

The treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851

THE TREATY OF TRAVERSE DES SIOUX IN 1851, UNDER GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, WITH NOTES OF THE FORMER TREATY THERE, IN 1841, UNDER GOVERNOR JAMES D. DOTY, OF WISCONSIN.* BY THOMAS HUGHES.

* Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council; September 9, 1901.

THE TREATY OF GOVERNOR DOTY, 1841.

One of the most important events in the annals of our great Northwest was the opening to settlement of the Sioux lands west of the Mississippi river, which was effected by the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in 1851.

Ten years prior, Gov. James Duane Dory of Wisconsin, under commission from the government, had concluded a treaty with the same Indians for the cession of this same territory. This Doty treaty was signed by the Sisseton, Wahpeton and Wahpekuta bands at Traverse des Sioux, then in the Territory of Iowa, on July 31st, 1841, and by the Medawakantons at Mendota on the 11th day of August following. By its terms, these tribes sold all their lands to the United States, except small designated portions thereof reserved for their homes. They were to receive therefor stated annuities and to be taught the arts of civilization, since their nomadic habits were to be exchanged for those of an agricultural character; lands were to be allotted to them in severalty, a hundred acres to each family; and citizenship could be conferred upon them after two years of probation. They were to have a constitutional form of government, with a legislative body elected by themselves and a governor appointed by the general government. The traders and half-breeds among them were also to receive certain privileges and to have their claims paid.

The object of this treaty was not to open the country for settlement, but primarily to provide a location for the Winnebago Indians, who, since the cession of their lands in 1837, had

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been on the government's hands under promise of a permanent home; and, secondarily, to furnish reservations for a number of other tribes similarly situated. In short, it was designed to create of the Sioux country a second Indian Territory, into which to dump all the odds and ends of Indian tribes still left east of the Mississippi. Fortunately, however, this treaty failed of confirmation by the Senate, and thus this vast and fertile territory was saved to a grander destiny.

MOTIVES LEADING TO THE TREATY OF 1851.

Prior to 1850, very little was known by the people generally about the Sioux country. No one but a few traders and an occasional explorer or missionary had ever seen its interior. In those ante-railroad days, the key to the whole region was the Minnesota river, which was supposed to be unnavigable, except to the bark canoe of the Indian and the Mackinaw boat of the trader.

The year 1850 was noted for a number of steamboat excursions up this river, which gave to the hundreds of people participating, and through them to the whole country, a practical demonstration both of its navigability and of the wonderful beauty and fertility of the country it drained. The press of the country east and west was full of glowing accounts of this western paradise. Everybody was talking about it, and thousands of homeseekers all over the land were eager to go up and possess it; but to the people of the newly created territory of Minnesota, circumscribed within the narrow and not over fertile land between the Mississippi and the St. Croix, the rich country beyond the river was indispensable.

The Indians, alive to their own interest, and perhaps incited thereto by the greater foresight of the traders, with the aid also of the military, guarded their lands with the utmost vigilance, and 103 almost daily chased some daring squatter back over the Father of Waters.

The situation at St. Paul and St. Anthony was growing daily more acute as the streams of immigration came pouring into them and there found their progress arrested. The

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voice of the people, thundered through Governor Ramsey and Congressman H. H. Sibley and others, at last awoke the Washington authorities to action, and in the spring of 1851 a commission, consisting of Gov. Alexander Ramsey and Col. Luke Lea, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was appointed to treat with the Sioux for their lands. Both commissioners were men eminently fitted for the trust reposed in them, because of the confidence which their ability, experience and honesty elicited in both white and red men.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE TREATY.

Traverse des Sioux, on the Minnesota, because of its central location, was chosen as the principal place for the treaty, and the steamer Excelsior was chartered to transport the commissioners with their attendants and supplies to this designated spot. Dr. Thomas Foster of St. Paul was appointed secretary of the commission, and Alexis Bailly, of Prairie du Chien, had charge of the commissary department.

On Saturday, June 28th, 1851, the Excelsior, with Commissioner Lea on board, arrived at St. Paul, and next morning proceeded to Mendota, where the party was joined by a number of traders and Sioux chiefs of the Lower bands. Here also a drove of cattle, and other things necessary for the subsistence of the commission and the many Indians expected at the treaty, were taken on board.

At Fort Snelling, Governor Ramsey joined the party; but a company of dragoons, who were to accompany the commission as a guard, were not ready. The boat departed without them, nor, owing to the good behavior of the Indians, were their services once needed.

The river, in consequence of recent heavy rains, was exceptionally high, overflowing all the lowlands, so that its true channel in many places was hard to follow. At sunrise of Monday (June 30th) the boat reached its destination, and, quickly unloading passengers and cargo, departed down stream.

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Traverse des Sioux, being the French translation of its Dakota name "Oiyuwega," (crossing), was then, and from time immemorial memorial had been, the most important point on the Minnesota. The excellent river crossing there found, together with its position where the great forest of the east and the vast plains of the west naturally met, where the Blue Earth and its tributaries were conveniently accessible, and where the headwaters of the Minnesota and Red rivers could be reached by a short cut over land, made Traverse des Sioux the natural capital of the Sioux country.

The place had been occupied by traders from a very early period, as early, at least, as the last half of the eighteenth century, when the father of Jack Frazer and others had trading posts there. Louis Provencalle had maintained a trading post there from about 1815 until his death in February, 1851, and his sons continued in the business until a year or two later. Other trading places had been also kept there, and in the near vicinity, off and on, by Philander Prescott since 1823, by Alexander Faribault since 1825, and by Alexander Graham since 1849. Nearly all of these traders were in some way connected with the American Fur Company.

At this same point was a mission station of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, founded for the Dakotas by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs in 1843, but which most of the time had been in charge of Messrs. Robert Hopkins and Alexander G. Huggins and their wives, Hopkins having settled there in the spring of 1844, and Huggins, on the departure of Mr. Riggs, in the fall of 1846.

The neatly painted school building of this mission, the residences of the two missionaries, and of the trader Alexander Graham, four old log store buildings, with dilapidated log stables in their rear, the trading establishments of Provencalle, Faribault, and others, scattered along the hillside, two or three cabins of the French voyageurs, and some twenty to thirty Indian lodges, comprised all there was of Traverse des Sioux when the commissioners landed there.

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The spot selected for the commissioners' camp was at the brow of the second bench above the river, by a little old French cemetery, about twenty rods south of Provencalle's store, on land 105 that was platted as Blocks 33 and 34, Traverse des Sioux. Few, even now, know the precise spot, and the site of so important a historical event should be marked by an appropriate monument ere it is lost forever.

