

Wisconsin Historical Society

William Powell's Recollections

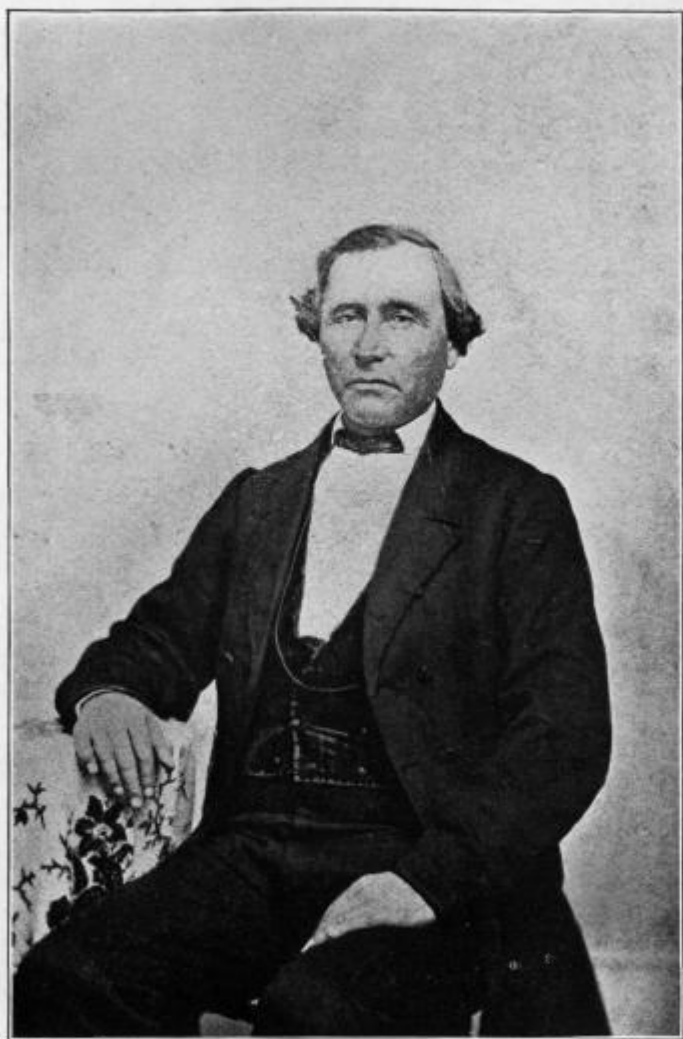
In an Interview with Lyman C. Draper¹

Peter Powell,² my father, was born in England in 1778. Coming to what is now Wisconsin in 1800, he engaged in the Indian trade, his earliest post being at White Rapids on Menominee River, about eighty miles from Green Bay; he made his returns at Mackinac and passed his summers at Green Bay settlement. At first he was a clerk for Jacob Franks,³ but afterwards en-

¹ In the Society's annual report for 1878 (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 53) is the following: "The secretary, during the past year, * * * made a visit to Capt. Wm. Powell, of Shawano County, a native of Wisconsin, now bordering closely on three score and ten, and intimately connected with the Menomonees and other Wisconsin tribes since 1819, and noted down a lengthy statement of his dictation, embracing his recollections of the Menomonees and their prominent chiefs, Col. Robert Dickson, the British leader of the Northwestern Indian tribes during the War of 1812-15, and the derivation and meaning of many Indian geographical names in Wisconsin having a Menomonee origin." The interview which Doctor Draper took down in notes at the time, has ever since remained only in manuscript. In editing this document for the present publication, we have combined therewith a letter written by William Powell some years later to the present Editor, detailing some additional facts in the lives of both father and son. In working both sources into a connected narrative, we have made only such changes as involved re-arranging the material and improving the phraseology of necessary points. It is believed that Powell's Recollections, while not as valuable as those of Augustin Grignon, published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, will prove an authoritative and substantial contribution to early Wisconsin history.—Ed.

² The brief sketch of Peter Powell in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 358, was written before this manuscript came to light.—Ed.

³ For a sketch of this trader see *Id.*, xviii, p. 462, note 85.—Ed.



WILLIAM POWELL (1810-1885)

Enlarged from photograph in possession of the Society

Powell's Recollections

gaged in trade for himself. My mother was Mary Jeffrey, a native of Green Bay, and half Menominee. Her father was an Englishman, and her mother belonged to the family of chief Oshkosh. My father and mother were married at Mackinac in 1802. They had a family of eight, five sons and three daughters, of which there are only myself and a younger brother now (1877) living. I was the fourth child and was born near Death's Door at the entrance to Green Bay. My father was returning from Mackinac to Green Bay with my mother—he had taken her with him to Mackinac when he went after his goods; she was taken sick en route, and I was born the twenty-fifth of September, 1810.

My father was with Colonel McKay at the capture of Prairie du Chien.* In August, 1819 [July, 1818],⁶ Col. Robert Dickson,⁷ formerly Indian agent for the British in the War of 1812, visited Green Bay, and advised my father to go to Pembina to trade, saying that he was British agent there,⁸ and would do what he could to favor his interests.

In company with Dickson we started from Green Bay in a bark canoe, hiring four French *voyageurs* and a hunter to kill game en route, as we could not carry provisions enough to last during the trip. We coasted Lake Michigan to Mackinac and up Sault St. Mary River into Lake Superior, coasted that lake and through the Lake [of the] Woods and Lake Winnipeg, thence up Red River to Pembina settlement, arriving at that

*For a history of the expedition see *Id.*, xi, pp. 254-270; xiii, pp. 1-14; and post. A sketch of McKay is in *Id.*, xix, p. 365, note 12.—Ed.

⁶In his interview with Draper, Powell told him that they left for the Red River country in August, 1818. In the letter written later, however, he gave the date as July, 1818. In the light of his further statements and of other corroborating evidence, it seems probable that the latter was the correct date.—Ed.

⁷Dickson's career is sketched in *Id.*, xii, pp. 133-153; additional facts are found in *Id.*, xix, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

⁸Dickson was, in fact, agent for Lord Selkirk, and aiding him in his plans for settling the Red River country. About this time Dickson was urging all the prominent traders at Green Bay—Porlier, Lawe, and the Grignons—to remove to Red River and take with them the Menominee tribesmen. See documents in *Id.*, xx, *passim*. Apparently Powell was the only one of the old British traders who acceded to Dickson's request.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

place the last of September. There father engaged in the Indian trade, having purchased his goods from the Hudson's Bay Company; remained there three years; each spring he went to Hudson Bay with his furs and returned in the fall with his goods.

At the expiration of the three years he started back for Green Bay with his family, by a land route to the headwaters of Minnesota River. Late in November of 1821, we arrived at Lake Traverse, at a trading post then kept by Mr. Joseph D'Aville,* who was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and we passed the winter at that place. A short time after we arrived at Lake Traverse a man came there from Illinois, by the name of Dixon,⁹ with a drove of cattle, on his way to Pembina settlement; but as winter commenced setting in he was obliged to remain there. During the winter he lost more than half of his cattle, killed by wolves and Sioux Indians.

