jean Baptiste Beaubien of Chicago and Man-a-be-no-quan. A few English names appear—the well known Burnetts, for example, but the great majority are French.

The name Knaggs, which appears in this treaty, sounds anything but French, and it was in fact brought to this country by a Dutch-Englishman who was among the early settlers of Detroit. His children and children's children, however, for the most part married into the French families who were conspicuous in the early history of that city, and the family became to all intents and purposes French. Nearly a hundred years after Detroit became an American city, during the awful scourge of cholera that nearly devastated it in 1834, "the beautiful Knaggs girls," then far more French than English, earned for themselves a noble name by standing by Father Kundig as nurses, saving many a life. Though the recently published history of the Knaggs family ("The Knaggs family of Detroit," by Clarence W. Burton, Robert Ross, Publisher, Detroit), makes no mention of any Indian alliance, we know from other sources that there were very close relations between this family and the Indians of the region. Whitmore

Knaggs, son of the original settler, George, was an adopted Ottawa; the tribe gave him land on the Maumee near the present site of Toledo, and some of his descendants live there still.

This Whitmore Knaggs, the "Brother Knaggs" of the Ottawas, who was Indian agent for the British government in 1781, and had interpreted for Sir William Johnson and for Bradstreet in 1759, received lands with his son under the treaty of 1821, with, among others, Charles and Medard Beaubieu of Chicago. The younger Knaggs, William by name, became a leading merchant in Toledo, was elected chief by the Ottawas, and had much to do with the peace of the region. A cousin of his, another grandson of the original settler, married a Huron-Potawatomie, and his son received land under the treaty of 1826. All these Knaggses were well educated and spoke French fluently.

Though few of the French of Detroit took Indian wives, yet not only these members of the Knaggs family, but the Frenchman who was undoubtedly descended from that Robert Navarre who was one of the first settlers of Detroit, and who traced his descent from Anthony of Bourbon, father of Henry IV (of Navarre), King of France, must also be counted as an exception. In 1737 we find Potawatomies deeding their village (within the limits of Detroit) to "Robische" Navarre, the name evidently being an Indian corruption of Robert. By a treaty of 1833 the children of Pierre Navarre, the well known scout, who in 1821 had been trading at St. Joseph's and in

the region around Kankaki, were awarded lands as mixed-bloods.

The Navarre family, whether of pure French or of mixed lineage, was intensely loyal. Thirty-six of the name served in the war of 1812, and two sons of Pierre were in the regular army of the United States in 1874. This Pierre was General Harrison's scout in the Ohio Valley campaign, and "was among those who killed Tecumseh," says the authority already quoted. The family seems always to have been in kindly relations with the Indians. In 1833 General Cass paid to J. M. Navarre of Detroit $20 "for boarding ten Wyandot (Huron) chiefs while on a visit to Detroit."

Mixed-bloods of this character were quite awake to the advantage of having land of their own. We find thirty-eight Sauk and Fox metis claiming land under the treaty of Washington (1825), and thirty-one at another time; among them Maurice Blondeau, a well known name, with fourteen others whose claim to French blood was considered doubtful. The Miami metis on the Wabash also secured lands. Among these were the Godefroys, descendants of two Godefroi children, sons probably of the well born Godefroi de Linctot of Quebec, later a trader of considerable importance at Prairie du Chien, who during Clarke's campaign espoused the American cause and led a company of four hundred metis to his aid. His sons, having been captured during the disturbances of the time, were adopted into the Miami tribe, and Gabriel, whom in 1818 we find sub-agent at Peoria,

had become a hereditary chief of the tribe, his son Pierre succeeding him in the office. These two metis are named among "the last of the barons" by Mr. R. R. Elliot in the passage already quoted. Mr. H. H. Hurlbut in "Ohio Antiquities" writes of Col. Gabriel Godefroi, "in 1881 an aged but vigorous French gentleman," who was Indian agent and interpreter in President Monroe's treaty with Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomie Indians in 1821. Many Godefrois appear in Tanguay's monumental "Dictionary," though without mention of the two captive children. The name is now spelled Godfrey in Indiana.

Among other metis who received lands under these treaties, George Cicotte received three and a half sections, a certain Lassade two, Maw-ta-no, the daughter of Joseph La Framboise, son of Shaw-we-no-qua-qua, received a section. This was in accordance with an intelligent and well matured policy, ably stated by Governor Lewis Cass in a letter to the Hon. James Buchanan, Secretary of War (1826 A. S. P. Ind. Aff. 2. 632): "It is our firm conviction that upon the immediate fate of these persons (the French mixed-bloods of the Lake Superior region) depends the issue of all the experiments upon this subject (the moral elevation of the Indian) which we are making in this quarter;" and again (Ibid., p. 683), "This principle, of making grants to half-breeds, is fully realized in all the treaties recently formed in this quarter," citing those of 1817, 1818, 1819, 1824. Treaties recognizing the importance of stimulating the metis to exertion by giving them land are fre-

quent. The Chippewas especially were to receive each 640 acres on islands in or on the shore of St. Mary's River.

It is easy to see that such liberality, unless carefully supervised, might lead to abuses. Many are the cases of unprincipled Americans marrying women thus endowed and defrauding them of their lands. It is therefore not surprising to find in the report of the Census of 1900 the opinion of the Assistant Attorney General that the child of an Indian mother follows the status of the father, the Indian wife and children of a white man not being entitled to an allotment. The question had not been decided till 1896, and was not retroactive, but for the purposes of this study the matter is not of importance, as there has been no new French blood as late as this.

Notwithstanding some abuses, the influence of the French mixed-bloods in promoting the civilization of the Indians is still recognized. An illustrious instance, though it carries us far into the past, is found in Joseph Renville, the son of a French fur trader of much reputation and a Sioux woman of the Kaposia band. He was born at Kaposia, near what afterward became St. Paul, Minn., in 1779, was educated by a Roman Catholic priest in Canada, and came into prominence as a guide to Zebulon M. Pike in 1797. In the war of 1812 he served the British as interpreter of the Sioux with the rank of Captain: the good conduct of the Indians at Fort Meigs and Fort Stevenson was largely due to his authority. At the close of the war he resigned his commission and

gave up his half pay to become an American citizen, and with Faribault and Son organized the Columbia Fur Company, of which he was the soul. When in 1918 Lieut. Snelling began to build the "massive stone fort" at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers (then called Fort St. Anthony), he summoned Renville to act as interpreter for the expedition to explore the Minnesota River and the Red River of the north. Later, Renville established an independent business at Lac Qui Parle. While there he met the famous missionary, Rev. T. S. Williamson, M.D., whose son, the Rev. John P. Williamson, thus tells the story:

"Seventy-eight years ago, in October, 1835, I was born in a little cabin belonging to Joseph Renville, a Sioux and French mixed-blood and a Roman Catholic. The use of the cabin was given to my father, who was a Presbyterian missionary, on condition that he would keep a school which Renville's children could attend, with others, promising that his family would attend the religious services of my father. The promise was fulfilled. And within two years he had united in the organization of a Presbyterian Church, two hundred miles west of any church organization in the United States, in which he became a ruling elder. His family almost became the corner stone of the Presbyterian Mission among the Dakota (Sioux) Indians.[2]

[2] That all Indians when sympathetically approached — the word "sympathetically" may be emphasized — are capable of apprehending the truths of the Christian religion appears to be evident when Dr. Williamson is able to count among the fruits of a long life of devotion to the Indian peoples of the Northwest "the gathering of 36 Presbyterian churches still in existence among them (1914)."

"Joseph Renville was the first to sow wheat on the high plains of the upper Mississippi, and the first to go into cattle and sheep raising on a large scale. His hospitality was proverbial," writes Dr. Williamson.[3] It may be added that his example and persuasion induced many Dakotas to become farmers. Joseph's son Joseph was with Nicollet as interpreter, and the year after (1837) he was sent by the Government with Fremont to examine western lands.

Though the Indian agent had for more than one generation an unsavory name, yet every evidence goes to show that those among them who had Indian blood were and still are a power for good among those entrusted to their care.

French names which occur all through our early State papers as Indian agents or other government employees in the then recently acquired west are almost invariably those of French mixed-bloods already resident in the region. They were doubtless appointed (the office not being of a character to attract the politician) partly because these men were more at leisure than the American pioneer, chiefly because they understood the native language of the region, but with little thought of what was in fact their really important qualification, familiarity and sympathy with the Indian character and standards. Many of them bore names that will take a place in history when the part in our history taken by this mixed race comes to be recognized.

Michel Brisebois, agent at the metis town, Prairie

[3] Letter to the Author. This distinguished Missionary died while these pages were going through the press, in his eighty-first year.

du Chien, Charles Jouett on Rock River, Blondeau, the agent of the Sauks, who in 1818 was agent at Peoria, the city which came into existence after the tragic destruction of Mailletstown,[4] are a few of many instances of valuable servants of the interests at once of the native people and of the new government. The sub-agent under Blondeau was Gabriel Godfrey, whom we have already met (Supra, p. 140). In 1804-5 Auguste Brisebois, whose relative Michel was an important resident of Prairie du Chien, was in charge of the post at Portage la Prairie in the Red River country. Such well known names as Langlois, Dorain, De Lorme, Duford, continually recur in this service. In 1869 Charles La Follette was Indian agent at Grande Ronde agency, Oregon, "where the Indians are happily advancing in civilization," wrote the Indian Commissioner.

[4] Supra, p. 82

XII

French Indians as Farmers

WE have seen the French-Indian interpreter and trader Michel Cadotte and the Grignon brothers, celebrated in trade, retiring to farms in late middle life as the ideal mode of existence. We have seen Joseph Renville becoming the father of the great wheat industry of our northwestern uplands. It is generally assumed that the Indian does not take kindly to farming, though we have found agricultural Indians[1] on the site of Milwaukee before the arrival of the white man, and history reminds us of our forgotten debt to the agricultural Indians of New England and Virginia, who not only saved our forefathers from starvation, but inducted them into the mysteries of growing corn and tobacco. The reasons for the Indian's antipathy to this mode of life at the present time, so far as antipathy exists, are not far to seek, but whatever may be said as to the willingness of Indians to cultivate their lands, provided they are given half a chance of success, it is evident that on the whole the metis are better farmers than the full-bloods, or than mixed-bloods of other races.[2] The Menominees, of whom

[1] Such from the earliest time were the Aricara, often of late called, from the name of their reservation, Fort Berthold Indians. They had early spring rites in which the corn had a prominent place, an ear of corn being used as a symbol and called ''mother''.

[2] A writer in ''The Red Man'' (Dec. 1914) opines that as a farmer he is equal to the white man, if not better. As a cattle raiser he should be eminently useful.