Here, around the cemetery just mentioned (no trace of which remains today), the commission pitched seven white tents; and just north of a small natural ditch a council chamber was erected of poles covered with leafy branches of trees, with a platform of rough boards at its farther end for the commissioners' stand, and with board seats ranged along the sides for the audience. Two old log buildings of the Fur Company, which Governor Doty had occupied when making his treaty, and which stood a few rods south of the cemetery, were appropriated for a kitchen and store-room.

In a treaty with the whites, the part played by the Indians is always more in appearance than in fact. The Sioux at that time comprising many wandering bands of savages, wholly independent of each other, and with scarcely a semblance of government, even in their respective bands, had hardly more capacity for public business than so many children. Thoughtless and indifferent different of the future and of everything pertaining to their national welfare, they were only moved singly by the impulse of the moment. A gaudy toy or a savory mess of food satisfied their wants. A few of their wisest chiefs might rise to nobler thoughts and purposes, but little heed was paid to them, unless they followed the wishes of their braves.

To get sufficient interest in such a people to come to a treaty at all was no small undertaking, and, when they had come, to make them comprehend its effect, was a still greater task. There had been, however, for nearly a century, growing up among the Indians a class of people called "traders," mostly of French or Scotch descent, many of whom, as well as of their numerous employees, had intermarried with the Indians. These and their descendants, at the time of the treaty, because of their superior intelligence and

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social position, formed the most influential class among the Sioux. As a rule, the traders were men of character and capacity, who merited the Indian confidence, though there were exceptions. To ensure the success of the treaty, it was absolutely necessary to enlist all these men in its favor, for it was 106 only through them that the Indians could be reached.

There were certain reasons, which inclined both trader and Indian to favor a treaty. The first and most important was the disappearance of game due to (a) the introduction of firearms and other superior weapons of civilization among the natives, (b) the advent of white hunters with their greater skill and aggressiveness in hunting, and (c) the creation of the Fur Company, giving an incentive to the quest for furs wholly unknown in the days of undisturbed savagery.

Hence the buffaloes, which on the first advent of the whites roamed in countless thousands over the entire Northwest, and which, as late as the latter half of the eighteenth century, were common in all the valleys and upon all the prairies of Minnesota, by 1851 had been driven to its western border exclusively. The beaver, which formerly swarmed along every stream and in every pond throughout the land, also had become almost extinct, while the deer, the bear, and game of all sorts, were fast disappearing before the advancing tide of civilization. The results were a diminished food and clothing supply for the Indian and a decrease of business for the trader. This was slightly modified by the cultivation of more corn by the Indian and constant extension of trade to new territory by the trader. Still the poverty and misery of the Indian were continually growing, and the extinction of the trader's occupation was but a question of time. It may have been this condition, as well as the taste they had got of government annuities, which induced the eastern bands to favor a treaty more than the western bands.

As a second reason, it was evident to both trader and Indian that the encroachments of the white race were irresistible, and that a disposition of their lands by a favorable treaty would be much better than a forcible eviction. But the traders had been long in the country,

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and had acquired business interests there which the treaty would destroy, so that one would suppose that they, as well as the Indians, should be compensated directly for the injury done them. This was deemed impracticable, however, and, as their hearty support and co-operation were absolutely essential, an indirect method of enlisting their favor was devised.

The Sioux, because of their necessities, had been in the habit of obtaining credit each year from the traders on the strength of the coming season's hunt, which obligations they hardly ever were able to fulfill, until there had accumulated against them on every 107 trader's books a very large sum, equivalent in some cases to a fair-sized fortune. It was proposed, therefore, to pay these debts to the traders out of the first cash annuities the Indians should receive, which arrangement was satisfactory to the traders, and their efficient help was thus secured.

The commissioners had expected to find the Indians assembled ready for council, but the season was exceptionally wet and all the streams and sloughs were flooded, rendering travel in a wild country very difficult, and this, together with the Indian's natural indifference, had deterred all the distant bands from coming. It was nearly three weeks before the traders and their couriers could bring all these remote and scattered people together. The time was well employed, however, by the commissioners in acquainting themselves with Indian character and needs, and by the traders in creating a pro-treaty sentiment among the gathering hordes.

The Indians busied themselves each day with some national pastime or superstitious rite, much to the entertainment of the whites. A big ball game between the young men of rival bands, or by two companies of young squaws, would be the attraction one day; a grand wedding, a virgin feast, dramatic representations of hunting scenes and savage warfare, and, because of the terrific thunder-storms then prevalent, a big dance held to appease the storm god by breaking the wing of the Thunder-bird,—each, in its turn, varied the daily program of genuine savage life here presented.

GOODHUE, THE JOURNALIST AND MAYER, THE ARTIST.

With the commission had come Mr. James M. Goodhue, the first editor in Minnesota, a writer of much ability, whose daily articles of correspondence to his paper, the "Pioneer," not only contain a detailed account of the making of the great treaty, but are vivid, also, with graphic descriptions of the Indian life about him.

With the commission had also come Mr. Frank Blackwell Mayer, an artist of considerable merit, from the state of Maryland, who busied himself each day in sketching Indian countenances and costumes. His painting of the signing of the treaty, after a sketch made on the spot, is one of the most valued treasures of this Historical Society, affording a fine study for a great 108 historical painting of an event the most momentous, as it was the most picturesque, in the history of our great Northwest.

Thus, fortunately, pen and pencil have preserved for us that memorable event, when Savagery, surrounded by thousands of her sons, surrendered in peaceful council her choicest domain to Civilization.

THE TREATY COUNCIL.

On Friday morning, July 18th, most of the Indians having arrived, the council met for its first session. After the commissioners had informed the Indians at length of the wishes of the government, a recess was taken until next day to give the Dakotas opportunity to discuss them.

On Saturday, the pre-arranged signal of the firing of guns having been given, the council re-assembled, but the Indians were not disposed to talk.

Finally Wee-chan-hpee-ee-tay-toan (Having the face of a star), called the "Orphan" by the whites, head-chief of the Sissetons from lake Traverse, rose and complained that some of his young men, on the way to the treaty, had been turned back by the whites. Governor

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Ramsey, in explanation, stated that the commissioners had waited as long as they could, since other business demanded their attention, and the food supply was getting short. This did not satisfy Eesh-ta-hen-ba (Sleepy Eyes), a prominent Sisseton chief of the Swan Lake band, who personally was bitterly opposed to the treaty. Rising, he addressed the commission: "Fathers, your coming and asking me for my country makes me sad, and your saying that I am not able to do anything with my country makes me still more sad." He then alluded to the young braves who had been turned back, as his "near relatives," and declared his intention to leave the council, upon which his warriors raised a tumult, which broke up that session.