In the spring of 1822 my father sold his carts and horses to Mr. D'Aville and bought two dugouts large enough to carry his family and his goods, descended Minnesota River to its mouth,¹⁰ which emptied into the Mississippi about six miles

* This was Joseph Renville, a Dakota half-breed who was born near St. Paul about 1779. Educated in Canada, he early entered Dickson's employ and was interpreter and guide for Pike in 1806-08 and for Major Long in 1823. He served in the War of 1812-15 as captain in the British Indian department under Dickson, and afterwards received a pension. About 1819 he gave up this pension, became an American citizen, and in 1822 was one of the founders of the Columbia Fur Company. When this corporation was sold (1837) to the American Fur Company, he retired to Lac qui Parle and there died in 1846. A Minnesota county bears his name. See fuller biographical sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx.—Ed.

⁹ On a map published in 1838 by Judson, of the territory west of the Mississippi, is traced a route from Des Moines River to Lake Traverse, marked "McKnight and Dixon's route, 1822." This no doubt refers to the cattle train here noted. Alexander Ross, *Red River Settlement* (London, 1856), p. 72, mentions the arrival in 1823 of a herd of 300 cattle that sold for good prices—the first, he says, that came to the colony.—Ed.

¹⁰ In the Society's Wisconsin Mss., 16B28, is a letter from Peter Powell to John Lawe, dated Lake de Traverse, March 14, 1822. After speaking of the state of things in the Red River country, Powell con-

Powell's Recollections

above St. Paul. That summer my father with all his family, except myself, arrived at Green Bay. He left me with Capt. William Alexander of the Fifth Regiment, U. S. A., who was stationed at Fort Snelling.¹¹ I was to stay with him until my father should send for me, in order to go to the school which was kept in the garrison for the officers' children.

Soon after my father returned to Green Bay he again engaged in the Indian trade. His wintering places were up the Mississippi, also up Minnesota River as far as the Blue Earth, which empties into it thirty to forty miles above St. Paul. In the spring he made his returns with his furs at Mackinac. In 1826 he stopped buying his goods from the American Fur Company and bought them from Daniel Whitney of Green Bay,¹² who was the only man in the Western Department who dared to oppose John Jacob Astor in the Indian trade. In the spring of 1827 my father built a log house on Lake Butte des Morts and left his family at that place while he wintered at his trading post; returning in the spring he passed the summer with his family at Butte des Morts. That place continued to be his home till his death in September, 1837. My mother survived him several years, was remarried, and died at Green Bay in the summer of 1844.

The French and Fox War¹³

From Iometah, Oshkosh, and other aged Menominee, I learned that the Sauk and Foxes once had a town at Red Banks; later they removed to Green Bay and got into trouble with the French

thus: "there is no prospect of doing anything in this Country. I have past a Miserable winter for starvation. I intend to pass the Spring a Hunting then go down to the Entry of St. Peters this Summer. * * * I am now much distressed, my family are Quite naked & on the point of Starving."—En.

¹¹ Alexander was at this time Lieutenant in the 6th Infantry. He was from Tennessee, entered the regular army in 1820, was promoted to a captaincy in 1836, and died two years later.—En.

¹² For a sketch of this early Green Bay merchant, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 274, note S.—En.

¹³ See Louise P. Kellogg, "Fox Indian Wars," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 142-188.—En.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and were made to retire to Little Butte des Morts—now Neenah. Here they exacted tribute in the following way: some of their leaders would post themselves on either side of the stream with a long pole, held up and leaning over the water, indicating that the trader's boats must heave to, and pay tribute before proceeding farther. Getting tired of these exactions, the French got up an expedition and drove them off from Little Butte des Morts. The Sauk and Foxes then retired to Big Butte des Morts and at that point renewed their exactions in the same way. At this time there was a Menominee who had married a Sauk wife. The French and Menominee at Green Bay prevailed on him to go to the Sauk and report some pitiful story of bad treatment on the part of his people as a reason why he had retired to Big Butte des Morts to make his future home with his wife's people; and to report also that there were some traders' boats soon coming up, upon which they could levy rich tribute.

In time the flotilla appeared in sight, each canoe covered with an oilecloth over a ridge-pole, like a roof. Beneath this were a body of armed French, while a large body of Menominee and Chippewa marched up the river by land. As soon as the fleet hove in sight of the town, the Menominee spy quietly and unnoticed took his departure, and apprised his countrymen whom he soon met, that the boats were nearing the Sauk and Fox village. Thereupon they hastened and crept into the rear of the place. As the boats came up, and the tribute poles were posted, the French made for the town landing, and the people rushed down to see and meet them. Then the boat coverings were suddenly thrown off, and the soldiers fired on the Sauk and Fox assemblage, who as they fled back to their houses to get their weapons, were met by the Menominee and Chippewa in the rear, and soon overpowered. Some fled to Winneconne, about three miles distant, where many were overtaken and killed. There their bones were left to bleach upon the ground, hence the name—Winneconne, "the place of skulls." Thus the Sauk and Foxes were again driven westward, up the Fox and down the Wisconsin. A part of them went up to Puckaway and Buffalo lakes, and settled there; the rest settled at Sauk Prairie on the Wisconsin, where subsequently they were joined by the others.

Powell's Recollections

War of 1812-15

Chicago Massacre, 1812: Souigny related to me that a splendid-looking woman (who proved to have been an officer's wife), refused to surrender after the Indians attacked the retreating garrison. She stood up in a wagon and defended herself with her sword, cut and slashed with it, and perhaps wounded an Indian or two, when the Indians, who would have preserved her life, felt constrained to shoot her. Souigny spoke of her long, handsome, flowing hair. He likewise referred to her heroism in sacrificing her life rather than yield herself up a prisoner to the Indians. Such an act naturally attracted the attention of the warriors.¹⁴

Indians under Dickson. During 1812-13 Col. Robert Dickson wintered in a nice piece of timber on the west side of Lake Winnebago, between Garlic Island and Neenah—about half way between the Island and Neenah. He reached there late in 1812 with a large supply of British presents for the Indians, which he distributed liberally; and then the Indians retired for their winter's hunt, being admonished to meet him early in the spring to go upon the warpath.¹⁵ They assembled in large numbers and received numerous presents and supplies; but at Mackinac a large portion of them backed out and returned home, so Souigny and others related, conveying the idea that only the boldest and bravest kept on.

At Fort Meigs, Souigny first met Tecumseh, shook hands with him, and represented that he regarded it as an honor to have met and fought by the side of so noted and brave a man. Tecumseh was tall, fully six feet, and well-formed. Arrived at Fort Meigs, they drew a party of Americans into an ambushade

¹⁴ Probably this was Mrs. Corbin, wife of a sergeant. Mrs. Kinzie in *Waubesa* (Caxton ed., 1901), p. 178, refers to her heroism. She also narrates the resistance of a Mrs. Holt, who hacked and cut with her husband's sword; but she was on horseback, not in a wagon; and moreover she was ultimately saved from death.—Ed.