Commissioner Cooley reported in 1865 that they have "generally been at peace with the whites," and are "an industrious people, notwithstanding their reputation of being generally indolent," had largely intermingled with the French in early days. No doubt the French peasant ancestry of many of the metis has served them in good stead in this respect, as French mixed-bloods, when not distinctly called to other avocations, appear to have done well in agriculture. The Choctaws, pre-eminently the agriculturalists among the southern tribes, married much among the French.

So long ago as 1869 the Indian agent reported that the Cherokees (who have much French blood) asked permission to build railroads across their lands as the only means of keeping possession of them. "They have the money, they say, and it is their only hope." The Government, however, did not permit.

Prairie du Chien, which as we have seen was originally an Indian, and afterward a metis town (Supra, p. 117), at least as early as 1784 sold corn to Canadian traders. In 1812 it disposed annually of about eighty thousand pounds of flour and great quantities of corn meal to traders and Indians. "The people would raise more," reported the French subagent, Nicolas Boilvin, "if there were a suitable demand." It may be worth while to inquire how far the absence of a market accounts today for the lethargy of Indian farmers on remote reservations.

Agent Isaac T. Gibson, reporting for the Osages in Indian Territory in 1874, said that all the metis

families had improved farms. As early as 1849 the agent, Father Belcourt, reported of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas that the full-bloods were satisfied with the reservation, but the mixed-bloods wanted land in severalty; that they had taken such and made many improvements, besides building houses. The report of these Turtle Mountain Chippewas in 1897 showed that the 1,200 metis on the Reservation were cultivating 3,392½ acres and 500 of them outside of the Reservation 1,750½ acres; the full-bloods were cultivating 37 acres.

In 1875 Lieutenant-Governor Atcheson reported that the Chippewa Indians and metis had broken land for cultivation and had cultivated it at White Earth and White Oak Point, Minn., manifesting "surprising energy and aptitude for such unwonted effort." Today, after forty years, these energetic farmers are contending with the United States Government for the right to the land that they have been cultivating for more than a generation.

A generation ago Judge Flandreau wrote of the metis Vital Guerin and B. Garrow (probably Garreau) as "two good quiet farmers." The Rev. J. P. Williamson gives as the result of a long experience his conviction that "the French mixed-bloods as a class are more industrious than any other class of mixed-bloods," and sends a long list of metis in Montana, North and South Dakota and Nebraska who "have made exemplary success as farmers." The late Rev. J. A. Gilfillan, for many years a Protestant

Episcopal missionary, to whom my debt is great,[3] in reply to my question as to successful metis farmers, wrote: "Alexander Beaulieu and many others, too numerous to mention, on the White Earth Reservation and in Becker, Norman and Mahnomen counties, Minnesota."

These mixed-blood agriculturists have lost none of that stamina which James Buchanan, Secretary of War, recognized when he said of the mixed-bloods scattered through the Lake Superior region (nearly, if not quite, all of French descent) "They form no inconsiderable proportion of the physical force of the country, and the moral force which they could exert is still stronger."

With all these facts before it, until very lately our government has been as little moved by them as in 1849, when Captain Pope regretfully reported that "the great body of Pembina half-breeds (French) still live in lodges, from the uncertain tenure by which they hold their lands and the entire want of protection and encouragement exhibited by our Government." "It is folly," wrote to President Benjamin Harrison in 1893 the special Commissioners sent to look into the condition of certain Indians, deprecat-

[3] To this devoted missionary, to whose long life of service the Ojibways are deeply indebted, as the Sioux to the missionaries Williamson, father and son, Prof. Moorehead pays tribute (op. cit. p. 48f). Unhappily for the tribe, his missions were discontinued by the United States Government, and the buildings, for erecting which he had provided the funds, were taken over by it, at far less than their actual value (ib.). (N. B. There is a picture of these buildings in op. cit. p. 48). After some correspondence I met this devoted man the year before his death, living in a small apartment in New York, cheerful and brave, his whole heart absorbed in the welfare of the people to whom he was no longer permitted to minister.

ing the removal of a band of Chippewas, "to expect these Indians to make a living where white men who have fully and fairly tried have failed." (Senate Doc. 444, p. 22). The time would seem to be a late one for such a discovery, but in 1893 these special Commissioners were a voice crying in the wilderness.

It is not to be denied that the Government has made many attempts to teach the Indians to farm. So long ago as 1805 an agent was sent to teach agriculture to the Sauks, the agent being the metis, Pierre Chouteau, descendant of the well-known French family of the name whose history is an integral part of that of the city of St. Louis. It is probably a descendant of this agent, the French mixed-blood Forest Chouteau, who is now a prosperous business man of Kaw City, Oklahoma.

All down through the years scattered notices in the reports of Indian Commissioners have shown that Indians of French ancestry have been recognized as the more progressive element. From one Report, for instance, we learn that nearly all of this class have good houses and are self-supporting; from another that they are an uplifting influence, living on separate farms and building houses, but sorely hampered by the refusal of county authorities to recognize them as citizens and entitled to any rights as such. We learn that among the Flatheads in 1899 many metis were becoming well-to-do ("and full-bloods also making some headway," adds the agent), but that some of the metis who were taxed paid under protest: "As nearly half the people on the reservation are half-

breeds (metis) taxation is an important matter. If they are taxable (they say) the country should give them schools and build and maintain roads and bridges on the Reservation.'' From the same authority (Am. St. Pap., Indian Affairs), we learn that in 1870 the French mixed-bloods among the Yankton Sioux (the majority of the whole), whether Christion or semi-pagan, were all strictly temperate. In 1884 this class in Oklahoma (then Indian Territory) had good farms and were ''pushing hard on the white man's road.'' Among the Osages in 1884 the full-bloods were fast passing away, but the mixed-bloods (in this tribe, largely French), were steadily increasing and apparently becoming more ready to adopt civilized ways and accept education.

''The Omahas and Winnebagoes in Nebraska have been remarkably successful as farmers,'' writes the Rev. J. A. Shine of Plattsmouth, Neb.; while Potawatomies in Kansas and several tribes in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, with great numbers of the Sioux in South Dakota have proved their ability as tillers of the soil. The tribes here mentioned largely intermingled with the French in early days; but we have seen that many Indian tribes were distinctly agricultural.

''Twenty-five years ago,'' says Mr. Alanson Skinner, ''the Indian farmers on the Sisseton Reservation had the same start as the neighboring whites; now they have better houses, barns and stock, with trees and gardens up to date. In some cases they teach the whites how to farm. Their Government

school of 160 pupils, who are carried through the eighth grade, is the only one in the service which is entirely supported by Indian money. All the staff except the principal, the matron and one teacher, are either Sioux or French mixed-bloods.'' Moses de Coteau, who traces his lineage to a member of the Chouteau family of St. Louis who traded with the Indians and married a Sioux, is at the present day a prosperous farmer with a large family. Hazen Dumarsh of Dakota, also a metis, is farming a large ranch of his own, and is a man of fine education. Chauncey Yellowrobe, already mentioned as a ''prosperous young rancher,'' only a few years out of Carlisle school, is already a man of influence among Indians and is now (1918) actively cooperating with the Indian Rights Association and the Society of American Indians in the effort to take immediate steps for the gradual abolition of the Indian Bureau.

XIII

The Metis as an Industrial Worker

NO argument, however, should be needed to prove that an Indian is not more necessarily a successful farmer than a Yankee or a Hoosier; surely the most superficial observation should long ago have taught us better. As early as 1879 Mr. Vincent Hazard had found in the metis at least "a great capacity for work and industry exercised over a wide range from the highest to the lowest." He refers to well-known instances of many who in Michigan and Wisconsin "hold positions of trust and responsibility and live just like their white neighbors." "Among them are carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, boatmen."

The Rev. Father Derenthal of Reserve, Wis., sends a long list of French mixed-bloods of the presnet day who are successful in various occupations: carpenters, miners, loggers, harness makers, hotel keepers, as well as government employees. From other sources we learn of a number who have lately become successful engineers and machinists, and it may be observed that across the line in Manitoba many are holding government offices.

And yet until the French-Indian, Charles E. Dagenett, now Supervisor of Indian Employment,[1]

[1] He might well be called "Supervisor of Employment for the Indian Returned Student," since he is chiefly concerned with those who have completed their studies at Indian schools, or have left them to continue their education elsewhere. (Private letter from an officer of the Society of American Indians).

proved the contrary to the satisfaction of the government, those in authority shared the still prevailing conviction that the Indian who did not make a good living by farming on his reservation was incurably idle and worthless.

This country recognizes its debt to Gen. R. H. Pratt, who first showed our Government the way to do justice to the Indian by educating him. To Charles E. Dagenett, one of General Pratt's most promising students at Carlisle, is also due a large measure of recognition for the further endeavor to civilize the Indian by employing him in those avocations for which he is individually best fitted.

Mr. Dagenett's great-great-grandfather, Ambroise Dagney (the name was probably Dagenet, and had doubtless already suffered one of the several mutations it passed through before reaching its present form, always, however, retaining the French pronunciation, *Dagenay),* was a native of France and a resident of Kaskaskia, who fought in the Tippecanoe campaign and was wounded near Prophet's Town. Dagney married Me-chin-quam-e-sha (Beautiful Shade Tree), sister of a head chief of the Miami, and their son, Christmas Dagney, well educated by the priests, speaking English and French with great fluency, and master of several Indian dialects, efficiently served the Government many years as interpreter and later as Indian agent at Fort Harrison, old Fort Wayne. This region had been the immemorial capital of the Miami Indians, but in 1795, at the treaty of Greenville, the United States had forced them to give up their land in this region. The tribe deterior-

CHARLES E. DAGENETT
Supervisor of Indian Employment
French-Miami

ated greatly after this, and gradually ceded their lands in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, receiving others west of the Mississippi. Christmas Dagney's son, the second Christmas Dagney, married the full-blood Brothertown (Mohican) Indian (supra, p. 74 n.), Mary Ann Isaacs, a Christian woman of education. She was with the early missionary McCoy, whose labors had a large part in Christianizing the tribes of the Middle West. In 1846 Christmas Dagney the second led the last of the Miamis to their western lands, dying at Cold Water Grove, Kansas. His only sister, Mary, had in 1818 been given a reservation in Danville, Ill., her father, the first Christmas Dagney, living there with her. As we have already seen, the second Christmas Dagney's widow afterward married another noted metis, Baptiste Peoria (Supra, p. 75).