At this critical moment the commissioners promptly proclaimed that whether a treaty was made or not was immaterial to the whites, and that, since the Dakotas were not disposed to treat, the matter would be dropped. Orders were given to issue no more rations to the Indians, but to strike the tents and be ready for departure in the morning.

This decisive action had the desired effect, for the great majority 109 of the Indians were now really in favor of the treaty, because of its promised rewards; and such older chiefs as Sleepy Eye and Red Iron dared not oppose the wish of their young men. Hence before night a delegation from the Indians waited on the commissioners, begging them to remain, as the Dakotas wished a treaty.

The council, therefore, resumed its sittings on Monday noon, when, after an apology from Sleepy Eye for his conduct on Saturday, Oo-pee-ya-hed-ay-a (Extending Tail), a Wahpeton chief, commonly called "Curly Head" by the whites, acting as spokesman for the Indians, requested a written statement of the proposed treaty, that his people might the better understand and discuss it in their private councils. This was granted, and an adjournment was taken until the next day to give opportunity for the private deliberations.

The Indians met for this purpose at the wigwam of Chief Takara (The Enemy) on the top of the bluff, back of the commissioners' tents. At seven o'clock the next morning, the

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council re-assembled, and Eyangmani (Running walker), known to the whites as “Big Gun,” head chief of the Wahpetons, handed to the commissioners a paper containing certain amendments to the treaty proposed by the Indians. Another adjournment was taken, to give both parties time to consider and settle points still in dispute, and to have the secretary frame the final document in proper form.

It required an all night session of the secret Indian council to adjust matters, and the ultimatum of the commissioners was not fully agreed to until only half an hour before the important document was signed.

Mr. Goodhue, an eye witness of the final scene on Wednesday, July 23rd, 1851, thus wrote of it:

This is the day fixed by the Grand Council, at which the treaty is to be signed. Clouds cover the horizon, and the sun has a struggle to unveil his face, to see what is going on. The Indians, it is said, have been in council the whole night upon the upper terrace; and messengers between them and our camp have been going to and fro continually. The proposition made by the Indians yesterday, fails to secure the entire approbation of the commissioners. The resolve of Col. Lea and Gov. Ramsey both, unreservedly stated, is to make a treaty simple in its provisions, but which shall comprehend more extensively than Indian treaties have usually done, civilization and improvement features, that will secure to the Indians substantial and 110 enduring benefits in all time to come. Finally, I understand, things are satisfactorily adjusted, and the Secretary is now engrossing the treaty for signature. Everybody is busy. The Indians are gathering around, male and female, all in high paint and feather. The corner in which the event is to take place, is being piled up with goods and presents of various kinds—here a huge pile of various colored blankets, there red and blue cloths, lookingglasses and ribbons, powder and lead, and hundreds of other items of utility or fancy. At 12 o'clock the weather having cleared and the sun shining brightly, the commissioners took their seats; and after a grand smoke from Col. Lea's magnificent Eyangshah pipe, the council was opened by Col. Lea.

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After his short address, Secretary Foster read aloud the English copy of the treaty; and Rev. S. R. Riggs, the author of the Dakota Lexicon and then a missionary to the Sioux at Lac Qui Parle, who was one of the interpreters of the commission, read a translation of the same in Dakota.

At this point, Sleepy Eye arose and stated that some provision should be made to give his people help by the time the year got to be white, as they would be very hungry then. He then went off in a wandering speech, claiming that the sums to be paid to the Indians by the treaty were insufficient. He was finally called to order by the commission, as all the terms of the treaty had been agreed to, so that further discussion was out of place.

SIGNING THE TREATY.

After a short pause, Colonel Lea signed the treaty first, and Governor Ramsey second, Then the chiefs of the Wahpeton and Sisseton bands came forward to the Secretary's table, and affixed their signatures, beginning with "Big Gun," head chief of the Wahpetons, followed by the "Orphan," head chief of the Sissetons. The latter, when about to sign, said: "Fathers, Now, when I sign this paper, and you go to Washington with it, I want you to see all that is written here fulfilled. I have grown old, without whiskey, and I want you to take care that it does not come among us."

As chief "Curly Head" signed, he remarked: "Fathers, You think it a great deal you are giving for this country. I don't think so; for both our lands and all we get for them, will at last belong to the white man. The money comes to us, but will all go to the white men who trade with us."

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After the chiefs, the principal men of each band were called forward and signed also, and each as he signed was presented with a medal. A number of the Indians had been taught

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by the missionaries to read and write their own language. These subscribed their own names to the paper.

THE TRADERS' PAPER.

At the same time the Indians signed a second paper, at a table improvised from an old barrel and presided over by Joseph R. Brown and Martin McLeod, which authorized the payment out of their annuities of the claims due the traders. A year later they attempted to repudiate this document.

SPEECHES AND PRESENTS.

After the signing, speeches were made by Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsey, giving much good advice to the Indians. The council concluded by a grand distribution of presents by the Sioux Agent, Nathaniel McLean, and the special purchasing agent of the commission, Hugh Tyler.

Next morning the United States flag, which had waved proudly in the breezes of Traverse des Sioux for twenty-five days, was lowered, the tents were folded and the baggage packed, the cattle and provisions were left, turned over to the Indians for a final feast, and at 1:30 P. M. the party of the commission embarked in a Mackinaw boat in charge of General Sibley for Mendota and St. Paul.

WHITE MEN PRESENT.

The names of the white people present at the treaty as far as known were: Gov. Alexander Ramsey, Col. Luke Lea, Dr. Thomas Foster, Gen. Henry H. Sibley, Nathaniel McLean, Major Joseph R. Brown, Colonel Henderson, James H. Lockwood, Hugh Tyler, William H. Forbes, James M. Goodhue, editor of "The Pioneer," Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, Alexander G. Huggins, Martin McLeod, Henry Jackson, A. S. White, Wallace B. White, Alexis Bailly, Kenneth McKenzie, H. L. Dousman, Richard Chute

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and wife, Franklin Steele, F. Brown, William Hartshorn, Gen. William G. LeDuc, Alexander 112 Faribault, Joseph La Framboise, Frank B. Mayer, and Messrs. Lord and Boury. To these should be added the families of the missionaries, Hopkins and Huggins, and some French voyageurs.

DUPLICATE TREATY AT MENDOTA.

On the 5th of August, the commissioners met the Medawakanton and Wahpekuta bands in council on Pilot Knob, Mendota, and a duplicate of the Traverse des Sioux treaty, with necessary modifications, was signed by them.

THE LANDS CEDED.