¹⁵ See Dickson papers in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 271-215; xix, pp. 344-346. In xi, p. 278, Dickson dates his letter from Garlic Island, which would seem to indicate that he wintered thereon, not on the mainland. Arndt, *post*, also locates Dickson on the island.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

[Colonel Dudley's party],¹⁶ but after that failed to make any impression on the fort, only now and then picking off some of the sentinels. Finally as a last resort, Tecumseh formed the novel idea of the pretended fight in the woods—as if the Indians were encountering an American reinforcement—expecting the garrison would hasten out to the relief of their supposed friends. But General Harrison was too wary to be caught in any such trap.¹⁷ During the siege two Menominee were captured by some American Shawnee, but managed to escape. Becoming discouraged, the British Indians wanted to go home, when Colonel Dickson and the British leaders, to divert their attention, led them against Sandusky. There the Indians picked off some of the Americans going for water; but after the British repulse, all retired.¹⁸

There probably were no Menominee at the taking of Detroit, or at the River Raisin. Souigny and others spoke as though their first service was when Dickson embodied them and led them to Fort Meigs and Sandusky.

Mackinac in 1814. There lived for many years a very aged Winnebago chief, called Caramaunee, at a little village composed of only three or four bark lodges belonging to himself and his sons-in-law, located about two miles east of what is since called Waukau. [Captain Powell suggests that this may be a slight change or corruption for Nahkaw].¹⁹ East of Fox River, about two miles above Omro, is Delhi. Some two miles back [south] east of Delhi was Waukau, on the old Fort Winnebago trail from Green Bay to the Fox-Wisconsin portage. About two miles east [south] of Waukau, on the west bank of [the outlet of] Rush or Mud Lake, near the centre of the stream, was Car-

¹⁶ The interpolation is probably that of Dr. Draper, explaining Powell's reference to an ambushade. For a brief account of the siege of Fort Meigs and Dudley's defeat (May 5, 1812) see C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 76-77.—Ed.

¹⁷ Reference is here made to the second siege of Fort Meigs in July; see *Ibid.*, p. 78.—Ed.

¹⁸ This relates to the siege of Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1 and 2; *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.—Ed.

¹⁹ Nahkaw was the Indian form of Caramaunee's name; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 181, note.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

amaunee's village.²⁰ He was a large, square-shouldered, stout man, not very tall, but with a powerful frame and long face. While his people were generally regarded as unreliable and thievish, Caramunee bore a most excellent character, was liked by all traders, and was friendly to the whites. When I saw him last, about 1830, he seemed nearly a hundred years of age. He said he was out with Colonel Dickson in the War of 1812, went with the Menominee to Sandusky, and was at Mackinac when Major Holmes²¹ was shot by L'Espagnol.

Caramunee and L'Espagnol both gave me the following account of the battle on Mackinac Island.²² When the Americans landed, the Indians and most of the garrison went out to way-lay them. The Indians hid behind rocks and boulders on either side of the anticipated route, while the English with cannon were in the rear towards the fort to draw the Americans forward into the net or trap. While in waiting, the few whites left in the fort got alarmed, thought the Americans were approaching in their rear, and sent a messenger in great haste to notify those in front; whereupon nearly all the Indians fled to the rear, ex-

²⁰ Publius V. Lawson, *Winnebago County* (Chicago, 1908), i, p. 308, says that there was a village at the outlet of Rush Lake as late as 1848. According to John T. La Ronde, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 360, Caramunee had by 1828 removed to the Baraboo River.—Ed.

²¹ Maj. Andrew Hunter Holmes entered the regular army from Mississippi at the outbreak of the war, and was assigned as captain of the 24th Infantry. In March, 1814, he distinguished himself in a skirmish on the River Thames, Ontario, where he defeated a British force superior in numbers to his own. For this success he was promoted to the rank of major, and assigned to a part in the recovery of Mackinac. He was killed Aug. 4, 1814, and after the recovery of his body, buried at Detroit. The fort on the highest point of Mackinac Island was subsequently, in his honor, named Fort Holmes.—Ed.

²² The expedition to recapture Mackinac was undertaken against the judgment of the American officers of the Western department, but it was ordered from Washington. The fleet was commanded by Commodore Sinclair; the land forces by Col. George Croghan. Landing on the west side of the island, the Americans advanced (Aug. 4, 1814), against the British who had thrown up rude fortifications. The death of Holmes threw the advance into confusion, whereupon retreat to the ships was ordered.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

pecting to encounter the Americans there; but it proved to be a false alarm.

L'Espagnol and his nephew, the Yellow Dog (Oshawwahnem),²³ remained in their places of seclusion. Oshawwahnem said "Uncle, let us go with the others." "No," said L'Espagnol, "I shall remain; if you wish to go, you can; but you ought to show proper respect for your uncle by standing by him." Soon they saw the Americans approaching by the route along which they were originally expected, with the officers and a small bodyguard in front. The dress of one officer was thickly covered with silver lace, upon which the sun shone and reflected brilliantly. Supposing this to be the principal officer, the young nephew asked of his uncle the privilege of shooting him, as it would be the greatest honor. Among the Indians, it was a custom that when an uncle commanded a nephew to perform any service, however dangerous, he was in duty bound to do it with unquestioned promptitude; and in return the nephew had the right to ask any favor of his uncle, which must as readily be complied with. Hence L'Espagnol promptly acceded to Yellow Dog's request. The nephew was to fire when his uncle should set the example by firing at a plainer dressed officer, who was swinging his sword carelessly by the handle. When L'Espagnol fired, Major Holmes—for so he proved to be—with his epaulette on his shoulder, fell forward dead. His sword and cap were pitched somewhat ahead of him, and L'Espagnol had barely time to dash out, seize them, and hasten away in the rear of the rocks, with his nephew following him. The latter's gun had missed fire, so the bespangled captain escaped unhurt.

When Major Holmes fell, his negro servant ran off with his body, hiding it between a couple of boulders and throwing some leaves and stuff over him. Hence, when the Indians subsequently returned to get his scalp and searched carefully, they

²³ Dr. Draper wrote on the Ms., "It must be an error in Grignon's 'Recollections' [*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, p. 280] that Oshawwahnem was a cousin of L'Espagnol." But Indian relationships were not carefully marked in degree—the difference between nephew and cousin might not be regarded as important. For further information concerning this chief, consult *Id.*, x, pp. 493, 500.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

failed to find it. Shortly after, the Americans sent back a flag of truce from their ships lying at anchor, asking permission to take away Major Holmes's body. This was granted and the Indians who went along with the British guard were surprised when the American party, with the "black meat" (as they termed the negro servant) for their guide, went and uncovered the concealed body within a few feet of where they had repeatedly passed in search of it. Thus L'Espagnol lost his much coveted scalp; but the exploit, and the trophies which he gave to Colonel Dickson, gave him a high reputation among his people. I myself saw in 1819 the sword and cap formerly belonging to Major Holmes, then in Dickson's possession.

The Yellow Dog must have died early, for I have no recollection of ever having seen him. L'Espagnol used to live in the Green Bay region, making his winter hunts up the Wisconsin. He was an excellent hunter and trapper, and really a peaceable and good Indian and popular with the traders. L'Espagnol was not less than six feet two inches in height, rawboned, and powerful. He could pack on his back a deer he had killed, a five-year-old buck, weighing over two hundred pounds. Saketoo, the eldest surviving son of L'Espagnol, and a younger brother, are (1877) living near Keshena.