The second Christmas Dagney, also a man of education, was the grandfather of Charles E. Dagenett. Like former President Roosevelt, Charles Dagenett was an extremely delicate child, his early life one long struggle for health. Several times during his years at Carlisle he was sent home to die. After graduating, he taught in an Indian school to earn money to pursue his studies, and afterward entered the Indian service, where his career has been a distinguished one. Beginning by teaching among the Apaches, his great desire was to set them to work. After long effort he secured an appropriation for the purpose, and since then he has put whole armies of Indians into the reclamation service, digging irrigation ditches, working on roads, bridges and other pub-

lic works. His success has been remarkable, especially in clearing up the relations of Indians with the Government and with one another. When three hundred Utes of the Uintah Reservation went on the war path in 1906 he conferred with President Taft, with his consent put them to work on government roads, and thus got them quieted. His work enlarges continually; he has his sub-agents everywhere, being practically at the head of a department. (Private letter from a descendant of the missionary McCoy). At the present writing he is arranging for the substitution of Indians for Japanese in certain private fields of labor in the South. In his large plans for the Indians he examines every section of the country to find how best to employ the boys and girls of the Indian schools, considering each one as to health, capacity and attainments. Intensely practical, not in the least sentimental, he is deeply sympathetic with his Indian brethren. His "Circular of Instruction to Superintendent and Other Officers having charge of Indian Employees" is a masterpiece of judicious presentation of the whole subject, and firm insistance upon fair dealing with the thousands of Indians who will eventually come under this department.[2]

Already in 1849 Captain Pope saw the usefulness of incorporating metis in the militia and Indian Police. Writing of the Pembina metis, he says that

[2] "Eventually all Indians will be citizens, free voters, American citizens in fact and in spirit, so that there will be no need for a Supervisor of Indian Employment," writes another correspondent. Mr. Dagenett's work is contributing effectually to this consummation which no one desires more devoutly than he.

on their marches they carry only pemmican, on which they can march farther, with less of baggage and supply, than any people he has ever seen. "A body of hardy and gallant men like these would . . . . be most useful in sustaining the official persons of the government who should be charged with administering the laws over that part of the country." Commenting on this suggestion the late J. B. Bottineau, the lawyer of the Pembinas, says, "they have always been recognized as the kings of the plains in warfare, and would have cleared out the Sioux or driven them much farther away from the Chippewa country, had they not been stopped by their priest." It was, however, that same priest, Father Belcourt, who in 1845 wrote, advising the Government to make a militia of these metis to whom munitions might be furnished in time of service; Mr. Bottineau, quoting this advice, expressed his opinion that in that case there would never have been any need of sending an army there. This plan has been urged by various agents all down the years. In 1875 Agent Clum of the San Carlos (Apache) Agency reports that he wants no soldiers, "this (Indian) militia is better;" and later we find the French mixed-blood guide and scout Clay Beaufort commander over the Indian police.

Senator Lane of Oregon, who was possibly mistaken in his conviction that "try as hard as it will, the Government can never make a farmer out of an Indian," was probably very near the truth when he asserted that "if Government had fitted out the Indians as cavalry, the United States would have the finest body of cavalry in the world."

XIV

The Metis Intellect

IT is, however, no doubt true, as the Indian, John Oskinson, formerly on the editorial staff of Collier's Weekly, believes, that the educated Indian would rather work with his brain than his hands. "That has been accounted our misfortune," he adds, "I think it will be our salvation." If this be true of the full-blood Indian, it is much more true of the metis. In fact, the instances which have been given of success in the Indian trade, an occupation which called into exercise very high mental and also moral powers, bears out Mr. Oskinson's theory. Mr. Oskinson is a Scandinavian mixed-blood who has achieved a literary success which under existing circumstances must be an indication of the high possibilities of the race.

French mixed-bloods have served the Government not only as interpreters and Indian agents, but in even more important capacities.[1] In 1867 Col. G. P. Beauvais was appointed Special Indian Commissioner, "because," his commission runs, "of your thorough knowledge of the Indians through long residence among them." For a like reason O. H. Lamoureux was made Special Agent for stray bands of Winnebagoes and Potowatomies in Wisconsin. The Hon. Forbis Le Flore was Superintendent of Public Schools

[1] The Indian Commissioner, Gen. Parker, of the Seneca tribe has already been mentioned. (Supra, pp. 46, 49.)

in the Choctaw Nation, I. T., reporting that "our own people (metis) and even the full bloods, want to educate their children in the English language."

Naturally and properly the Indian Service is enlisting in its ranks an ever increasing number of educated Indians. We read in the Quarterly Journal of American Indians that there are now over 2,200 of these regularly employed in the Service, "earnest men and women who labor first of all for the welfare of their people." To claim French blood for the majority of these would be absurd, and even if true, impossible of verification. Yet of ten named in the article justed quoted from, seven, three men and four women, are unquestionably of French descent, and it is certain that very many of the whole number are proud to acknowledge some strain of French blood, however slight.

A study of the names unquestionably French in the "Statistics of Mixed-bloods in the Government Employ," recently compiled in the Indian Bureau, shows 424 employed in Indian Schools as superintendents or principals, physicians,[2] disciplinarians, or as bakers, seamstresses, laundresses. We find them also as chiefs of police, stock directors, timber clerks and guards, expert farmers, overseers, clerks, stenographers, typists, government sealers, janitors, fireguards, laborers, interpreters, and in construction work as engineers and assistants. These by no means exhaust the number of those having French blood, as

[2] See Dr. Susan La Flesche Picotte, infra, p. 174.

such ancestry is often hidden behind names farthest removed from French.

We find French mixed-bloods in various other branches of Government service. A recent issue of the Carlisle Arrow shows only three French names in a list of fifty Indians entering the Department by civil service examination in 1912, but many of the others without doubt had French blood. These men and women were to draw salaries ranging from three hundred to twelve hundred and fifty dollars. Many French mixed-bloods are employed in the Indian Bureau, Washington, nearly all of them being graduates of Carlisle; among others are the sister of the Honorable Gabe Parker, recently Registrar of the Treasury, and an extremely intelligent sister and brother whose French blood, manifest in both face and manner, is hidden behind the name Brewer. Miss Brewer, a charming speaker, won many enconiums from Associate members of the Society of American Indians by her address on the aims and purposes of the Society at its second annual meeting in Denver.

The office of Indian Judge has always been highly prized by intelligent Indians, and in the early days was usually held by French mixed-bloods. Michel Brisebois of Prairie du Chien, son-in-law of Langlade's nephew, Gauthier de Vierville (supra, p. 64), of a notable family of guides and scouts, was made a judge by Governor Lewis Cass. He died in 1839. In 1882 the office was reorganized, to be held for one year without pay, but a change must since have been made, since the recent report of the Indian Bureau

shows forty-seven French names of Judges in Indian courts at salaries of from eighty-four to one hundred and twenty-four dollars (per month?). It is interesting to find among Indian Judges Sa Batise (St. Baptist) Perrote, who traces his ancestry to the famous voyageur, trader, annalist and representative of the French King in taking possession of the Northwest in 1670. The present Perrot (who pronounces the last consonant of his name) is not only a judge of the Indian court and a very intelligent man of solid reputation, but a priest of the Sioux Medecine Society, though reverent toward other religions. He is also a prosperous farmer.

It is Mr. Hazard's opinion that in intellect the metis holds the middle ground between the races, yet the comparatively large number of French mixed-bloods who have become teachers in Indian schools, ministers and priests, with services in translating the Bible into various Indian tongues and other literary and scientific work to their credit, at least show what the Indian at his best may be. In Oklahoma, where the proportion of mixed-bloods of all races is very great, a larger number of tribes than elsewhere are represented by metis, both in business and in professional life. Many of these rank with the best citizens, men of unquestioned integrity, and active in every movement for race betterment.

A considerable number of French mixed-bloods have entered political life. Here and there through the west we find them holding local offices, like John Lecy, Postmaster at White Earth, Minn., but their

share in our national life is much more important than this.

Representative Charles D. Carter of Oklahoma, a dark-haired, brown-eyed French mixed-blood and a most loyal Indian, who is constantly working for the betterment of the race, lately pointed out that Oklahoma is solving the Indian problem in its own way, since with a population only one-tenth Indian, that race is now represented by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, one senator, one representative and several other government officials. The services of such in this capacity, however, date from a long past. We have seen "the gentlemanly" Lapence as Senator in a newly organized Territory more than a hundred years ago. A metis by name of Compos was at one time candidate for the governorship of Michigan Territory. Truman Warren, son of the three-fourths Indian, Mary Cadotte, was at twenty-six years of age a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives. A man of charming manners, of unblemished character and greatly beloved, he died, unhappily for his State, in 1835, at the early age of twenty-six. Alexis Bailly, who was a relative of the Chicago trader of earlier days, possibly descended from Joseph Bailly's second wife of story-telling fame,[3] was a member of the Illinois legislature; the Pembina metis, "Young Joe" Rolette, was a member of the Minnesota legislature from 1852 till 1855, a member of the Council in 1856 and 1857, and of the Constitutional Convention in December of the latter year. That constitution excluded Pembina from the State, but he brought

[3] And certainly of the Bailly de Messein family, supra, p. 133.

HON. GABE E. PARKER
Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes
Former Registrar of the U. S. Treasury
French-Choctaw

his credentials "as usual" and was admitted as a "time honored institution." Mrs. Baird, who was the god-daughter and sister-in-law of Rolette's father, the lover of Horace, says that "Young Joe" could not read or write, and this is not impossible, in consideration of the educational facilities—or their lack—in upper Minnesota at that period; though Mrs. Baird may possibly have been mistaken. He was at all events endowed with a high sense of honor as well as with wonderful strength.

State Senator Forbis Le Flore of Mississippi—no doubt a descendant of a long line of Le Flores in Canadian history — whom we saw in 1869 Superintendent of Public Schools of the Choctaw nation, earned an honorable name by inducing his (Choctaw) tribe to move peaceably from Mississippi to the Indian Territory. The Senator, however, retained his own plantation in the delta of his native State, where his daughter was living in 1905, and perhaps is so to this day. Of the same family is Captain Charles Le Flore of Limestone Gap, Okla., father-in-law of Governor Lee Cruce, of that State, also of French Indian descent. Senator La Follette has Indian as well as French blood in his veins. The Hon. Gabe Parker, "one of the brightest of our educated Indians" (W. K. Moorehead, op. cit. Int.) until recently Registrar of the Treasury of the United States, is a Choctaw Indian of both French and Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Mr. Gabe Parker is an ardent temperance advocate, and has taken a conspicuous part in all movements for the development of the American Indian. As teacher in

Indian schools and then Superintendent of the Armstrong School for Choctaw boys in Oklahoma, he had been twelve years in the Indian service before he was called to the office of Registrar of the Treasury. The need of the government for a specially equipped man for one of the most important positions in the Indian service cut short, however, his tenure of that office. He is now Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, in Oklahoma, a position not only of great responsibility, but commanding a much larger salary than the treasury office. Selected because of "preeminent qualification for the position and superior equipment," his appointment is of happy augury for a group of people who have suffered much, and who now see the dawn of better days.