By these treaties the Sioux ceded to the United States the part of Minnesota and South Dakota west of the Mississippi river and extending as far north as a line drawn from the mouth of the Watab river, above St. Cloud, to the mouth of Buffalo river, just north of Moorhead, and reaching on the west to a line drawn from the mouth of Buffalo river south along the Red and Bols des Sioux rivers, now the western boundary of Minnesota, to the south end of lake Traverse, thence southwest to the juncture of Kampeska lake with the Sioux river just above Watertown, and thence down said river to where it is intersected by the parallel of latitude forming the south boundary of our State, just below Sioux Falls. Within this tract, however, large reservations extending along the Minnesota river were excepted as described later.

The ceded lands also embraced a part of northern Iowa, north of the Rock river, together with the country around Estherville, Emmetsburg, and Algona, and extending eastward by Osage almost to Cresco.

The cession comprised over 19,000,000 acres in Minnesota, nearly 3,000,000 acres in Iowa, and over 1,750,000 acres in South Dakota, making in all nearly 24,000,000 acres of the choicest land on the globe.

PAYMENTS AND RESERVATIONS FOR THE SIOUX.

As consideration for this rich and vast domain, it was stipulated that the upper bands should receive \$1,665,000, to be paid as follows: Money to the chiefs, \$275,000; Money for agricultural 113 purposes, \$30,000; The remaining \$1,360,000 to be held in trust by the government, interest thereon only to be paid to the Indians at the rate of five per cent. yearly, commencing July 1st, 1852, and continuing thereafter for fifty years.

This interest, amounting each year to \$68,000 was to be applied as follows: (a) Agricultural purposes, \$12,000; (b) Educational purposes, \$6,000; (c) Goods and provisions, \$10,000; (d) Money, \$40,000.

The lower bands were to receive \$1,410,000, to be paid in the following manner. Money to chiefs, \$220,000; Money for agricultural purposes, \$30,000; The remaining \$1,160,000, to be held in trust by the government, interest only to be paid to the Indians at the rate of five per cent., commencing July 1st, 1852, and annually thereafter for fifty years, and to be applied as follows: (a) Agricultural purposes, \$12,000; (b) Educational purposes, \$6,000; (c) Goods and provisions, \$10,000; and (d) Money, \$30,000.

It was provided by a distinct article of the treaty, that no liquor should be sold to the Indians.

Another article provided that the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands should have a perpetual reservation ten miles wide on each side of the Minnesota river, extending from the western boundary of the ceded lands to Hawk creek and the Yellow Medicine river; and the Medawakanton and Wahpekuta bands received a like reservation of the same width continuing down the Minnesota to the Little Rock river and to a line drawn south from its mouth to the Cottonwood river.

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Most of the money items designated for the chiefs were really to pay the claims of traders, and were so applied in accordance with the written stipulation made, as we Stated, at the same time as the treaty.

It was assumed that at the expiration of the fifty years period the Dakotas would all be sufficiently civilized so as to need no further annuities, and the trust funds above mentioned were then to revert to the government.

AMENDMENT OF THE TREATY BY THE SENATE.

When the treaty came to be considered by the Senate on July 26th, 1852, the article giving the tracts described as permanent 8 114 reservations to the Indians was modified, making them temporary, and promising to pay ten cents an acre for them when other reservations should be designated.

The treaties made at Traverse des Sioux and Mendora, thus amended, were returned to Governor Ramsey, to be again signed by the Indians. The Lower bands at first objected, but finally on Saturday, September 4th, 1852, signed the amended articles, at Governor Ramsey's residence in St. Paul; and on the following Monday, at the same place, the chiefs of the Upper bands also signed.

The treaties as amended were proclaimed by President Fillmore on February 24th, 1853.

Subsequently, however, the Senate reconsidered the article relating to the reservations, and by an act of July 31st, 1854, the treaties were allowed to stand as originally made.

DISBURSEMENT OF THE FIRST PAYMENT.

As soon as the amended treaties were signed by the Indians, the money for the first payment was forwarded to Governor Ramsey, and he repaired to Traverse des Sioux to pay the Upper bands on November 12th, 1852, in company with Agent McLean, Major

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Joseph R. Brown, interpreter, H. H. Sibley, Dr. Foster, Hugh Tyler, Benjamin Thompson, C. D. Fillmore, brother of President Fillmore, who was then lumber agent for Minnesota, and a number of traders, among whom were H. L. Dousman, Alexis Bailly, and Martin McLeod.

THE CLAIMS OF THE TRADERS.

Governor Ramsey found the Indians in an ugly mood, because some \$220,000 of their money was to be paid to traders and half-breeds under the written agreement signed at the time of the treaty. The Indians, however, repudiated this agreement, and asserted that it was a base fraud, that, as they were told and believed at the time, the paper they signed was represented to be only another copy of the treaty, and that they did not discover its real import, and the trick played upon them, until long afterward.

The agitation against the payment of these claims was instigated mostly by the whites, and came from three sources: traders 115 who were jealous because they were allowed no share in the spoil; politicians of opposite faith to the party in power, which negotiated the treaty; and persons who honestly believed, from the reports circulated, that the Indians were wronged.

The leader of the opposition, on the part of the whites, was one Madison Sweetser, of Fort Wayne, Ind., and, on the part of the Indians, Red Iron, a Sisseton chief of the Traverse des Sioux band. Red Iron organized his band of braves into a soldiers' lodge, and for a few days after the arrival of Governor Ramsey for the payment, affairs assumed a threatening aspect at "The Crossing." The Governor promptly sent for troops from Fort Snelling, and on November 19th Capt. James Monroe arrived with forty infantry and five dragoons, and Red Iron was at once arrested and put in jail until his soldiers' lodge was broken and the payments allowed to proceed.

INVESTIGATION BY ORDER OF THE SENATE.

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The opposition then carried their case into the United States Senate, which, being now Democratic, was not adverse to airing any short-comings in the late administration of their Whig opponents. An investigating committee was appointed, and the evidence was fully sifted before Judge Richard M. Young, of Illinois, during the summer of 1853, at St. Paul.

As the result of the investigation, it was shown that, although some of the Indians might not have fully understood the traders' paper which they signed, and although some of the traders had doubtless padded their claims, the commissioners had acted with the utmost honesty and good faith in the matter. Accordingly they were fully exonerated, even by a Senate politically hostile to them.

LATER NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE RESERVATIONS.