Prairie du Chien Expedition. I have no knowledge of Colonel McKay's history prior or subsequent to the Prairie du Chien expedition. But I knew Duncan Graham, a Scotchman who married a Sioux woman. He was a small-sized man and while on a visit to Green Bay about 1830, got a power of attorney from Peter Powell, John Lawe, and some of the Grignons for British services, and went to Montreal to collect the claims; but he was never heard of afterwards.*

My father, who was in McKay's expedition, used to relate that the [American] gunboat was upon the river above the fort. When the British and Indians (Menominee, Winnebago, Sioux, some Chippewa, and perhaps Potawatami) were lying around

*For facts in regard to the life of Duncan Graham, see *Id.* ix, pp. 292, 467. Peter Powell was employed by Graham in the Red River country, 1818-21, so that Captain William must have known him when a boy. The story of his disappearance is untrue; he died in Minnesota about 1845, at the home of his son-in-law, Alexander Faribault.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

on the flats, beleaguering the post, the gunboat floated down. Seeing the British and Indians apparently so numerous, those on board of the boat regarded the chance of maintaining the fort as hopeless, so concluded that their best course was to save themselves and boat and pass on down the river. As they passed, the [American] garrison hailed them, and even shot off their cannon at the vessel from the bastions, to make them heave to; but they passed on without stopping. Lewis From [Louis Manaire], one of the crew or men on the gunboat, whom I later knew well, stated to me that the shot from the American cannon penetrated the stern of the vessel.

When the British first arrived and demanded a surrender the American commander refused; thereupon Colonel McKay had a furnace erected to heat balls with which to attempt to fire the fort. Seeing the gunboat had deserted them, the garrison concluded it was best to surrender, and did so just as the British had got ready to fire their hot shot. Peter Powell used to say that had the gunboat taken its place near the fort, it could have done effectual work in beating back the British and Indians, and he thought, would have saved the garrison. I have heard the Menominee speak of Colonel McKay as a brave, good leader and instance the fact that when the Americans fired their cannon, the Indians would dodge behind some protection, or fall upon the ground; but Colonel McKay himself would remain standing, erect and fearless. On the way to Prairie du Chien, there was but a short supply of salt, so the expedition had to take barrels of sugar to use in covering and preserving the fresh beef, which answered the purpose.

Boilvin,²⁸ the Indian agent at the Prairie, was scared half to death; he acted as British or American, as best answered his purpose. Peter Powell also related that while the negotiations were going on for the surrender at the gate, and the firing had ceased, the Indians pressed up to the outside of the pickets, when one of the Sioux peeping through a crack between the pickets, seeing an American soldier near-by called out "how-do," extending his hand. When the American thrust his hand through between the pickets, the Indian seized it with one hand,

²⁸ For a sketch of Nicolas Boilvin see *Id.*, xix, p. 314, note 51.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

at the same time treacherously drawing his knife and cutting the soldier's hand quite to the bone before the treachery was discovered. When Colonel McKay learned the facts, he ferreted out the culprit, and punished him by degrading him to a squaw, depriving him of his gun, and putting on him a petticoat.

Rolette²⁶ was sent by canoe with a flag and a few men to carry dispatches to Mackinac from Colonel McKay. As they hove in sight of Mackinac, singing their songs, the people all rushed to the landing, asking for news from the expedition before they reached the shore. Rolette, excited and impressed with the importance of what had been accomplished, replied: "Oh, we've gained a great and bloody battle and victory!" when in fact scarcely any lives were lost.

The only Menominee I now recall who served in the War of 1812 and is still living, is Okamawsah, known by the whites as Louis Ducharme. He was a half-breed son of Colonel Ducharme,²⁷ and on going to parties used to put on his uniform. The Colonel himself was a large, dignified man, and died when quite aged, at Green Bay about 1831.

Tecumseh. From what Souigny and others related, I understand that Tecumseh never visited the Green Bay Menominee in persons; but some of his messengers did come, bringing a wampum belt or speech, urging the Menominee to join the confederacy, and they accomplished their object. Souigny and others had formed a high opinion of Tecumseh, and used to relate that they first saw the great Shawnee leader at Fort Meigs, in the spring of 1813.

Robert Dickson

I know nothing of Dickson's early life. Soon after he came out as a trader, he married a daughter of Wanoti, head chief of the Yankton band of the Sioux—a band that lived on the

²⁶For Joseph Rolette see *Ibid.*, p. 140, note 84.—Ed.

²⁷For a brief sketch of Col. Joseph Ducharme, see *Ibid.*, p. 293, note 22; his son Louis is mentioned in *Id.*, xv, pp. 215-217. Dr. Draper, however, thought that reference was here made to a son of Dominique, brother of Joseph and Paul Ducharme.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

plains and prairies.* His oldest child, William,** was in 1819 about twenty-one and just married. Thus he was born about 1798, and Dickson must have formed this marriage connection about 1797. Dickson's wife was a very small woman, fair of complexion, but at forty not handsome. When we left Pembina in the spring of 1822 and went to Fort Snelling, we met Dickson, who shortly after left his children there and took his wife on a visit to England. It was said that he presented her to the king and court, where she maintained herself with much dignity.

The Indians fairly revered and worshipped Dickson, regarding him as a great man. He was of fine appearance, over six feet in height, a very large-sized man, in later life being somewhat corpulent, weighing over two hundred pounds. The Indians called him Mascotapah, or The Red-haired Man—sometimes Dick-e-son. He was generous to a fault, and humane. Souigny related that Dickson constantly impressed it upon the Indians not to kill and take scalps when they could take prisoners, saying that the greater warriors took and saved prisoners rather than destroyed them. I also remember having heard that Colonel Snelling entertained Colonel Dickson very courteously at Fort Snelling, in recognition of his humanity during the War of 1812-15.

Dickson used to assure the Menominee and Sioux that those who had served under the British standard should never be forgotten; that their Great Father had empowered him to say that as long as one should be alive who had thus served the king, he should not want; that their lodges should be covered with scarlet cloth.

In 1823 Dickson visited Prairie du Chien, leaving there his daughter Ellen, then a young lady grown, probably to obtain something of an education. This was the last time that I ever saw him. Ellen subsequently married Joseph R. Brown, a sergeant in the army, who was not long after discharged and went

* According to Warren, "History of the Ojibwa," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 363, Wanahta, chief of the Yankton band, was a nephew of Dickson's wife. The former was a noted Sioux chief of the plains of the Red River of the North.—Ed.

** For a brief sketch of William Dickson, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 444, note 73.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

to live upon a farm near Fort Armstrong, on the western side of the Mississippi. There I once stayed over night with him, and have since learned that he was a member of the Minnesota legislature during its territorial period, so he must have subsequently removed to Minnesota.³⁰

Dickson's son Thomas was a clerk in the Indian trade, and got killed in some affray with the Sioux. The younger girl lived at Faribault. I think it was not long after this visit to Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, that the news came of Dickson's death at Drummond Island.³¹

. Menominee chiefs

Among the Menominee, the White Beaver (to which Oshkosh belonged), the Wolf, the Turtle, the Crane, and the Bear were the principal clans—there were several lesser ones, such as the Turkey, etc.