Few women of any race have been called to responsible positions in the service of the national government, and Mrs. Rosa Bourassa La Flesche is no doubt the only Indian woman to whom has been intrusted the responsible task of Indian land agent, her station being the Rosebud Agency, S. D. Mrs. La Flesche's grandfather, Mark D. Bourassa, one of a large family of boys, came to the United States from Canada, his father having originally come from France. Since the wife of Charles de Langlade, Charlotte Bourassa, there have been several persons of the name of excellent standing, all tracing their relationship back to the French great-grandfather, and all, so far as can be ascertained, having Indian blood. Rosa Bourassa's father, a French-Chippewa,

MRS. ROSA BOURASSA LA FLESCHE
Indian Land Agent. A Founder of the Society of American Indians
French-Chippewa

See p. 205

a man of standing in Michigan, served in the army during the Civil War. He gave his daughter the best available educational opportunities, and her culture is of a high order, but her intellectual gifts are eclipsed by the noble qualities of her heart. She is the wife of Francis La Flesche, but devotion to the weal of the Indian is the mainspring of her life. Her self-denying services to this cause are past enumerating.

XV

The French-Indian in the Learned Professions

IT was natural that French mixed-bloods should sooner or later embrace the calling of the sacred ministry, especially of the Roman Catholic church, which was that of their ancestors. The number of those who have done so is too great for detailed notice, but three names at least must find mention here.

The French blood of the Rev. Father Philip B. Gordon, head of the Roman Catholic Indian Office in Washington, a quarter-breed French-Indian, to whom my warm thanks are due, is lost to sight in the corruption of a name originally Gaudin. The Rev. E. C. Chirouse was for many years priest and teacher on the Tulalip Reservation, Washington Territory. Of him the Superintendent of Indian Affairs reported in 1868, "he is doing a great work," and again in 1869, "In the hands of Father Chirouse every dollar will be faithfully spent." The Rev. James Buchard, S. J., of St. Ignatius Church and College, San Francisco, Cal., whose life, says his biographer, "had all the elements of a romance," was the son of Kestalwa, Chief of the Lenni-Lenape, so well known to readers of Cooper, and Elizabeth Bucheur, daughter of French emigrants from Au-

vergne. The latter having been massacred by Comanches, the child was adopted by the Lenni-Lenape, and ultimately became the wife of the chief of the tribe. Watonika, or Swift-foot, the future priest, a younger son of this marriage, born in 1823 at Muscogee, I. T., showed from infancy a remarkably religious spirit. His father having been slain by the Sioux, he was sent by a Presbyterian missionary to Marietta College, O., and in due time became a minister, taking a temporary charge in St. Louis. While there he adopted the Roman Catholic faith, entered the Jesuit Order, was ordained priest in 1856, and soon after went westward and devoted himself "to seeking the stray sheep in mountain town and mining camp", leaving "missions in large cities to others." In 1861, however, he reached San Francisco, took up church work, and by his eloquence drew large crowds. That autumn he founded a Sodality of the Virgin Mary, which was joined by many leading men, lawyers, bankers and merchants, with a large number of artisans and laborers. The first "Mission" and "Retreat" ever held in that city was held by him that winter. The next year a large church was built for him and was always more than well attended. His labors were occasionally interrupted by journeys to Oregon and the Northwest, where his Missions were greatly blest. On returning from one of these he was attacked with serious illness and died of heart failure, Dec. 27, 1889.[1] It

[1] "The First Half century of St. Ignatius Church and College", J. W. Riordan S. J. 1905.

would be hard to overestimate the value of labors such as his in the early days of such a settlement as that of California.

Among Indian ministers and priests the majority, though not all, have French blood. A few of the more prominent metis ministers are the Revs. John B., Isaac and Daniel Renville, Louis D. Coteau (who was a farmer and a merchant before becoming a minister), Pierre La Pointe, Samuel Rouillard, Charles R. Crawford (French through his mother), A. A. Coe, Henry Blackford, Louis Bruce of the Onondaga Reservation, N. Y., in the Presbyterian Church; John Renville, John Roundell, Philip Deloria, S. A. Brigham, Charles T. Wright in the Episcopal, F. H. Paquette and Frank Wright in the Methodist Churches. A considerable number of these were teachers before being ordained.

Hundreds of French mixed-bloods have taught in Indian and mission schools. In the very early days it was not an unheard-of thing that the children of white neighbors should be taught by such. Mary Cadotte, the metisse mother of Truman and Lyman Warren, before her marriage taught English at Red Lake, Wis. Angélique Adhemar, sister-in-law of Mme. Alexis La Framboise, opened a school at Michilimackinac, at which all the girls of the post were educated until the death of La Framboise, when the widow and her children removed to Montreal. The metisse mother of Mrs. Baird of Green Bay opened the first girls' boarding school in the Northwest, (supra, p.

MRS. EMILY P. ROBITAILLE
Teacher in Carlisle Indian School
French-Chippewa

67), teaching reading, writing, sewing and general housekeeping. Charles Henry Beaubien, metis son of "the first citizen of Chicago," a graduate of Princeton College, in 1829 elected to teach school in that village when his younger brother, Medard, went into business. He was possibly the first teacher in Chicago. He died young, however, at the age of twenty-six. Alexis Grignon was a teacher among the Menominee in 1874. The rank and file of French mixed-bloods of the present day who attend Carlisle or other Indian superior schools, especially women, go into teaching, most of them holding subordinate positions in Reservation Schools, though a few are matrons or even superintendents. Some are teaching in public and private schools. Miss Ella Deloria, who bears a name honored in the missions of the Episcopal Church, has recently graduated from Teachers College, Columbia University.

The profession of the law appears to attract many educated French-Indians, the cast of whose minds seems peculiarly adapted for grappling with legal subtleties. Among the earliest to distinguish himself in this profession was Jean Baptiste Bottineau of Ossia, Minn.—Ozawidjeed—*"le petit avocat du Père Malo,"* the devoted champion of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians. Son of the noted guide and military scout, Pierre Bottineau (supra, pp. 127, 128), and Genevieve La Rance, he was born in Dakota Territory in 1837 and died at his home in Washington, December 1, 1911. His early

life was spent at St. Anthony's Falls, where we have already seen his father exercising a refined hospitality. There Jean Baptiste studied and practised law, and for a number of years held the office of Justice of the peace. In 1862 he married Marie, daughter of François and Marguerite (Dumas) Renville. He was a man of great force of character, highly intellectual and broadly humanitarian, generous to a fault, delighting to aid the oppressed and afflicted.

The practice of law was not by itself sufficient to absorb J. B. Bottineau's exuberant energy. He also held the offices of United States and State timber agent, and was highly successful in the real estate business and in the fur trade, his uncle, Charles Bottineau (Little Shell or Petite Coquille) being his partner in trade in the Red River country. Events at the close of the Civil War and the decline of the fur trade brought upon the firm a loss of $80,000, yet without impoverishing Mr. Bottineau. Later he devoted the bulk of his large fortune to the interests of his tribe, for whose sake and to prosecute whose claim against the Government he went to reside in Washington, where he lived twenty years and spent many thousands of dollars. The valuable pamphlet which, in behalf of these Chippewas, he drew up and submitted to the Fifty-sixth Congress, June 6, 1900, (Senate Document 444), is a mine of historical and documentary evidence, his argument for the right of these mixed-blood Indians to their land being supported by extracts from such travellers as Zebulon

M. Pike, Alexander Ramsay, Alexander Henry, and such Indian agents as Father Belcourt and many others, and by reports of Commissioners sent by Government at various times to investigate the subject. His eloquent argument for the rights of a tribe to which the government of this country is deeply indebted should, it would seem, convince every disinterested hearer. Yet he died with the question still undecided, and five years later (1918) "The Turtle Mountain affairs are still pending," to the shame of Congress.

J. B. Bottineau was a man of fair culture, having in early life read much, especially along the lines of liberal thought and mysticism. He was a strong and consistent advocate of Indian education, industrial, technical, professional and moral, and a vigorous supporter of the government policy of maintaining such schools as that as Carlisle. He lived and died a Roman Catholic.[2]

It may properly be here observed that the loyalty of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas in North Dakota, to whose interests J. B. Bottineau gave such devoted service, is proverbial. The Band is largely composed of French mixed-bloods, who have been of great assistance to the Government in its conflicts with hostiles, and notably in protecting its interests against Canadian smugglers. Of 261 signers of the treaty of 1892, by which this band ceded to the

[2] The facts here narrated are drawn from an obituary notice written by Prof. J. N. B. Hewitt.

United States all rights in their lands except the Turtle Mountain Reservation, 166 names are clearly French, and undoubtedly the majority of the others have more or less French blood. And it is this, their last refuge, which their "paternal" government is now disputing with them!

Among successful lawyers of the present day is former United States Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas, who is one-eighth Indian and five-eighths French, on the maternal side. His grandmother was the daughter of Louis Gonville and a daughter of White Plume, a Kansas (Sioux) chief, who married a Frenchman, Lewis Pappan. Mr. Curtis is practising law in Topeka, Kansas. He is a member of the Society of American Indians.

Prominent among French-Indian lawyers is Thomas L. Sloan of Bender, Nebraska, a French-Omaha whose name was put forward by the tribes composing the recently organized Indian Federation, and many influential men both east and west, for the office of Indian Commissioner, now, however, ably filled by the Hon. Cato Sells. Carl Quay-se-good (one of the two Chippewa delegates to Mr. Wilson's inauguration, the late lawyer, Gus Beaulieu being the other), studied law in the University of Minnesota. Thomas St. Germain, a graduate of Yale University and a noted athlete in his college days, though a lawyer, has recently gone into the sale of sporting goods, the athlete "Chief Bender" being his partner.[3] Mrs. Marie

MARIE LOUISE BOTTINEAU BALDWIN, LLM.
Expert Accountant of the Education Division of the U. S. Indian Bureau, Treasurer of the Society of American Indians. French-Chippewa

Louise Bottineau Baldwin, daughter of the late J. B. Bottineau, who has long held a responsible position in the Indian Department (supra, p. 128), was admitted to the Bar of the District of Columbia in 1914, having performed the notable feat of completing the three years' course in the evenings of two years, and graduating with the highest distinction. "Side by side with men fresh from college she competed for honors. Every one knew her as the Indian woman whose wits were keen and whose mind was just a little bit more capable than the rest. Indian capacity was on trial, and Mrs. Baldwin, as a loyal Chippewa, a loyal Indian, finished her course with honor," says the Quarterly Journal of American Indians, "proudly, but none too proudly." Mrs. Baldwin, who is Treasurer of the Society of American Indians, has offered herself to the War Department for service oversea. She speaks French as fluently as English, and her skill as an accountant will make her valuable to the auditing staff.