In 1858, a question was raised as to the title of the Sioux to their reservations because of the Senate's peculiar action in passing on that article of the treaty. The query was instigated mainly by Joeseoph R. Brown, who had located on a large tract of this Sioux land north of the Minnesota river. Through his mediation an agreement was finally made at Washington by the chiefs 116 on June 19th, 1858, whereby the portion of their reservations south of the river was confirmed to them, with a further provision added that all so desiring should have eighty-acre farms allotted to them in severalty, with government aid in erecting suitable buildings and procuring necessary cattle and machinery; and, to further induce the Indians to take up with this agricultural life, they were to be paid wages for their labor in addition to what produce they raised. The portions of the reservations north of the river was ceded to the government for a consideration to be paid to the Indians, provided the Senate found their title thereto valid, which it did by act of June 27th, 1860.

The main result of this 1858 agreement, as Major Brown evidently anticipated, was the opening to white settlement of that northern half of the Sioux reservations.

THE SIOUX MASSACRE, 1862.

Thus matters stood until the sudden crash of the awful massacre in August, 1862, which led to the passage of an act February 16th, 1863, whereby all the rights and claims of the Sioux under these treaties, not consummated, were abrogated and annulled, their reservations decreed to be sold, and themselves to be deported forever beyond the confines of their ancient home.

RESULTS OF THE TREATY.

Glancing backward over the half century since this great treaty was made, we behold most marvelous results.

Instead of the solitary wilderness of tangled forest and swampy plain, we see, over all the land, cultivated farms, seamed everywhere with the avenues of commerce. Instead of a few remote clusters of smoking wigwams, we see a country thickly dotted with pretty homesteads and magnificent marts of trade.

Instead of eight thousand half starved, half naked savages, eking out a miserable existence in ignorance and filth, we see a million happy people, beaming with intelligence and blessed with abundance. Instead of the exportation of a few furs, we see a land contributing from its fullness the value of millions of dollars in food products to all the nations of the earth.

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The wheels of industry have broken the idle stillness, and songs of peace and praise have succeeded the horrors of the warwhoop and the fiendish notes of the war-dance. In short, we see enacted before us in a few short years the miracle of Christian civilization.

Hardly had the ink dried on the treaty paper, before the settlers began to pour into the country, and, long before the government had approved the act, dozens of towns had

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been planted, and hundreds of claims had been located, all along the Mississippi and Minnesota valleys.

Soon after the ratification of the treaty, the Indians were removed to their reservations, upon whose eastern boundary Fort Ridgely was established in the spring of 1853 for the protection of the frontier.

The regular transportation of supplies for both soldiers and Indians to the upper Minnesota stimulated greatly the navigation of that river, and necessitated the construction of military roads, both being results of inestimable value to the pioneer in the early development of the country.

The yearly payments to the Indians of such large annuities greatly increased the money circulation of the territory, and encouraged trade in those trying days of frontier life.

These good results, however, were not unmixed with evil. The actual surrender of his country to the white man was a trying ordeal to the Dakota, as it violated every patriotic sentiment of his being. To see himself thrust out of the home of his fathers, endeared by many a tender association, and in the defense of which he had spilt his blood so freely, naturally awakened in his breast feelings of bitter regret and jealousy. The restraints of an agency life were most irksome to a liberty-loving people, like the Dakotas, accustomed to rove at their own sweet will, and to pass their days in the excitement of the chase or the glory of war.

Again, to a people who had always been taught to regard any labor other than hunting and war as unmanly, an agency, with its annuity system, practically meant a life of idleness and dependence, a condition directly tending to degeneracy, The putting, also, of large sums of money into the hands of ignorant savages, who had as little conception of its value, or how to spend it, as so many children, rendered them a tempting prey to dishonest white men, who took every advantage of their weakness and simplicity.

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But the evil which proved the most disastrous of all to the whites was the concentration of so many savages at one point, for thus not only were their evil propensities fostered and cultivated by idleness, contamination, and constant agitation of their grievances, while better opportunity was afforded them to plot mischief, but thus, also, were they enabled, when, owing to the exigences of the Civil War, there was a distressing delay in the payment of their annuities, and when the necessary restraining military force was prematurely withdrawn, to sweep down with the power of an avalanche upon our helpless frontier, in the awful massacre of 1862.

The most of these evils, however, were due, not so much to the treaty, as to untoward circumstances in carrying it out, and to unavoidable necessity, since it was impossible for the Indian and his land to remain as they were, and since civilization and savagery cannot long remain in contact without irritation, as they are naturally antagonistic. But these few evils, even if indirectly attributable to the treaty, pale before the noontide splendor of its good results as seen in the light of today. Had the treaty been faithfully kept, and had its provisions been allowed their natural fruition, the evils, doubtless, would have been mostly averted and the results might have been still more glorious.

Be that as it may, yet even the terrible Indian massacre was not an unmitigated evil. That rude shock broke the thick crust of heathendom about many a Dakota heart, and in the great prison revivals at Mankato and Fort Snelling, in the winter of 1862–3, the seeds of a new life planted by the faithful missionaries began to be manifested, which by today has transformed the miserable savage of forty years ago into an intelligent, thrifty citizen, a noble Christian character.

In view, therefore, of all its splendid results, we conclude that this treaty, which the first governor of our great Common-wealth, today the honored president of our Historical Society, took such conscientious pains in framing, with his worthy colleague, the signing of which was such a signal triumph of peaceful diplomacy, and which has added to

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civilization such a magnificent 119 domain, is an event second to none in our history, and is indeed well worthy the commemoration of a grateful posterity.

THE PURPOSES OF THE EARLIER TREATY IN 1841.

The treaties made by Governor Doty in July, 1841, and by Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsey in July, 1851, though differing widely in their main purposes and methods, yet had many points in common. Not only were both made at the same place, with the same Indians, for the purchase of the same lands, but both contained special features looking to the civilization of the Indian. It is curious to note further that both were made under Whig administrations, the former under President Tyler, and the latter under President Fillmore, both of whom had come to the executive chair under very similar circumstances.

While Governor Doty's scheme for the civilization and government of the Indians was doubtless very utopian, still these features would likely have been amended and the treaty confirmed, had it not been sent to the Senate just when the unfortunate strife between the President and his own party was at its height, and only a few days before the resignation of the cabinet, including the Hon. John Bell, secretary of war, under whose special direction the treaty had been negotiated. In the turmoil of that hour, it is no wonder that such an unimportant matter then as an Indian treaty should be neglected by the Whigs, and in those days of bitter partisanship it could not be expected that the Democratic party would favor any measure which had originated with a Whig administration.

To show something of the nature of the Doty treaty, and the manner of its reception at the time, I append a few clippings from the newspapers of that period, kindly furnished me by Mr. R. G. Thwaites, the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON THE DOTY TREATY.