Tomah was a large, fine man, much respected by whites and Indians.³²

Souigny was fond of relating his war exploits, and rather magnified them. He was about five feet nine inches high, very stoutly built, and strong. He died about 1867 of erysipelas, nearly eighty years old, but well preserved.³³

³⁰ Maj. Joseph R. Brown was one of the most influential of the early settlers of Minnesota. Born in Maryland in 1806, he ran away at the age of fourteen and joined the United States army as a drummer. Coming with Colonel Leavenworth to Fort Snelling in 1819, he was discharged about 1825 and entered the Indian trade. Later he was a pioneer lumberman, printer, legislator, and editor, being the founder of the *St. Paul Pioneer*. He laid out the town of Stillwater, was in both the Wisconsin and Minnesota territorial legislatures, and was one of the best-known men of the region. He died in New York in 1870. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 201-212; iv, p. 41; ix, p. 179.—Ed.

³¹ Dickson died at Drummond Island, July 20, 1823, aged fifty-five years.—Ed.

³² For a brief sketch of this noted chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 446, note 65; a document in *Id.*, xix, p. 346, proves his participation in the War of 1812-15 on the British side.—Ed.

³³ For a different date of Souigny's death see *Id.*, x, p. 497.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

Waupomasah, nicknamed Old Sore-Eyes, was principal chief of the Menominee at Lake Shawano. The "Admired Man" is the meaning of his name. He was out in the War of 1812, and died at Keshena about 1868, fully eighty years of age.

Iometah died about the same year that Souigny did—very aged and childish. He was a short, thickset man, about five feet eight inches, an excellent Indian in character.³⁴

Poegonah, generally called Big Soldier,³⁵ died in 1834 or 1835 nearly ninety years of age, at the village of his name in Calumet County, on Lake Winnebago, nearly opposite the mouth of the Black Wolf. From earliest life he had gone on every war expedition with his people, and even with other tribes. Once he was out in a campaign against the Pawnee. He was the tallest man among the Menominee, fully six feet four inches, finely proportioned, and was known for his tall form by all the nations around. He always wore a conspicuous eagle feather on the top of his scalp-lock, so fitted into a small hollow upright bone, with a socket, that it would twirl about with every changing breeze. He seemed to pride himself in having his scalp-lock nicely trimmed and ornamented, as much as to say to his enemies in war, "Come and take it if you can!" But he had an abiding faith that no foe would ever possess it. He attended the treaty at Green Bay in 1828, where a drunken soldier acting as sentinel in protecting the Indian camp, recklessly ran his bayonet through Poegonah's thigh. The old chief seized the soldier, disarmed him with one hand, and grabbing him by the throat with the other, threw him to the ground, calling him a dog, and alleging that if he were an enemy, he would take his life for his insolence. Colonel Brooks, the commanding officer of the troops, had the reckless soldier whipped in the presence of the Indians.³⁶ Poegonah went out on the Sauk expedition in

³⁴ See *Ibid.*, pp. 497-499, where Dr. Draper gives some additional statements from Powell, with relation to this chief.—Ed.

³⁵ Compare what Augustin Grignon says of this chief in *Id.*, *III.*, pp. 232, 294.—Ed.

³⁶ There was no treaty at Green Bay in 1828; Powell doubtless refers to that of 1832, which the Big Soldier signed. At that time, also, Gen. George E. Brooke of the 6th Infantry was commandant at Fort Howard.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

1832, but said that it was only child's play, although it would serve to give the young warriors some little experience. So in the skirmish near Cassville²⁷ he did not discharge his gun, but rushed among the combatants to show his fearlessness.

He left two sons, both large men, Sacketook and Wiskeno (or The Bird)—the former was a chief and good Indian. Both have passed away.

Grizzly Bear²⁸ (Kotskaunoniew), a very large, fleshy Indian, the orator of the Menominee, was smart and intelligent and prided himself on being the white man's friend. He went to Washington with Stambaugh²⁹ and stayed during the winter of 1830-31. On his return from this trip, where he had been shown everything grand and magnificent, he was asked what had made the most marked impression on his mind. He replied that the grandest sight he had ever witnessed was a large prairie on fire on a dark night—to see the flames jumping and running like lightning, and sending their glare and flashes to the very skies.

When on the Hudson River steamer from New York to Albany, there was quite a large party aboard. Among the number was a fashionable young lady, who expressed to the interpreter a wish to kiss Grizzly Bear, to which that warrior readily assented. When the kiss had been taken and the young lady retired, some of his friends rallied the old chief, saying that the young lady must have fallen in love with him. He replied that that was not her motive—she simply wished to have it to say that she had kissed a brave and noted Indian chief. He had clear ideas of the whites, was of a commanding appearance, and died a few years after the Sauk War, perhaps somewhat more than sixty years of age.

Pewautenot's son Waunako was a pretty smart Indian and a great speaker. He belonged to the band on Menominee River,

²⁷ See post.—Ed.

²⁸ Compare Grignon's account, *Wib. Hist. Colls.*, III, p. 224; see also *Id.*, II, p. 424. His name in French was *Graisse d'Ours* which signifies Bears' Fat; the denomination "Grizzly" appears to be a misinterpretation—no grizzly bears having had a Wisconsin habitat.—Ed.

²⁹ Samuel C. Stambaugh was for a short time Indian agent at Green Bay; see *Id.*, XI, p. 392; also XII, XV, *passim*.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and has been dead several years. The present chief Keshena is his nephew.

Oshkosh⁴⁰ possessed, in a remarkable degree, a knowledge of the traditions of his people. He was a man of strong sense and died at Keshena, Shawano County, August 15, 1858. He requested his tribe, when he died, to bury him in a sitting posture, with his pipe, tobacco pouch, gun and powder-horn, and pouch, one beaver steel trap, and a rat trap, so that he might be properly equipped when he arrived in the good hunting ground.

Ahconemay, his oldest son, was to take his place as head chief of the tribe after his death, and he was so considered by the tribe, until he was suspended by the Indian agent for killing Augustin Grignon Jr.⁴¹ Even after his suspension the tribe still regarded him, as they had his father, head chief of the tribe.

Oshkohenawniew, or The Young Man, was Oshkosh's only brother. He was small in stature, abusive and bitter in his speech. He died about 1867, and two of his sons are still living.⁴²

Charley Carron is the son of Josette,⁴³ who was recognized by Governor Cass at the treaty at Little Butte des Morts in 1827 as the second chief of the Menominee. Charley was in my employ as clerk from 1841 until 1845, while I was trading on Fox River, two miles above Omro. When he left my employ he went and settled where Omro now is; he pre-empted the land, but sold out in 1847, and moved to Mukwa on the Wolf River.

⁴⁰For this chief see *Id.*, iii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴¹This event occurred in 1861. Augustin Grignon Jr. was a half-breed son of the elder Augustin, and was employed in the fur-trade. He was killed by Oshkosh's eldest son because he refused to allow him to drink in his cabin. Ahconemay (Aconnamie) was tried and sentenced to state prison; but after a year or more he was pardoned by the governor and returned to the reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

⁴²This chief was about seven or eight years younger than Oshkosh, and took part with the Menominee in most of their activities; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴³Charley Carron, well-educated and of fine physique, was a noted leader of the half-breeds in dare-devil exploits. See R. G. Thwaites, "History of Winnebago County," in *Oshkosh Times* for 1876.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

He was in the Indian trade at that place until 1854, when he moved to Grand Rapids. While he was in trade he had several narrow escapes from being killed by Indians; was shot at three or four times, and stabbed as many times with a knife. He has stabbed several of the Indians himself. He is still living, spending most of his time at Grand Rapids and Plover on the Wisconsin.