It is but recently that Indians have entered the medical profession, the long course of study required, including hospital practice, having deterred many from entering this field of usefulness. Yet there are those who have won respect in this calling. The late Peter Wilson, a French-Oneida, a graduate of Dartmouth, was "a wonder as physician and sur-

[3] Charles M. Guyon, the metis football player of Carlisle 1905, carries on a branch office of the Spalding Company in Atlanta.

geon." Dr. Susan La Flesche Picotte, government physician for the Omahas[4], sister of the still remembered "Bright-Eyes," and of the ethnologist Francis La Flesche, is honored among women physicians of every race.

Dr. Oscar De Forest Davis, French-Chippewa, has become highly successful in the practice of his profession.

A metis Chippewa is at the present writing studying medicine in Georgetown Medical College. Mr. Dennison Wheelock, D. D. S., prominent in the Society of American Indians, is practicing dentistry in West De Pere, Wis. The need of physicians of the Indian race was urged by Mr. Chauncey Yellowrobe on the occasion to which reference has already been made (supra, p. 101). The noted full-blood physicians, Dr. Charles A. Eastman and Dr. Carlos Montezuma, have already been named.

But though few have heard the call of the medical profession, the appeal from the bedside of the sick has been answered by many and an ever increasing number of Indian girls, most if not all of them of French blood. The majority of these are graduates of Carlisle. The pioneer in this profession is probably Miss Estaiene de Peltaquestagne, whom General R. H. Pratt characterizes as "a noble and efficient woman, a nurse of such quality as to receive a salary of unusual amount." Gen. Pratt especially

[4] Dr. Picotte died in the spring of 1916. Her loss seems almost irreparable.

names Miss Peltaquestagne with Mrs. Rosa Bourassa La Flesche as "exceptional characters, indicating that mixing French and Indian blood has produced fine results."

XVI

In Literature and Art

IN the field of literature French mixed-bloods make a creditable if small showing. We have seen Antoine Le Claire collecting legends and traditions of the Sauks and Foxes.[1] In 1823 Oliver Rosseau, or Rossin, a French Chippewa of Detroit, collected Indian traditions around the deserted Indian village of Andersontown, Indiana, under the direction of General Cass. The "History of the Objibways" (Minn. Hist. coll. V, 1850-52) by William Whipple Warren, brother of the Hon. Truman Warren, and son of Mary Cadotte and Truman Warren, in whose veins, says the author of "Unnamed Wisconsin," "flows honorable Objibway blood," is "an important account impartially written by an Indian" (Monette). His brother Truman, whose brilliant career was cut short by early death,[2] had collected many myths and legends of his mother's tribe. Louis Porlier, a grandson of Judge Jacques Porlier, a benefactor, as we have seen, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, contributed to its Collections an interesting "Narrative" of the early time. Several Viauds and Grignons contributed Reminiscences to the collections of this Society. The historical romance by the one-quarter Ottawa, Frances R. Howe, has already been named (p. 133),

[1] Compare supra, p. 91.
[2] Supra, p. 162.

The Rev. Clement H. Beaulieu, a priest of the Protestant-Episcopal Church, has become Editor-in-chief of The Tomahawk, a paper founded and for many years edited by his relative the late metis lawyer Gus Boileau.

The Renville Family has contributed not a little to literature, if the word may be used in its broadest sense. The large part taken by this family in the civilization of the North West has already been shown. (Supra, pp. 143, 144). But the most important service of Joseph Renville to his own people was the aid he rendered to Dr. J. S. Williamson and Dr. S. R. Riggs in the translation of the Bible, in which Renville dictated the translation of every word into Dakota, also helping with the Grammar and Dictionary. He further wrote a Dakota catechism. His grand-nephew, Victor, son of Gabriel Renville, Chief of Scouts, U. S. A., wrote the "Tribal History of the Dakotas."

It is interesting to observe that though few French names are found among the heads of business organizations in Minnesota at the present day, (lumbering perhaps excepted) a considerable proportion of the members of the Historical Society of the State and of the contributors to its annals are French, and in view of what we know of the settlement of the Territory, a certain number of these probably have Indian blood.

Mrs. Josephine André Wood of Oklahoma is at work upon a History of the French-Indians and

their ancestors, and also upon a study of the Five Civilized Tribes. Her father was the son of Major Pierre André of Vincennes, who was Paymaster to the Indians for many years, and probably married an Indian woman. The son, Pierre M. André, went to the Indian Territory (like many other Frenchmen, says his daughter), in a spirit of adventure and with the desire to observe Indians running their own government and acting as a sovereign nation in the very heart of the United States. Though, like many other Frenchmen, he married an Indian woman, he was a thorough Frenchman at heart, and named his daughter after the Empress Josephine, whom he greatly admired.

The importance of preserving by writing those legends and traditions which until now have been held in memory and handed down from generation to generation is vividly felt by educated Indians and their friends. Such publications as *The Red Man* and the *Quarterly Journal S. A. I.* have already included articles which, though some of them are from the inexperienced pens of Carlisle students, show what treasures will be lost if the movement to preserve them does not receive more generous support than it has thus far enjoyed. The Potawatomie story which Mr. Alanson Skinner relates (Journ. S. A. I., 1; '15) of the young man who fell in love with the corpse of a beautiful girl and tended it with such devotion that the Master of Life was touched, and caused her to live again, has the same theme as the legendary episode

of the young nobleman of India, in the so-called Acts of St. Thomas, but is clothed with far more reticence and nobility, and with the significance that "Love is ever Lord of Death," entirely lacking in the Apochryphal writing.

As might be expected, the most important contributions of French mixed-bloods to literature, still using the word in its largest sense, are in the field of archeology and ethnology. Mr. Arthur C. Parker, official Archeologist and Member of the Department of Education of New York State, the nephew of General Ely Samuel Parker of General Grant's staff, is of the Seneca Tribe. With a large proportion of Anglo-Saxon blood, Mr. Parker through his mother has also a slight strain of French. His Seneca name is Ga-wo-so-wa-neh (Star-shaft). Like his distinguished uncle he is active in efforts to promote the true interests of the Indian peoples. To that end he took a prominent part in founding, in 1910, the Society of American Indians, of which he is now President, as well as the editor-in-chief of its *Quarterly Journal.*

Mr. Francis La Flesche, one of the Ethnologists of the Smithsonian Institution, is especially noted for his important collaboration with Miss Alice Fletcher in an exhaustive study of the "The Omaha Tribe," though he has also other work in the field of literature to his credit. Mr. La Flesche's family history is interesting. In the early nineteenth century a French trader by name of Joseph La Flesche married a Ponca

girl.[1] Their son, Joseph Estimaza, or Iron Eye, was adopted by the Omaha Chief Big Elk, and was educated in St. Louis, but returned to the tribe and set himself to make "a village of make-believe white men;" in other words to civilize his people. He gathered around him the young men's party, which strongly supported him in opposing drunkeness and other immoralities. Eventually he became the principal chief of his tribe.[2] "La Flesche and his band" were the strong support of the mission school at the Omaha Agency in 1868, according to Superintendent William Hamilton.

His son Francis, brought up in the tribe, observing all its ritual and rites, which were explained to him by his father and the old men of the tribe, early determined to perfect himself in English and gather the lore of his people. His school education was begun in the agency school, an interesting picture of which is given in his story of "The Middle Five." In early youth Francis La Flesche accompanied as interpreter his gifted sister Susette, better known as Bright Eyes, in her tour through the principal cities of the United States, to tell the bitter story of the removal of the Poncas. Susette La Flesche's clear exposition of the case, her eloquent appeals for humanity toward her race, her dignity of diction and bearing, aroused the interest of thousands who listened to her,

[1] The Ponca is one of the five tribes of the Omaha division of the Sioux; their language is the same as that of the other four — Omaha, Osage, Kansa or Kaw, and Wea.

[2] This the Fontanelles stoutly dispute. See supra, p. 70 n. 3.

(says Miss Alice Fletcher in H. A. I., 2; 166), and resulted in a largely signed request to Government that there should be no more removals of tribes. This request, though not invariably efficacious, has wrought a marked alleviation of Indian woes from this source.[3]

Francis La Flesche's education was subsequently continued in the National University in Washington, of the Law School of which he is a graduate. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancemen of Science and a member of the American Anthropological Society, has made ethnological collections for the University of Berlin, the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, and for other institutions of learning. He has written much, and is especially distinguished for his part in the monumental study of The Omaha Tribe, in which, as already stated, he collaborated with Miss Alice Fletcher.

Distinguished among ethnologists of whatever race is Professor Hewitt of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Professor John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt is of mixed French, Scotch-English and Tuscarora descent, his father, Dr. David Brainard Hewitt, being of Scotch-English ancestry and his mother, Mrs. Harriet Brinton Hewitt, of French and Tuscarora descent. He was born on the Tuscarora Reservation in Niagara County, N. Y., was educated

[3] Susette La Flesche in 1881 married Mr. T. H. Tibbals, who had organized her lecture tours, and went with him to England and Scotland, where she made addresses and wrote until her death in 1902.

in the public schools and Union College, taking both the classical and modern language courses, including Spanish. He is familiar with the six dialects of the Iroquois in the United States and Canada, and is probably the only living master of them, the Iroquois being in many respects more complex than the Greek. Beginning life as a newspaper correspondent, followed by a short service as principal of a private school for young men and married men on the Tuscorora Reservation, he later acted as amanuensis for the ethnologist, Mrs. Ermine Smith, under whom no doubt his mind found its true bent, for after a few years in the railroad and express business, we find him in 1886 an ethnologist in the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, a position which he still holds.

Mr. Hewitt has devoted much attention to the languages of the North American Indians, especially the important Iroquoian and Algonquin linguistic stocks; also to those of the Maya of Central America and of the Malay-Polynesian and other kindred peoples, among which he has established important distinctions. He has studied with care and sympathy the myths, legends, tales, rituals of these peoples, their manners, customs, sociology and mythology. The results of these studies and researches are embodied in several important monographs, and in more than seventy-five articles contributed to the Handbook of American Indians. He has also reduced to order the vocabularies of many Indian tongues, and has put into writing over 1500 pages of native texts, embodying

the constitution and structure of the Iroquois League, the general and fundamental laws of its polity, sociology, kinship rights and government, its ceremonials, rituals, chants and addresses appropiate to various formal occasions. He has gathered material for a monograph on festivals, thanksgiving assemblies and New Year ceremonies, which will also include the rich and expressive music of the Iroquois, their games and their medecine and secret societies. The list of his unofficial publications on ethnological and anthropological subjects is a long one. Mr. Hewitt has recently been chiefly engaged in editing and annotating for publication the Seneca material collected by the late Jeremiah Curtin; he has also edited his own Seneca texts, supplying them with both free and interlinear translations. From time to time Mr. Hewitt has prepared and read papers on various themes before the Anthropological Society of Washington, of which he is a member and officer. He is a founder of the American Anthropological Association, and an active member of the Society of American Indians. In 1914 the Cayuga County Historical Society conferred upon him the "Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research," an honor to which no other man is more justly entitled.[4] Mr. Hewitt was lately mentioned in *Les Droits de L'Homme,* the weekly Paris paper founded by the son of Father Hyacinthe, (Paul-Hyacinthe Loyson), as "one of the best interpreters of the [Indian] race."