From the Madison Express, September 1, 1841.

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Governor Dory arrived in town on Monday evening last from the Indian country in the West, where he had gone for the purpose of treating with the Dakota Indians for some land on which to settle the eastern and northern Indians. We have had no conversation with the Governor on this subject since his arrival, but from the extract of a letter from Mindota, 120 which we publish to-day, it will be seen that his excellency has effected a treaty with the western bands of the Dakota Indians for about thirty millions of acres of land, and that a great number of that nation have also agreed to settle on the land. This plan of civilizing the Indians strikes us as the best which has yet been proposed to attain that desirable object. How much preferable is this plan, to civilize the Indians and make good and useful citizens of them, to invading their country and with fire and sword sweep them from the face of the earth. It is supposed by many that the Indian cannot be civilized. This we do not believe. But to overrun their country, and burn and destroy their dwellings and crops, and kill their cattle, and suffer them to be cheated by dishonest traders, is certainly not the way to civilize them. If this great object (the civilization of the Indians) can be effected, that man, or body of men, who have been or will be, instrumental in any way in the accomplishment of this great work, deserve and will receive the approbation and blessings of countless thousands of the human race, both Indians and whites.

The following is an extract of a letter to a gentleman in this town, dated,

Mindota, August 7, 1841.

Dear Sir—Gov. Doty has returned to this place, having succeeded in effecting a treaty with the western bands of Indians of the Dakota Nation for about thirty millions of acres, for a territory for the eastern and northern Indians. Upwards of five thousand Indians of that nation have also agreed to settle as agriculturists on the tract.

The administration has wisely adopted the plan of giving to each Indian who becomes a settler and cultivates his farm, the title to one hundred acres of land after two years; and if he is then civilized, he may enroll his name with the Governor, and become a citizen of

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the United States. But the land thus granted cannot be transferred to white men in any way, and can only descend to Indian blood. There are many other important features in the treaty, of great advantage to the Indians, leading them on to civilization and which will mark the policy of this administration from that which has heretofore deprived this primitive race of all civil and political rights and privileges.

The western bands were much gratified to see Gov. Dory in their country, and gave him a very cordial welcome as an old friend. Several hundred guns, loaded with ball, were discharged over his head and around him on his arrival at Oeyoowora, 120 miles west of this, and many more on his departure. Indeed they expressed in every possible manner their satisfaction with the views and intentions of government.

From the Madison Express, September 8, 1841 .

Highly Important Indian Treaty. An Indian Territorial Government.

A friend at Prairie du Chien has furnished us with the particulars 121 of an arrangement with the Sioux Indians, which, we imagine, will here-after excite a good deal of speculation. It seems to be the intention of the Government to establish an INDIAN TERRITORY, north of the St. Peter's River, with limited legislative Powers, to be governed much as our Territories are governed now—the General Government to appoint the Governor, and the Indians to choose the council;—in a word, to change the habits of the Indians from those of the roving hunter to the quiet agriculturist, and to place over them the voluntary restraints of civil law, in the stead of their present chieftain vassalage. It is possible that the thing may be successfully done—it is worthy of an effort—but we are skeptical as to the result. It will be a difficult matter to break up with the Indians their present mode of government by chiefs, and to transform them into quiet citizens, capable of exercising the elective franchise—and equally so to make them 'bury the hatchet,' and 'learn war no more.' However, the Government can try the experiment, particularly as the Indians are

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to pay for their tuition at the cost of *twenty-five millions of acres of land* . . We are likewise bound to respect the feeling of real philanthropy which has prompted this movement.

Gov. Doty, we understand, has been the sole agent of the Government in the formation of this treaty, and will receive all due credit for his conduct. He arrived at Prairie du Chien from St. Peter's on the 26th ult., in a skiff, accompanied by his lady.

The following is the letter of our correspondent:—

“Gov. Doty has been for some weeks among the Sioux Indians, and the report is, that he has purchased all the country south of the St. Peter's River and east of a line due south from its source, containing about 25,000,000 acres. The Sioux reserve some 300,000 or 4000,000 acres for which they are to cultivate the soil—the Government furnishing them with farmers to instruct them. On this purchased land are to be settled some 50,000 or more of other Indians from the east of the Mississippi, all of whom, combined with the Sioux, are to form an ‘Indian Territory,’ the Governor to be appointed by the General Government, and they to elect men to a Council to make laws for their own government.

“Three Forts are to be established within the district, to preserve peace among them, and to protect them from foreign invasion. Probably as much of the purchase as falls within the State of Iowa will be sold to be settled by the whites; but that portion of it which lies north of the State will be occupied as above described.

“The Governor has discovered bituminous coal and copper on the St. Peter's, to which steamboats can ascend, specimens of which are now at Prairie du Chien.

“This arrangement will throw a large body of Indians upon our immediate frontier; but the effort that will be made to civilize them is deemed a sufficient guarantee of their peaceable deportment. And the money expended by and for the troops, together with the Indian annuities, will supply us with a circulating medium, and, to some extent, a market 122 for

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our surplus produce; all of which will contribute to the settlement and improvement of our country.”

We give the above information as it has been received from a respectable source, vouching no further for its correctness.— *Galena Gazette* .

From the Madison Express, September 22, 1841.

[From the Missouri Republican.] Treaty with the Indians.

Some time ago, when informed that Gov. Doty, of Wisconsin, had concluded a treaty for the purchase of a large tract of country from the Indians, we did not credit the report, for we were unaware of his having been appointed to make such a treaty. We, however, yesterday received a letter from Fort Snelling which informs us that Governor Doty has just returned to that place from the Indian country.

Our informant appears to be conversant with the substance of the treaty and the purposes. From him we learn that a treaty was concluded by Governor Doty with the western bands of the Dakota nation, on the 31st July, at a place called Oeyoowora, 120 miles west of the Falls of St. Anthony, for a district of country which is hereafter to compose an Indian Territory, to be occupied by the Indians now in the Eastern and Northern States and Territories. The purchase embraces the valley of the Minnesota river (St. Peter's) and its tributaries; and there is not a better tract of land or a more healthy climate in the west. Missouri and Arkansas will now be relieved from the presence of any more emigrating Indians on their western borders, and to them this new measure of the Secretary of War is of great importance. The country acquired is sufficiently large to accommodate fifty thousand settlers with farms of one hundred acres each. Besides, advantages are secured to them which have never been granted heretofore. Among others, the fulfillment of the promise that Indians, when civilized, may hold the title to real estate, and become citizens of the United States. Unless these privileges are granted to the Indians, every other effort

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which is made to civilize but teaches him that he is one of a degraded race, without civil or political privileges.