The Indian called The Rubber, I knew well; Augustin Grignon has correctly portrayed him.⁴⁴ He was of a boasting disposition, fond of representing himself as a hero of exploits of which no one else had any knowledge; especially claiming to have pre-eminently befriended the Americans and the American cause, when others were aiding the British. This was to gain favor in the eyes of the American military officers, in the shape of a frequent friendly dram. The Rubber was also accustomed to claim gifts from the old settlers at the Bay, on pretence that he was the owner of the territory; but the other Indians would laugh at his pretence to either the ownership of land or to prominence. He died about 1839, somewhere along the shore of Green Bay, perhaps at Grass Point, some eight or nine miles below Green Bay. It was at a time when a large number of the Indians were encamped there with the cholera, and they were prohibited from coming up to Green Bay. Dr. Crane,⁴⁵ who yet resides at Green Bay, was employed by the government to attend them, and I used to accompany him on his daily visits as interpreter. The doctor left a quantity of mustard with the Indians, with directions to put a plaster of it over the breast of any one attacked with the disease. The next day when he visited the camp, we were surprised not to see a solitary person stirring anywhere. "Are the poor fellows all dead?" we enquired of each other. But on entering the wigwams, every Indian, old and young, was found spread flat upon his back, covered with a mustard plaster. All had resorted to it, as a precaution against the dread disease, of which large

⁴⁴ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, pp. 280, 281.—Ed.

⁴⁵ The date must have been later, for Dr. C. E. Crane did not settle in Green Bay until 1846. He was born in Ohio, 1827, and died at Green Bay 1897. During the War of Secession he was surgeon for the 6th Wisconsin, and later mayor of his adopted city (1874-75).—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

numbers of them had died—I think The Rubber was among them.

Most of these prominent Menominee chiefs were members of the Catholic church, and the dates of their deaths must be on record at the mission; but there is no priest there now. Maybe the Indian agents kept some record of their deaths; but I hardly think that probable.

As late as 1830, quite a number of Menominee, several chiefs among them, went to Drummond Island⁴⁶ and got British presents, guns, traps, brass kettles, ammunition, etc. Col. [George] Boyd, the American Indian agent,⁴⁷ on learning of this fact, warned the chiefs that if any of them went there again their medals would be taken away from them, and they would no longer have any claim upon the American government. This firm action on the part of the colonel had the desired effect of breaking off the British influence.

At this time [1877], the tribe numbers about 1350 souls:

Black Hawk War

In 1832, when the Sauk War broke out, "General Atkinson" sent Col. William S. Hamilton⁴⁸ with instructions to the Indian agent, Colonel Boyd, to enlist the Menominee and appoint proper commanding officers. Col. C. S. Stambaugh, who had formerly been connected with the Indian service, and then resided at Green Bay, was selected to command the Menominee, who were 480 in number, divided into companies. Augustin Grignon was captain of one, with Charles A. Grignon his son, for first-lieutenant, and George Grignon his nephew, second-lieut-

⁴⁶For a sketch of the British post on Drummond Island see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 146, note 94. The post was removed in 1828. For the prolonged British influence over the tribes on American soil see *Id.*, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴⁷For this person see *Id.*, xii, pp. 266-269.—Ed.

⁴⁸For papers on the Green Bay contingent in the Black Hawk War, see *Id.*, iii, pp. 293-296; xii, pp. 217-298.—Ed.

⁴⁹For Gen. Henry Atkinson consult *Id.*, i, ii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

⁵⁰A biographical sketch of William S. Hamilton is given in *Id.*, xii, pp. 270, 271.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

enant. George Johnston commanded the other company, with William Powell first, and Robert Grignon second-lieutenant, while James M. Boyd, a young son of Colonel Boyd, was third-lieutenant and secretary of the company. Alexander Irwin was quartermaster.⁶¹

We went to Fort Winnebago by land. There Stambaugh received word from General Atkinson of the Bad Axe affair⁶² and an order, since the war was now virtually ended, directing him to return to Green Bay and disband the Menominee. The latter were very desirous of going to Prairie du Chien, as they had some relatives and friends residing there, and they probably had some curiosity to go to headquarters and learn all they could about the war. So Stambaugh sent Robert Grignon and me with dispatches to meet Gen. [Winfield] Scott, who was expected at Prairie du Chien, and make known this earnest wish of the Menominee; and say that he would march in that direction. From the Blue Mounds, Grignon returned according to instructions, while I continued on alone to Prairie du Chien, where General Scott had just arrived on board of a steamboat. I delivered to him the dispatches, and he sent me back with dispatches to Stambaugh. Information had just reached General Scott at the very time I appeared, that a hostile party of Sauk and Foxes, said to be a hundred in number, were wending their way down the Mississippi by land. So General Scott concluded to gratify the Menominee and directed Stambaugh and his Indians to repair to Brunet's Ferry, at Little Rock, a few miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin,⁶³ and thence proceed to intercept those Sauk and Foxes. This permission gratified the Menominee. I overtook the party about

⁶¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 278, note 1.—Ed.

⁶² See *Ibid.*, pp. 257-261.—Ed.

⁶³ Brunet's Ferry, which for many years has been in disuse, had its southern end in Grant County (section 14, range 6 west, township 8 north), and crossed the Wisconsin in a northwest direction. It was established in 1827 under license from the territorial legislature by Jean Brunet, a French-Canadian of Prairie du Chien, and was on the military road from Fort Winnebago to Fort Crawford. Probably, however, Brunet had lived at this place for some years previous to securing a license, and was in the habit of aiding travellers across the river.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

forty miles above Prairie du Chien. On reaching Brunet's Ferry, Lieutenant Boyd and I were sent to Prairie du Chien for provisions and any later news about the hostile party. Augustin Grignon is mistaken in saying that Col. William S. Hamilton had anything to do with this expedition, for he had not, and was not along.

Among the Menominee chiefs was Ahkamotte—not La Motte, as Grignon has it—selected by the Indians on this expedition as their prophet, and he held powwows every night to determine where the enemy were.

Colonel Stambaugh with a hundred warriors and six chiefs—Oshkosh, Grizzly Bear, Pewautenot, Souligny, Ahkamotte, and Poegonah—started to pursue the hostiles. They struck the trail and followed it, expecting it would lead to the river not far below the mouth of the Wisconsin; but it bore off from the river. Lieutenants Powell and Boyd, with the remainder of the Indians, some 200 in number, except those sick and sorefooted, were ordered to go direct to the Mississippi and follow its bank, to intercept the enemy should they attempt to cross that river. There were no prominent chiefs with Powell and Boyd; all had gone with Stambaugh, thinking that he would have the expected fight, and reap the honors. Each of these parties kept out spies.