[4] Abridged from an article in the "Quarterly Journal S. A. I." by Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin.

Mrs. Angel De Cora Dietz, teacher of Indian Art at Carlisle, comes of a family long celebrated in Indian annals. Early in the eighteenth century (1729) a French officer, Sabrevoir De Carrie, married Wa-ho-po-e-kan, a daughter of the principal chief of the Winnebagoes. Their son Chou-ke-ka, born in 1730, was known to the whites as Spoon De Kaury. He became hereditary chief of the tribe, and was always friendly with the whites, even when at war with other tribes. With Pierre Paquette, Le Roy and other mixed-bloods, "noble old De Kaury," as Mrs. Kinzie calls him, helped to make the history of the Middle West by assisting the Government in treaties with the Indians. It was principally through his influence that the treaty of June 3, 1816 was negotiated, he being then long past eighty. He died that same year at Portage City. His wife, Flight-of-Geese, was daughter of the celebrated Winnebago chief Nawkaw (Walking Turtle). They left six sons and five daughters, whose blood runs in several well known metis families of Wisconsin and Minnesota — Grignon, Ecuyer, Le Roy and others. Their eldest son, Ko-no-ka, also called Scha-ship-ka-ka (War Eagle) was known in early Chicago as Old De Kaury or Grey-headed De Kaury. He was born in 1747, served in the British campaign against Sandusky in 1813 (says Mrs. Kinzie) signed the treaty of Prairie du Chien on behalf of the Winnebagoes in 1825, at Caledonia, the largest of the Winnebago villages, containing 100 lodges. Mrs. Kinzie says that he was believed to be 143

MRS. ANGEL DE CORA DIETZ
Teacher of Art in Carlisle Indian School
French-Winnebago

years old at his death. His son Cha-ge-ka-ka, or Little De Kaury, succeeded him as chief, but died within six months. He was the idol of the Indians but was very rebellious to the plan of government to remove the Winnebagoes to Nebraska. His younger brother Hop-ne-scha-ka (White Fiend) De Kaury succeeded in the chieftainship.[5]

Angel De Cora was the granddaughter of the well beloved Little De Kaury or De Cora (Cha-ge-ka-ka). She studied art at Smith College and then under Howard Pyle, and had a studio in New York, illustrating books and articles on Indian subjects in Harper's Magazine and other periodicals, until she was called to teach in Carlisle, where she married her colleague in the art department, Mr. William Dietz, (Lone Star), once famous on the athletic field. She has a remarkable gift for adapting Indian ideas and symbols to purposes of illustration, and with her husband follows out with enthusiasm the plans for the revival of Indian art formed by Mr. Leupp when Commissioner. At the National Education Association of 1910, coïncidentally with which Carlisle School held a Summer Institute at Cleveland, Mrs. Dietz, with the aid of her pupils, gave a practical demonstration of Indian rug weaving. She is a young woman of charming personality. The importance of her work is receiving new

[5] It is the general belief that it was a member of this numerous family, One-Eyed De Kaury, who took Black Hawk and the Prophet prisoners at the Big Dells in 1832, and delivered them to Gen. John M. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien. Mr. Louis Porlier, however, says (in W. H. C. XV; 442) that Black Hawk surrendered not to De Kaury, but to Robert Grignon.

and interesting illustration in the very recent and most successful attempt to preserve the fast vanishing but remarkable art of the various Indian tribes. Mr. Dietz has received a prize for the design of the official medal of the Russian Wolfhound Club of America, and the Governors of the American Kennel Club have decided to adopt it as a standard.

As yet, small attention has been paid, in Indian education, to the possibilities of Indian music as a distinctive art form, though this possibility was suggested, as has been earlier observed, in a very interesting musical composition offered in 1913 by a member of the Carlisle Band, at Commencement. Music is, however, a part of the curriculum of this and other Indian schools, several of whose pupils have won scholarships in leading musical schools, and with some degree of proficiency in the technique of the art we may hope for some interesting contributions, such as have been shadowed forth by Miss Nathalie Curtis in her valuable work already named. A number of French mixed-blood girls are qualifying as teachers of music. A considerable number of young men are members of musical bands in various parts of the country. Miss Alberta Bartholomeau, who was educated at Carlisle, is teaching music in Sparta, Ill. She has organized a children's choir and is also church organist. Miss Jean Senseney, instructor of vocal music in Wilson College, was also educated at Carlisle. The daughter of the Rev. Louis de Coteau is teacher of music in the Sisseton School.

XVII

The Present Situation

HOW many French mixed-bloods there are at present in the United States it is impossible to say with any exactness. The elaborate statistics of the 40,639 mixed-bloods reported by the census of 1910 are of little avail to the student of this subject, since no attempt was made in that census (the first that has distinguished mixed-bloods from full bloods) to show the white parentage. In fact, but for the influence those living on the reservations exert upon their fellow tribesmen, the inquiry is not important. The notable services of French mixed-bloods belong to the early history of our country. Still, a certain interest does inhere in the influence which this class of Indians exerts upon those among whom they live, and though the recent census gives no data tending to distinguish French from other ancestry, the study of history and geography affords more than one clue.

From Mr. Hazard's Smithsonian Report we learn that in Michigan in 1852 there were among the Ojibways (Chippewas) 5,000 metis, many of them persons of good education and high standing. More Anglo-Saxon names occur among this tribe than among any other, but in many of these cases (as also among the French-Sioux with Anglo-Saxon names and among the

tribes of the old Six Nations) French blood can be traced through the metisse mother. Mr. Hazard found that in 1879 there were in the Northwestern States from Michigan to Oregon 20,861 French mixed-bloods. Wilkes gave a total of 21,691 French mixed-bloods on the Canadian border. Of the 15,000 persons of Canadian-French descent in Michigan in 1879, probably few except in Detroit were free from Indian blood. The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1879 says that among the Turtle Mountain Indians, Chippewa mixed-bloods (in this case nearly all French) are very much in the majority, there being 1,700 of the latter to 363 full bloods. He incidently emphasizes the greater industry and better farming intelligence of the mixed-bloods.

In Nebraska, many of the Omaha and Winnebago have French blood. Practically all the inhabitants of the "Half Breed Tract" in that State are metis. Of the "five civilized tribes" of Oklahoma (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole) a large element is white, some of it Anglo-Saxon, but more comes from French traders before the Revolution. The Iroquois peoples (who, with the exception of the Sauks and Foxes, and in the South at one period the Choctaws, were the only Indian adversaries of the French), have a large admixture of French and also English blood, both from adoption and from marriage with captives, so that, as Mr. James Mooney of the Bureau of Ethnology remarks, the mother was white "more often than supposed." In Oregon, with from

30 to 40 per cent of the Indian population mixed, the French element is much less, and in Nevada it is practically nothing. In Wisconsin, Montana, and Washington, with from 10,000 to 15,000 Indians each, the proportion is larger (40 to 60 per cent) in the first, smaller (30 to 45 per cent) in the other two.

In Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota, where the proportion of mixed-bloods is the same as in Maine and New York (45-60 per cent) the majority (excluding such recent removals as, for instance, the Stockbridge Indians), are of French blood. In the more recently settled Kansas, where the mixed-bloods form between 60 and 75 per cent of the Indian population, the proportion of metis, though important, is much smaller. In fact it may be roughly stated that before 1811 nearly all mixed-bloods in the North-West were of French descent, so that it is only in the regions since then opened to settlement that Anglo-Saxon mixed-blood is found in any considerable proportion.

In Oklahoma, where the Indian population is one tenth of the whole, the proportion of mixed-bloods is large (75 per cent), but the French element is relatively small, though largely represented in positions of public responsibility, (Supra, p. 162), Senator Owen, alone of this class of mixed-bloods, has no French ancestry.

In Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, in each of which, according to the last census, there are fewer than one hundred Indians, there are among the white

population a considerable number, mainly persons of good position, who are proud to trace French-Indian ancestry. The same is the case in Maine and New York, especially in the latter, where, as Mr. Mooney tells us (H. A. I.) owing to the century-long enmity of the Iroquoian tribes to the French, there was an unusually large proportion of women captives married into the tribes. Distinguished instances already noted are Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt (Tuscarora) and Mr. Arthur C. Parker (Seneca). On the New York Reservations, however, where the mixed-bloods are nearly 60 per cent, there is little or no French blood. The considerable number of those having French ancestry, like the two distinguished gentlemen already mentioned, are living among the whites, and in all respects, except in loyal and proud allegiance to their Indian ancestry, are identified with them.

In South Dakota, with a mixed-blood population of between 15,000 and 20,000, which is 30 per cent of the Indian population, there is a considerable number of metis, many of them of high respectability, many, indeed, as we have seen, having borne no mean part in the development of the State.

In recent years the metis population of the states on the Canadian border has been increased by migration from the Dominion. Some members of the Boileau or Beaulieu (metis) family came over to Wisconsin (then a territory) during the metis uprising of 1836-7; one of them being a member of the party that discovered the actual headwaters of the Mississippi.

The Bouquet family, whom Senator Clapp mentions as being prominent near Cass Lake, Minn., probably crossed the border at the same time. The uprising under Louis Riel (1885) was doubtless also instrumental in enriching our metis population by a number of men of that race from Western Canada, men whom, as we shall later see, Lord Dufferin, better informed than some other Canadian authorities, was able to estimate at a high value.

The migration of this class from Canada has usually been deprecated by our Government, chiefly, it is supposed, from motives of mistaken economy, though Captain Pope, in a report from which more than one quotation has been made, appears to have had a clearer vision so long ago as 1849. Reporting from Northern Minnesota that at that time there were within the United States 1,000 French half-breeds (Pembinas), he adds that across the line there are 7,000 whom he regrets that the United States should have consented, "by the merest neglect" to lose. "Seven thousand hardy and industrious people," "who are only awaiting the slightest encouragement to settle and develop the rich resources of this portion of Minnesota, have not been invited to do so."