The course of policy which Mr. Bell has adopted towards the northern Indians distinguishes him from all his predecessors, and places him far above them. He treats the Indians as human beings, and gives them a place, if they choose to occupy it, among cultivated men.

Governor Doty certainly deserves great credit for the promptness and the despatch with which he has carried his transaction through. There is no man more energetic than Governor D., and no one better calculated to trade with the Indians. Maugre all the traductions of the locofoco papers on this gentleman, we feel assured that the government will find him an efficient officer and a powerful auxiliary in its intercourse with the Indian tribes. Years of experience have made him conversant with 123 the western people and with tribes of Indians who surround the Territories.

From the Madison Express, October 27, 1841.

[From the Davenport Gazette.] Gov. Doty's Treaty with the Dakota Indians.

Mr. Sanders, Dear Sir: As every incident connected with the Indians, within our Territorial borders is of vast and increasing interest to each and every citizen of this Territory, it is with pleasure that I am able to inform you that the statement, as made by the Globe and other Loco Foco prints, in different sections of the country, "That the treaty as concluded by Gov. Doty has been rejected in the Senate," is *entirely without foundation* . It was received but all action upon it was deferred until the next Session of Congress, on account of the unfortunate difficulties in the Cabinet, and between the President and Congress.

That it is of vital importance to the North Western States and Territories, that this treaty should be confirmed and immediately carried into effect, no person with a knowledge of the facts will deny. I should be sorry indeed, if the report of its rejection had been correct,

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for unless it is confirmed, there is no prospect of a removal of the Tribes now within our limits, for many succeeding years.

Instead of the corruptions and extravagance as represented in the Globe, the terms of the Treaty are in all respects (I am informed by those who have seen them) highly advantageous to the Government and to the Indians. The appropriations which will be required to carry its provisions into effect, will be less than those now made to the Winnebagoes, who did not cede to the United States one-half the quantity of land which is ceded by this Treaty.

Such being the facts of the case, the importance of this Treaty will strike the most casual observer; and when I confidently express the hope that the Treaty as made by Gov. Doty, and the one about to be made with the Sac and Fox nations, will be ratified and confirmed by the next Congress, and provisions made to carry them into effect, I am very sure I express the wishes of a large majority of the thinking population of our Territory.

As I consider this a matter of the first importance, I shall at my leisure, with your permission lay before your readers many facts connected with this subject, in which we are all so deeply interested.

A CITIZEN OF IOWA.

Davenport, Oct. 12th, 1841.

The Late Sioux Treaty.

Strong attempts are making by the Globe and other papers of that kidney, to cast odium upon the late Treaty with the Sioux Indians, by which they agreed to sell about twenty-five millions of acres of their lands to the United States. From what we hear of the provisions of 124 that Treaty, we should deem it to be one of the most important that has for a long time been made. Its consequences (both to the Indians and whites, to the mutual

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advantage and well-being of all), if its provisions are carried out, make us ardently hope that the Senate will weigh the matter well before they fail to ratify it.—Indeed, we can hardly believe they have any intention of doing otherwise than to confirm it, from the evidence we have. Almost any one can trace out many advantages resulting from it. To say nothing of the immense tract of fertile country that it will throw open to civilization (its value in this light cannot be estimated), it will have the effect to place the Indians in a state of dependence on this Government, which will not only enable us to preserve peace between us and them, but in time of war they may even serve as our protection against other Indians. For instance, the Chippeways, a powerful tribe, are known to be more or less under British influence, and, in case of war between the United States and England, would be likely to espouse the cause of the latter. The Sioux are their hereditary enemies, and the use to which they might be put in such an emergency to guard our northern frontiers may be seen at a glance. In time of peace, they will make a market for a part of our produce—and good markets are what we shall soon want. Some objections are made to the price paid for the purchase. The exact price agreed upon we have to learn, nor are we very particular about it. Money paid to the Indians, like “bread cast upon the waters,” is pretty sure to “return after many days.” A certain amount is to be paid in furnishing husbandmen to cultivate their lands, and mechanics who are to reside among them, to supply their necessary wants and instruct them in the arts of civilized life. This, certainly, is not money thrown away. It goes not out of the country—as in the purchase of foreign broadcloths and silks. The benevolence of the act should count something. If the Indians can be made to live in peace, and learn to depend for their support on the quiet arts of agriculture, we must believe that a vast amount of human misery would be avoided.

— *Galena Gazette* .

From the Madison Express, November 3 , 1841.

[From the Hawkeye.] Gov. Doty's Treaties.

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The "Globe man," at Washington, appears to be very anxious to create the impression upon the public mind, that these treaties bear the same character with those which were formed under the Jackson and Van Buren administrations, and which he lauded so highly. But he is mistaken; they were neither effected by corruption nor have they any corrupt purpose.

It is unnecessary to explain to him what are their provisions, because it is manifest that, either in the War Department or the secret bureaus of the Senate, the opportunity has been afforded him to inspect them. This violation of the rules of both of those Departments of the 125 Government (or at least one of them) has given him the opportunity to publish false and garbled statements of their provisions. This is the true loco foco principle, otherwise it would be strange that with the facts before him he could not tell the truth.

Gov. Doty, it is well known, can have nothing to do with the execution of the provisions of these treaties, as the country ceded and the Indians are not within his Superintendency, but are entirely within the Territory of Iowa. The insinuations of the Globe, that they contain provisions out of which he can make money as a public officer, and that they were inserted by him for this purpose, are wholly groundless; and are of the same character of those which have heretofore been made against him in that and other prints of a kindred character. The Globe forgets when he makes such charges that he is not a loco foco.

We are correctly informed when we state that the thirty-three millions of acres are not to cost the United States "from six to eight millions of dollars," as is asserted by the Globe; but that it will not cost two millions of dollars to carry every provision into effect. We also assert that the annual appropriation required for this object for the first ten years will not be more than sixty or seventy thousand dollars; and afterwards it will be reduced to fifty thousand. Will the Globe dare to contrast these with the South Western Treaties, or with the Pottowattomie and Winnebago Treaties which he applauded so highly, because they

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were the measures of his masters, and let the public know the difference in the number of acres purchased and the price paid under Loco foco treaties and Whig treaties?

We understand this attack of the Globe on these treaties, for the purpose of preventing their ratification, to be a direct attack upon the future settlement and prosperity of these northwestern States and Territories. He knew that the object of the administration in forming them was to provide a country for the exclusive occupation of all of the Indians from New York to the Missouri river. And he knew that unless such a country was provided the Indians now in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, must remain where they are, impeding and annoying the settlements, alike corrupting and corrupted by their contact with those settlements, a burthen to the States in which they reside, and at a great expense and trouble to the general government.