About five miles back of Cassville,⁵⁴ in the interior, the next day after leaving Brunet's Ferry in pursuit, they found the enemy camped by a little stream between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. The Sauk and Foxes had had four days the start, but made slow progress, as they had to stop and hunt for their living. The hostiles would keep on the trail for a few miles, then would scatter awhile, then reunite and go on together again. Robert Grignon, Sacketook (son of Poegonah) and two others were in advance spying, and discovered the enemy in a hollow, cooking their venison. They returned and thus reported. The Indians were formed into four parties—one led by Augustin Grignon and the Prophet, with Oshkosh and Poegonah; another party by Robert Grignon; Alexander Irwin led another; and Lieut. C. A. Grignon the fourth. Captain Johns-

⁵⁴ The only other printed description of the battle of Cassville known to us, is that of Grignon in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 293-295.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

ton and Colonel Stambaugh remained with the Prophet's party.—Johnston because he was somewhat advanced in years."^a

Just before starting, about half a mile from the hostile camp, Stambaugh made a brief speech to the Indians, saying to them: "Take prisoners. Your Great Father will give you more for one prisoner than he would for a dozen scalps;" and he charged the officers to enforce this order. Grizzly Bear responded in Menominee, Charles A. Grignon interpreting: "Tell our Father here that the Great Spirit saw proper to put a switch in the hands of our Sauk and Fox enemies to chastise us last year, which they did at Prairie du Chien, killing a good many of our people. Now he has seen proper to put that same switch into our hands to-day, which I cannot prevent my young warriors from using. Tell our Father also, that since we left Green Bay we have been obedient children to all his commands; but in this matter about not taking scalps, we must be excused if we fail to regard it."

The Prophet had a large, valuable wampum belt, seven feet long and a foot and a half wide, very heavy; it must have cost fully \$70, being made of stone wampum beads, alternately grey and white, from Van Dieman's Land. This was to be the reward for the first scalp to be brought to the Prophet. He also had a flute upon which he was to blow a shrill, loud whistle as a signal for the several parties to raise the war-whoop when they had taken the places assigned them, completely surrounding the enemy. When the signal was given, and the war-whoop raised, they were but a quarter of a mile from the Sauk camp, and it was but a few moments till the whole were rushing down upon them, whooping and hallooing. One of the Sauk fired, but without effect, save to hit off the breech of the gun of Saunapow, or The Ribbon. The latter quickly returned the fire, killing him, when several ran to get the scalp; but Saunapow got the main scalp, and others some smaller scalps. Then there was a race for the Prophet, but Saunapow won and received the prize belt, the Prophet keeping the scalp, and thanking the young warrior for a valuable gift. Some of the Sauk women and four or five children seeing that Robert Grignon

^a For a brief sketch of this person see *Id.*, xx.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

was a white man and approaching the nearest, ran toward him and threw themselves at his feet for protection. Among these was a young warrior, about seventeen years old, who dropped his gun, seeing the hopelessness of the unequal contest, and ran mixing in with the women, and Robert Grignon protected him. Meanwhile some of the Sauk and Foxes ran and hid behind some boulders near by, and one of these was firing from behind a boulder, about half way up the hill, when Grignon started after him, with a Menominee close beside him. The concealed Sauk fired, apparently intending to shoot the Menominee, but the bullet struck Robert Grignon, hitting a rib, and coursed around, lodging in the small of the back. About the same moment Grignon received the fire of another Indian, two buckshot entering his left shoulder. Whereupon the Menominee rushed up and shot the one who first wounded Grignon, killed him, and hacked him up, and kept at him till there was little left of him.

Among the Sauk was a Winnebago with whom some of the Menominee in Calumet had intermarried, and recognized his nationality. He held up his hands and prayed for mercy in the Winnebago language; whereupon a lame Menominee, Okeemonaah, or Little Chief, ran up, and said: "I have been many times to war, and from my lameness was always a little too late; now I will not return without a scalp; you can be no good Winnebago to be with our enemies." Thereupon he gave him a sudden stab with his spear, when he fell, and the Menominee seized his scalp lock, whereupon the Winnebago seized him by the hand on his scalp; but with the free hand Okeemonaah quickly encircled his head, gave him a kick in the back of the neck, and stripped off the scalp, and the poor victim, just after another Menominee had walked up and shot him through the head, soon expired.

Augustin Grignon, naturally very tender-hearted, walked up, and was much touched with such savage conduct; a tear was observed by Grizzly Bear to trickle down Grignon's cheek—Grizzly Bear was an uncommonly large Indian, over six feet, a brawny man, weighing fully 250 pounds. He said to Grignon, "What are you crying for? Was this fellow one of your kindred? If not, you had better go home and join the

Powell's Recollections

squaws, who alone indulge in weeping." Grignon gave the old chief a lefthand blow across the mouth, replying that no brave warrior would indulge in such a horrid carnage; that he should be satisfied after having killed his foe; "now", he cried, "since you are so brave a man, resent this, and defend yourself," giving him another blow. But Grizzly Bear, though as well armed as Grignon, refrained from returning blows. Three other Indians were killed in the melee, and a small child on its mother's back was shot through the body between the shoulders, the ball lodging in the mother's clothing. She did not discover that the child was dead, or even hit, till after the affair was over.

The skirmish lasted but a few minutes—the Sauk keeping the Menominee at bay, by getting behind the rocks and boulders. Eighteen women were taken prisoners, a boy some eight years old, and three or four younger children.

Just as the affair was over, Colonel Stambaugh came up, and wished to shake hands with the chiefs. Grizzly Bear wanted to know what the colonel wanted to shake hands for—it was only a few minutes ago that they parted. Stambaugh explained, however, that he wished to do it to express his pleasure at their success; but he had no word to say about the scalps.

Boyd and I, with our party, heard the distant firing, and were approaching to take part. Between the river and the battleground, we met four Menominee carrying by hand Robert Grignon on a litter of a blanket stretched between two poles—meaning to watch an opportunity to get some sort of water conveyance to Prairie du Chien. My whole party then returned to Brunet's Ferry, two Indians taking Grignon up in a canoe which they got from some settler; and the young Sauk lad, who was taken prisoner, went up with them.

On the way to Brunet's Ferry, my party and Stambaugh's met and went on together, reaching Brunet's the next day. But the night after the fight, Stambaugh and party stopped at a little village where they met General Dodge and Colonel Hamilton, without soldiers, these having been disbanded after the battle of Bad Axe. They got plenty of liquor, for Dodge and Hamilton were treating the Indians freely. The latter indulged in great boasting as to who took the most scalps; by their repre-

Wisconsin Historical Society

sentation, one would have thought that a great battle had been fought, and hundreds of scalp trophies taken.

After reaching Brunet's Ferry, all the prisoners were assigned to me to convey without any guard to the fort at Prairie du Chien, seven miles distant. When about half way there, I met Wistweaw, the Blacksmith, somewhat in liquor. He was one of those who had conveyed Robert Grignon in a canoe to Prairie du Chien, and approached us begging the privilege of killing the young Sauk and taking his scalp home, so that he could say he had a war trophy—otherwise he would have nothing to relate, only cooking pork and dough-boys. But I refused, saying that the prisoners were confided to me to take and deliver at the fort. Still the Indian pleaded, and finally made a lunge with his knife at the young Indian who was close to me, but the latter saw the action in time to dodge the blow. Then the Blacksmith was compelled to desist, but ever afterwards he lamented his great misfortune in failing to secure that scalp.