This attitude of our government is historical, dating from the earliest days, although the example of England was there to show it the better way. The British Companies who took the fur trade after New France passed under English rule, notwithstanding the natural British hatred and distrust of both French

and Indians, were astute to perceive their need of trained eyes and hands, and wise to retain the services of those metis voyageurs, coureurs, and petty traders who during the American Revolution for the most part took the side of the revolting colonies. Yet for more than a third of the century thereafter our legislators, blind alike to the value of the fur trade and the agricultural wealth that lay hidden in the northwestern soil, paid no heed to British encroachments, until a second war became necessary in order definitely to establish our northern frontier,[1] and scores of bloody conflicts were needed to awaken America to a recognition of the true character of her Indian problem — a problem to the solution of which the metis, fairly understood and appreciated, might have lent important aid. In fact, wherever Indians have gone on the war path, the government has been fain to depend on French mixed-bloods to cope with them, says Mr. Charles E. Dagenett; no doubt for the reason given by Archbishop Tassé, that the "savages everywhere recognize the superiority of the metis." Civilization seems still to lag behind savagery in this respect.[2]

It cannot, however, be denied that there are bad metis as well as good, and in recent years, as the investigations of the White Earth (northern Minnesota) embroglio have shown, certain individuals of the race, chiefly of those whose arrival in this country dates

[1] Letter from the Rev. John P. Williamson, D. D.

[2] The Agency physician of South Dakota attributes it "solely to their intelligence" that the French mixed-bloods do not join in wars against the Government. He might possibly have found loyalty also counting for something here.

from comparatively recent times, appear in no enviable light. The chapter on White Earth in Prof. Moorehead's work already cited, summarizing and elucidating large volumes of official inquiries, are very significant on this subject. The existence of certain reprehensible individuals, however, in no important way reflects upon the race as a whole.

It was a new departure when the distinction between full and mixed bloods was established in the Census of 1910. But thus to measure the Indian in a material way is not enough; what is needed is a Social Survey, to measure him as a social being. There is a hiatus in the white man's thought until he learns to understand the Red Man in a social light.

The theory that the Indians are "a vanishing race" has been cogently refuted by Mr. Parker in the Quarterly Journal of American Indians (2.'15) and is sufficiently disproved by the recent census, which, however, significantly finds the increase in numbers which it registers to be chiefly among mixed-bloods. It is, however, true that tuberculosis, one of the three foes which Mr. Chauncy Yellowrobe, in the address already cited, finds that the Indian must fight, is making fearful ravages on the reservations. Gen. Pratt, than whom no one speaks with greater authority, lays this evil at the door of the Indian policy of the Government: "The System has been preeminently supreme in working the Indian's ruin, through the despair of isolation, idleness, insufficient feeding, hovel

housing, neglect of sanitation, scant medical attention and ignoring all the facts of the growth of disease and death and the causes. . . . Go with me to dozens of Indian Reservations and I will show you right now the disease-breeding methods of housing and the vile conditions under which the Indians are forced to live, and give you the amplest proof of the inefficient care and scantiness of and disease-breeding food provided, ... These alone are full warrant for the deplorable health conditions among our Indians'' (Journ. S. A. I. 1915).

Conspicuous instances of longevity among French mixed-bloods in days before the Reservation System had cast its blight over the race give a new glimpse into the importance of metis in the process of race preservation. Joseph Ronde, who in 1786 was the oldest living settler in Minnesota, being then eighty years old, could tell of one ancestor who lived to be 112, and of two others who passed the century mark. He left a large family. La Pointe, an uncle of J. B. Bottineau, was living in 1884 at the age of 102. Grey-Headed De Kaury was 109 years old in 1827; several of the De Kaury chiefs lived well beyond a hundred years. We have seen Mrs. Kinzie's observation that One-Eyed De Kaury was believed to be 143 years old. The splendid physique of some Indian youth of today, who through the Government schools have escaped the blight of Reservation life, has been shown on many an athletic field, in other lands than our own.

The opinion of Dr. Z. T. Daniel, Agency physician in South Dakota, that only foreign blood can stamp out tuberculosis among the Indians, is worth quoting in this connection.

XVIII

French Mixed-Bloods and Our Indian Problem

THAT French mixed-bloods have borne no mean part in the development of our country needs not be further urged. In the flight of years the French strain has been diluted, so that but for the amazing loyalty of men of that strain it would now be too late to look for any further notable contribution from this interesting group. Yet these pages will have been written in vain if they shall not produce in the candid mind the conviction that it is the right and the duty of our government to look more seriously than it has done for aid in its still difficult but imperative problem of making American Indians into American citizens, not only to the men and women of distinguished ability, such as many who have been here named, but also to the large number of Indians on the Reservations and in the common walks of life, who own, and are proud to own, to a strain of French blood. It has been amply shown that French mixed-bloods are in general more alert, industrious, reliable, with a deeper sense of the importance of education, than the general mass of Indians. It is the opinion of a white man who knows the Indians well, (Mr. Alanson Skinner) that the admixture of any white blood stabilizes the Indian; he especially numbers among French mixed-

bloods some of the finest men he has known. Wilson, in "Prehistoric Man" expresses a like opinion. "The French mixed-bloods are more alert, livelier and more frank than others."

It is some years since the value of that moral force which Secretary Buchanan half a century earlier had found the French mixed-bloods exerting, began to be recognized by the more thoughtful of those who had dealings with the Indians. Col. Maynandier wrote in 1886 to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs that he had sent to the hostile Sioux two French mixed-bloods who lived near Fort Laramie, because "they would believe them sooner than the Indians who went with them." It is doubtless for this reason that we find in later years many Indian Agents chosen from this race; men like Vital Jarrot, the friend of Lincoln—"a very capable and agreeable gentleman," writes Col. Maynandier—who was appointed agent on the Upper Platte, "having great influence from long residence among them."

Among French mixed-bloods whose influence today is markedly on the side of the advancement of their fellow tribesmen a few may be briefly mentioned: — Gauthier, or Gauki, who holds an important position among the Menominee; Forest Choteau, already named, the most progressive man among the Kansa tribe, more Indian than French, yet living in a city, owning horses, an automobile, and in other respects a progressive man; the Rev. Francis Frazier of Santee, Neb., who has been influential in promoting

the best interests of his people, and Mr. Samuel J. Brown of Brown's Valley, Minn., the son of a French-Indian mother, who has made generous use of his reservation lands in beautifying and otherwise furthering the civilization of the region in which he lives. Moses Renville, a descendant of the friend of the missionaries, is "a man of influence who looks French and looks Sioux," says an American who knows him well.

It is certain that the French mixed-bloods are admired and trusted by Indians in general to an unusual degree. The number of instances which have appeared in this study, of Frenchmen who have married into a tribe and have been made hereditary chiefs — chieftainship not being in general hereditary, but within certain limits elective — is by itself a sufficient witness to the admiration and confidence with which the French have inspired the Indians.

Wherever we find them living on the reservation we find them the most progressive farmers, the most convinced supporters of education, the most industrious workers of their group, and engaged in the greatest variety of occupations. So long ago as 1874 the metis among the Yankton Sioux, besides farming some 2200 acres of reservation land, were, as wrote the agent, "apprentices in shops, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter and grist mills." Today we learn from the logging camps in northern Minnesota that the Chippewas, (Ojibways) few of whom are without French blood, are "at least as industrious as the average

white man,'' and that they have, in fact, solved the labor problem, which in that industry had become acute. We have seen that the Chippewas are now asking for home rule.

It is forty years since Commisioner E. P. Smith urged that the obstacles to Indian citizenship lay not so much in Indian character as in the anomalous relation in which they stand to the Government. It would therefore appear that those Chippewas who are now asking for home rule (Red Man, Dec. 1914, p. 94) are at least not unduly urgent. When Agent Wright in 1874 deprecated the marriage of Indian women with white men, believing that the full blood Indian ''stands a much better chance to become a man than the mixed-blood,'' the date of his remark reminds us that Frenchmen were no longer entering Indian Reservations. It was about that time observed of the French mixed-bloods of a certain band that a ''little effort was required to discern any trace of the Indian whatever,'' not so much ''because of French blood as French character.''

In 1892 the protest of the Turtle Mountain Chippewas against certain proposals of the Government for a settlement of their (still pending) claims was based, among other things, upon the failure of these proposals to provide adequately for education The French mixed-bloods of another tribe who entered a protest against certain frauds on the part of whites were known to their agent as ''the most honest and trustworthy men of the tribe,'' who ''have taken a

deep interest in the education and civilization of the full bloods.'' So long ago as 1876 the agent in charge of the Sauks and Foxes reported that they (mainly French mixed-bloods) ''entirely supported the Mission boarding school and farm,'' adding that they ought to be treated as citizens, and that they needed protection (from the whites) rather than charity. Long before this, however, the French mixed-bloods had proved themselves capable of succeeding without ''charity.'' It was in 1825 that Lewis Cass and Thomas McKinney urged the importance of making some permanent provision for this class, because of the value of their influence, and one may read similar suggestions scattered all along through the reports of agents and commissioners, from that day to this.

The fact that the mixture of French with Indian blood has brought to the front the best characteristics of the Indian is the most cogent argument, as well as that nearest at hand, for a more sympathetic study of the Indian peoples themselves. Miss Alice Fletcher speaks of that which she knows when she finds the preeminent difficulty of a ''just, humane and consistent policy'' toward this people to have been, and still to be, '' the antagonism born of ignorance of both races of each other's mode of thought, social ideas and structure, and customs;'' and gifted full bloods and metis, writing in the Quarterly Journal S. A. I., are now emphasizing the importance of removing this ignorance. It is this, with contentions about land, which, says Miss Fletcher, have brought about ''a dual

condition, on one side a theoretic government plan, ideal and worthy, on the other, modifications of this plan in compliance with local ignorance and greed'' (H. A. I. 1, p. 497).

Were the civil status of the metis a fixed and intelligible status the government might look with confidence to this class of Indians for valuable aid, — aid all the more valuable and efficient because it would enlist the co-operation of the best class of full-bloods — those who themselves have an intelligent interest in the uplift of their race. But here is the fatal difficulty: the Government appears not to know its own mind upon this important subject; important not only from the point of view of simple justice to a considerable number of inhabitants of this country, but of its own interests. We have seen that the time has been when any white person having any admixture, however slight, of Indian blood, was reckoned as a ''half-breed'' and was entitled to some share in the Reservation lands of the tribe to which he was held to belong; a position which lent itself to numberless abuses. Most properly the Government has undertaken to make a more equitable and intelligible ruling. But without going here into details of recent discussions and tentative plans, it appears to be clear that all the elements of the problem have not yet been clearly apprehended. Especially do the character, influence, the very existence, even, of the class of Indians with which this study has to do, appear to be practically ignored.