Is Iowa prepared to admit that there shall be no further extinguishment of the Indian title within her limits; and that the Sacs, Foxes, and Pottawatomies should continue to inhabit the country which they now occupy? If so, let them assist in procuring the rejection of these Treaties. The South Western States declare they will have no more Indians concentrated on their frontier, and the state of Missouri, if the United States owned the country on her western boundary, does not wish to be hemmed in by such neighbors.

The portion of country now selected by the administration for a permanent home for these people (as agriculturists if they choose) is exterior 126 to all of the white settlements and away from their tracts. It does not therefore interfere with the progress of settlement, or the civil or political divisions of the country. And we now call upon the people of Iowa to notice the efforts of the Opposition to prevent the removal of the Indians by this administration beyond her borders—merely because John Tyler is President, and not Martin Van Buren.

Much other interesting information concerning that early treaty is contained in the recommendations of Hon. John Bell, secretary of war, transmitted with the treaty to the

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Senate by President Tyler, September 1st, 1841, as published in "Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897," Volume IV, pages 59–63.

GOVERNOR DOTY AND LE SUEUR'S COPPER MINE ON THE BLUE EARTH RIVER.

Doty seems to have heard the story of Le Sueur's copper mine near the mouth of the Blue Earth river, and to have been so impressed with it that, while attending his treaty at Traverse des Sioux, he had many visions of this useful metal, as appeared by the following extract from his report made a year afterward: "I saw many evidences of copper along the banks of the Minisoto (St. Peter), but chiefly on the south bank. You are aware that at the mouth of the Mukahto river there was, a hundred years ago, a copper smelting establishment erected by a Frenchman. I visited the ruins last summer. There is no doubt in my mind that extensive beds of copper ore will be found in the valley of the Minisoto, above the sandstone rapid, which is fifty miles from its mouth."

It is difficult now to imagine where Governor Dory saw his signs of copper in the Minnesota valley, unless, perhaps, in the color of its aboriginal inhabitants.

PLACE OF THE TREATY.

We found great difficulty in locating the exact spot where the treaty was signed, and it was only after much diligent inquiry that we were enabled at last to determine it with certainty. Very few of those who were present at the treaty now survive, and the change in the appearance of the country, and the lapse of time 127 since they saw it, render their recollections somewhat indefinite.

The only person now living, who was present at the treaty and who has lived at Traverse des Sioux ever since, within a stone's throw of the spot where the treaty was signed, is Mrs. Louisa Carpenter. She is quite an intelligent woman and a grand-daughter of the noted Sioux chief, Mazahsha (Red Iron). Her father, Louis Laramie, a Canadian Frenchman, came to Traverse des Sioux early in the 40's from Mendota. Mrs. Carpenter

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has an excellent memory, and, though only about eight years old at the time of the treaty, she recalls distinctly many incidents connected with its making. The commissioners' tents, the building of the booth which was used for a council chamber, the speech of chief Sleepy Eye, the drowning and the recovery of the body of Rev. Robert Hopkins, the missionary, the caution given by the chiefs to the children to keep away from the council chamber so as not to disturb the sessions with their noise, the use of the old log warehouse by the whites for their kitchen, and many other happenings of the time, she recalls quite vividly.

Another person thoroughly familiar with the old landmarks of Traverse des Sioux is Louis A. Robert, who has resided in the vicinity since 1853. He is a son of Antoine Robert and a nephew of Louis Robert, the famous steamboat captain and trader. He is a most genial gentleman and rendered much assistance in locating the site of the treaty.

Valuable information as to the site, and as to other matters pertaining to the treaty, was also kindly furnished by Governor Ramsey, Mrs. Grace C. Pond, Rev. Moses N. Adams, and others. Mrs. Pond is the widow of the Rev. Robert Hopkins, who was drowned accidentally in the Minnesota river on the morning of July 4th, 1851, while bathing near his home, making the saddest incident of the treaty story. Mrs. Pond resided at Traverse des Sioux from April, 1844, to September 17th, 1851, and, with her husband and Mr. and Mrs. Huggins, taught the mission school there. She witnessed the treaty from beginning to end. Rev. M. N. Adams, the pioneer missionary and preacher, has been familiar with the sites of Traverse des Sioux since 1848; and, though not present at the treaty; he was there a short time afterward and saw the spot, when every evidence was fresh, and he made his home at Traverse des Sioux for many years immediately thereafter.

The main difficulty in determining the site of the treaty has arisen from a mistake as to the site of Louis Provencalle's store. The majority of the old settlers seem to have taken it for granted that this store stood three or four rods northwest of the present residence of Mrs. Jacob Frank, on block 35 of the old townsite. None of these old settlers have personal knowledge of the fact, except that some of them recall seeing an old log building there. All

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the earliest settlers who actually saw the store when occupied by Provencalle, and who therefore speak with authority, place its site just where the barn of Mr. Demos Young now stands, on the south side of block 33 of the townsite.

This old store fronted south and was built of hewn logs with the ends grooved, so as to fit into two upright posts firmly planted at each end, thus making four posts at each corner to hold the walls in position, instead of laying the logs one across the other at the corners, so as to dovetail them together after the usual method. A few feet west of the store was another small log building which Provencalle had used as a dwelling. Enclosing the two buildings and a garden patch and some horse sheds in the rear was a high fence, or, rather, a palisade of stakes, pointed at the top.

These buildings had been erected very early, and in the summer of 1841 Governor Doty had held his treaty in the old store: and Father Ravoux, in the fall of the same year, had used it in giving religious instruction to the children of Provencalle and of the voyageurs in his employ and in administering to them the rite of baptism. Owing to the owner's death the previous February, these buildings had been vacated some months before the treaty of 1851, and during the treaty they were used by the commission as kitchen and store-room.

It seems, however, that there was an old log warehouse, standing near Mrs. Frank's present residence on the same bench of land, about sixty rods south of the Provencalle buildings. This 129 structure of unhewn logs fronted north, and had neither floor, chimney, nor window, and evidently was very ancient at the time of the treaty. Mrs. Carpenter insists that the Dory treaty and Ravoux school were held in it, and that it was used as a kitchen by the Ramsey-Lea Commission. I am inclined to believe, though, that she is in error as to this; but, as to the spot where the great treaty of 1851 was field, all who were present at it agree, and hence there can be no reasonable doubt. It is located in front of where the old Provencalle buildings stood, about fifteen rods to the south, and just north of a small natural ditch.

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A spot of such historic interest should be marked by a suitable monument, since there and then, in the glorious annals of our great Northwest,

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new.” 9