A worthy estimate of French mixed-bloods was

given by Lord Dufferin in his farewell address at Manitoba in 1877: "That inappreciable class of men," he said, "who combine the vigor, strength and love of adventure natural to their Indian blood with the civilization, education and intellectual force of their paternal ancestors. They have proclaimed the gospel of peace, goodwill and mutual respect with results equally advantageous to the savage chief in his lodge and the colonist in his *chantier.* They have been ambassadors between the East and the West, the interpreters of civilization to the inhabitants of the prairie, as they have told the whites what is the consideration due the subsceptibilities, pride, prejudices and innate love of justice of the savage race. In fact the metis have done for the Colony what it could not have done without them: established between between the white and Indian peoples traditional sentiments of friendship and good will which it would have been impossible to establish without them." (Quoted by B. A. T. de Montigny, Recorder of Montreal, in his *Biographie et Récit de Gabriel Dumont sur les évènements de 1885).*

The Government of this country is now evidently awake to the importance and the duty of a new, unselfish and consistent policy with regard to the Indian. A thorough revision of the entire body of laws dealing with this race is a part of the duty of the present Congress. The proposed revision, known as the Carter Code Bill, was drawn up by a committee of the Society of American Indians, was presented in February 1918 by Representative Carter, a lawyer and a French

Indian, who also presented the so-called Hayden bill "for the purpose of conferring citizenship upon all Indians and segregating the competent Indians from the supervision of the Indian Bureau." The former has been passed, and the work of revision of the body of Indian law is now in process. Congress has still to pass an Enabling Act before Indian claims may be directly presented to the Court of Claims, (an element of the Carter Code Bill) but this Act cannot be long delayed. The White Earth Chippewas (mainly metis) sent to the Congress which adjourned on March fourth, 1916, a delegation of their prominent men (four Beaulieus among them) to urge certain legislative measures recommended by the Indian Conference of the State (Minnesota.) A French-Indian, Mr. Red Fox James, who recently organized at Carlisle the first Indian troop of Boy Scouts in the world, about that time rode 3,784 miles on his Indian pony, carrying to President Wilson a message from the Governor of Montana, endorsed by the Governors of twenty-four states and by a vast number of other influential men, with the petition that "Indian Day," advocated by Mr. A. C. Parker and accepted by the Society of American Indians, be made a National holiday in honor of the North American Indians. Bancroft Library

No doubt the most prophetic day in the Indian history of the twentieth century was Columbus Day, 1911, which saw the founding of the Society of American Indians. Many important successes are already to its credit, and into the large horizon of its future

the imagination loves to look. But the brightest of all the days it has as yet seen was December 10, 1914, when President Wilson received a group of delegates of that Society. That day, as Mr. A. C. Parker wrote in the Quarterly Journal, marked a new beginning in Indian progress. "Never before perhaps had there assembled so large a body of men and women of Indian blood, having so wide an influence in the world's affairs." The memorial then presented had been formulated by a committee of Indians of distinction, in the office of the then Registrar of the Treasury, the Hon. Gabe Parker, a French-Choctaw and a member of the advisory board of the Society. Mr. A. C. Parker, then Secretary-Treasurer, now President of the Society, introduced to the President the forty delegates present, Senator Owen (Cherokee) being with him. The Memorial asked, first, that measures be taken to define the status of the Indians by Federal authority, and second, that the Court of Claims be given jurisdiction over all Indian claims against the United States. It further made request that just opportunities be afforded to insure the efficiency and enlarge the capacity of those who have not now the freedom to struggle upward. Every lover of this country should stand with the Society of American Indians in pressing the requests of this Memorial which still, in 1918, are ungratified.

For the purpose of the present study it is entirely legitimate to observe the large part that men and women of mixed French and Indian blood have

had in the founding of this Society and in all its acts hitherto. Though for five years its first president was the full blood Apache the Rev. Sherman Coolidge,[1] cousin by marriage of the Bishop of Nevada, and such other full bloods as the Sioux Dr. Charles Eastman and the Winnebago Rev. Henry Roe Cloud are prominent in its councils, yet such names as Parker, Carter, Gordon (Gaudin), Dagenett, and many others with which this study has made us familiar are constantly in evidence. The Society especially recognizes its debt to such women of French blood as Mrs. Marie L. Bottineau Baldwin, Miss Alice H. Denomie, and above all, Mrs. Rosa Bourassa La Flesche. "The quiet labors of Mrs. Rosa B. La Flesche must forever stamp her as one of the most heroic women who ever lived," writes one who bore a laboring oar in the herculean task of launching such a society as this; "her deep faith in the Society, her devotion to it, carried the first Conference to success and gave the Society strength to live through its first critical period."

One of the most efficient officers of the Society of American Indians is its present Secretary, Mrs. Raymond T. Bonnin, wife of a metis Captain in the Regular Army. Gertrude Bonnin is the daughter of a Frenchman and a Sioux woman who were married in the Presbyterian Mission Church of Yankton Agency S. D. Her first conspicuous service to her people be-

[1] He was made Honorary President by acclamation at the Cedar Rapids (Sixth) Annual meeting of the Society, September 29, 1916, and Mr. A. C. Parker, (a French mixed-blood) elected President.

gan in Fort Duchesne, Utah, whence as a center Mrs. Bonnin established a series of social and community centres among the Uintah Utes, the Society of American Indians granting her such financial aid as its slender resources rendered possible. Going alone, on horseback, among the women of this turbulent tribe which but a few years earlier had been on the war path, (supra, p. 156), accosting them not as a stranger but as an Indian, she found the women glad to cooperate with her. Thus she was able to establish in "community centres" sewing classes for children and domestic science classes for women, and at the posts to which the Indians came once a week to transact business, rest rooms for the women, with the serving of inexpensive lunches. The local representative of the Indian Bureau not being sympathetic with these efforts to uplift the Uintah Utes, Mrs. Bonnin removed to Washington, where she devotes her entire energies to serving the cause of the Indians. Mrs. Bonnin had for years been active not only in the effort to secure government regulation or prohibition of the use of the noxious drug peyote, or mescal, but also in personal influence to dissuade Indians from its use. At its convention held in Washington in December, 1917, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union heard Mrs. Bonnin's arguments concerning peyote, and passed a resolution to support her effort.

It does not yet appear that Congress as a whole is alive to the character of the French mixed-blood and his immense influence over other Indians, and

MRS. GERTRUDE BONNIN
Social Worker among Indians, Lecturer and Writer, Secretary of the Society of American Indians
French-Sioux

therefore to the aid he might lend to the government in the work which must inevitably fall upon it in the near future — the work, namely, of doing justice to the Indian by making it possible for him to do justice to himself by the way of citizenship. For that work, so utterly new and untried, Congress will need all available help. The debt of this country to the French mixed-blood is already large. It can best be repaid, it can only be repaid, by enlisting his help in solving one of the most serious problems of the present time, and one in which he is vitally interested.

The recent census has shown that the Indian is not a vanishing race; but it is one thing to exist with so much of vitality as to be enabled to increase in numbers, and another thing to be permitted to employ all one's God-given powers to their utmost capacity. "The crushing of a noble people's spirit, and the usurpation of its right to be self supporting and self governing," writes Mr. Parker in an article to which more than one allusion has been made, "is more awful than the robbery of lands, more hideous than the scalping and burning of Indian women and babes, more harrowing than torture at the stake." Does not every white man and woman endowed with a free spirit assent to this? To the Indians who befriended our first white ancestors in this country freedom was the very breath of the nostrils, and it is amazing that four thirds of a century of tutelage have not stifled the race. The masterful protest of Chief Garantula two and a half centuries ago, to the Governor of Can-

ada who tried to force the Five Nations to trade exclusively with the French, is forceful with this breath of freedom: "Hear, Yonondio, I do not sleep. . . . We are born free; we neither depend on Yonondio (the French) nor Corlear (the Dutch); we may go where we please and carry with us whom we please, buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use them as such."

It is Mr. Parker who quotes this utterance, adding, "A race of men and women to whom liberty was the condition of life itself must have liberty restored if it is again to live."

What an asset in our national life would be the Indian race if once again permitted to live! "An examination of our culture," writes Mr. Leo J. Frachtenberg of the Smithsonian Institution, (Quar. Journ. S. A. I.) "reveals to us the fact that the influence of the Indian on our civilization has been far reaching and comprises every phase of our intellectual, political, social, agricultural and industrial life;" and he instances as positive contributions not only the Indian trails which have become our roads of commerce and travel, but such dyestuffs as arnotto and cochineal, many fibres used in manufacture, even the use of caoutchuc, as well as the elementary industry of raising corn and potatoes, without which latter Ireland, southern Germany, Rumania and a number of our wealthiest states (and it may be added, the bleakest section of the mountains of Syria) would be wild, unoccupied regions; many methods of

catching fish and of securing without injury the skins of animals; such comforts as Panama hats, Navajo blankets, hammocks, moccasins, dog sleds, even snow-goggles and pemmican, without which Arctic exploration would be impossible, with the perhaps questionable luxury of tobacco.

"How has he (the Indian) contributed to the world's progress?" asks Dr. Charles A. Eastman in the Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians for January 1815. "By his personal faithfulness to duty and devotion to the pledged word. . . . By his constancy in the face of hardship and death. . . . This simplicity and fairness have cost him dear, ... even to the extinction of his race as a separate and peculiar people, but as a type, an ideal, he lives and will live."

"Look back in history," writes the Apache, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, "and find if you can, any race that ever inhabited this earth who have contended against a greater force than ours for a period of four hundred years. . . . God only knows the trials, tribulations, slavery and oppressions to which the Indian race has been obliged to submit, and yet is valiantly fighting to overcome."

Yes, let us as a nation look back — that we may go forward to a far greater achievement than we wrought when through blood and tears we freed the blacks; and peacefully, hopefully, joining hands with those men and women of mixed-blood who bring us "next" to it, apply our own best powers to wipe the

dark blot from our scutcheon, by enabling the noble Indian race to realize its "best."

Since the first writing of these pages the entrance of the United States into the world war has materially affected the relative positions of the United States and its "wards," whether of full or mixed blood. Though it seems probable that the Reservation Indians will be declared not subject to draft, yet Indians, whether or not on the Reservations, are in large numbers proving their loyalty. They subscribed Ten Million Dollars to the first and second Liberty Loans; to the number of three thousand they have volunteered to serve in various branches of the military service of the United States. Of these, 1,000 are from Oklahoma, and 800 were educated in government (Indian) schools. Several are First or Second Lieutenants (among the former Arthur C. Parker), Raymond T. Bonnin, a French Sioux and two others are Captains, Oliver Parker, whose father is a Seneca Indian and whose mother is a descendant of one of Napoleon's officers, has enlisted in the aviation service and at this writing is at Fort Worth, Texas. About 400 Indians did not wait for their own government to declare war, but enlisted in the Canadian army. Before the close of the present year it may be expected that 5,000 Indians will be in the military and naval service of the United States.