When the news reached Prairie du Chien of the prisoners taken near Cassville, the women of the Menominee band residing at the Prairie, some of whose husbands and brothers had been killed by the Sauk and Foxes the year before, came to Brunet's Ferry, seven miles, to seek revenge. These squaws, to the number of about twenty, arranged themselves on each side of the path. When Stambaugh's party and prisoners crossed at the ferry and landed on the north side, Oshkosh in particular suggested that these Menominee women be examined to see whether they had any weapons with which they could injure the Sauk squaws. Upon search being made, several of them were found to have small tomahawks and knives concealed under their clothing. These were taken from them. But as the Sauk prisoners passed between the rows of Menominee women, the latter availed themselves of an Indian custom for each to touch the prisoners as they passed. Some barely touched them tenderly with the tips of their fingers, while others seized them by their hair and shook and jerked them about without mercy. The Sauk women were rejoiced to get off without worse treatment. They were kept in duress a short time in the garrison at Prairie du Chien, then sent down to Rock Island, and soon after discharged.

After a few days of recruiting and preparation, the Menom-

Powell's Recollections

inee returned home, scattering from Butte des Morts. Robert Grignon remained some time in the hospital at Prairie du Chien. Doctor Beaumont⁶⁶ easily extracted the buckshot from his shoulder; but the ball in his back could not with safety be taken out. Grignon drew a pension of \$15 per month and lived till he froze to death, near his own house, not far from Christmas, about twelve years ago.⁶⁷

Makata Mishekakah, or the Black Falcon, was the name the Sank and Foxes gave Col. Zachary Taylor. Ahchechawk, or the White Crane, was their name for General Scott. Black Hawk claimed that he surrendered himself, as he had heard that in case he did so, all the prisoners would be released. On reaching Prairie du Chien, Colonel Taylor brought out handcuffs to put on him. "Why do you want to put the handcuffs on me when I have given myself up and can't get away; I had expected better treatment from the Black Falcon." Taylor replied that it was not his wish to do so, and that he was sorry so to treat him; but he was himself but a small chief, and had to obey the orders of his superiors; and these were the orders of the big chief, the White Crane. Then Black Hawk said that he had supposed the Black Falcon was too humane to treat him thus; but as these were the orders of the White Crane, then do so—whereupon he extended his hands and received the handcuffs.

At the treaty at Rock Island, General Scott had Black Hawk degraded from his chieftainship and Keokuk appointed in his place. Keokuk rose and addressed Black Hawk, saying that this was not of his own seeking, that he regretted Black Hawk's degradation; but the latter had, contrary to his advice, plunged himself and people into the war, and the Great Father had taken the chieftainship from him. Then Black Hawk addressed General Scott, asking why he who had not conferred this honor upon him, could have the power to deprive him of it. Pointing

⁶⁶For Dr. William Beaumont see *Id.*, xv, p. 397, note 4.—Ed.

⁶⁷Robert Grignon was the eldest son of Pierre Antoine, himself the eldest of the Grignon brothers. Robert was born about 1804 at Green Bay. He early entered the fur-trade, and was a clerk for his uncle, settling first at Butte des Morts, later within the limits of Oshkosh. He died in 1864, frozen near his own home, having become bewildered in a storm.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

his finger upward, he indicated that the One who had made him a chief alone could unmake him.

Capt. William Powell

When my father returned from Hudson Bay in 1822 and left me in the care of Captain Alexander, I remained with him three years at Fort Snelling. The captain being sent on a recruiting service to St. Louis, took me with him, and during his stay there sent me to school five miles from Belle Fontaine.

I remained there until the spring of 1827, when I came to Rock Island, and stayed until the first of September, 1828, when my father sent for me and I came home to Butte des Morts. When I arrived where Portage City now is, Major Twiggs had just got there with two or three companies of United States troops to commence building the fort, which was called Fort Winnebago.⁸⁸ Twiggs was the commanding officer. Jefferson Davis⁸⁹ was also there, just from West Point; he was only second-lieutenant at that time.

Two years later, while Lieutenant Davis was stationed at Fort Winnebago, Twiggs still commanding, a powerful Kentuckian named Stewart, a carpenter by trade, dwelt there as Daniel M. Whitney's agent in transporting boats over the portage. There was a camp of Menominee Indians near the American Fur Company's store, where Pierre Paquette lived,⁹⁰ and Stewart went over one day with a tanned deer skin to get some moccasins made. It was a Sunday, and Davis happening to be there, ordered him off. Stewart intimated that he had as much right there as Davis had, and that he should go when he got ready, and not before. Davis felt his dignity insulted, and gave Stewart an unexpected and heavy blow. Stewart recovering, pitched upon Davis and gave him a severe whipping, badly bruising his face and eyes. I was then a clerk in the store, and Davis had me get a chicken, kill it, and put the fresh carcass on

⁸⁸ See account of this event and a sketch of Twiggs in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 65-76.—Ed.

⁸⁹ On Davis at Fort Winnebago see *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75; also *Id.*, viii-x, xii, xiii, *passim*.—Ed.

⁹⁰ For an account of Pierre Paquette see *Id.*, vii, pp. 352-355.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

his face, to prevent the bruises from leaving their discolored marks. Stewart, himself brave, was persuaded by Mr. Whitney, his employer, to leave for Green Bay, lest he should be retaliated on by Davis or his friends, and he subsequently returned to Kentucky.

Except for a short time at the Portage, I remained with my father at Butte des Morts until 1832, then went as first-lieutenant in the Black Hawk War. After the war, I returned home and went into partnership with Robert Grignon in the Indian trade. We established our trading post at Algoma in the fall of 1832, and continued at that place till the fall of 1835, when we dissolved our copartnership and I went and lived with my father until he died.

Treaties. I was appointed United States interpreter for the Menominee in 1836. The same year, Gov. Henry Dodge of Mineral Point was appointed commissioner to make a treaty with the Menominee; this was concluded September 3, 1836.¹ After the treaty I resigned and went into the Indian trade on Fox River, two miles above where Onaro now is, and continued to trade there till 1846, when for a year I established a trading post at the mouth of Shawano Creek, in Shawano County. Then quitting the Indian trade, I was again appointed, in 1848, United States interpreter and in that capacity served at the treaty of that year. Medill was the commissioner on the part of the Government in that treaty, wherein the Menominee ceded all of their country that they owned in Wisconsin for \$400,000. By its terms the Government gave them for their future home a tract of 500,000 acres of land on the Crow Wing River,² 150 to 200 miles above St. Paul. They were to remain in Wisconsin for two years after the ratification of the treaty, and then to move to the Crow Wing. At the same time the Government agreed to furnish \$5,000 to defray the expenses of a delegation of nine chiefs with their head chief Oshkosh to go and examine the country, before removing in 1850.

Visit to Washington. President Taylor instructed Major Bruce, Indian agent at Green Bay, to take a delegation of chiefs

¹ Powell was sworn interpreter at the Menominee treaty of 1836.—Ep.

² The treaty guaranteed that there should not be less than 600,000 acres of land in the tract assigned.—Ep.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and go and survey the land allotted them on the Crow Wing, and after doing so to bring the same delegation to Washington and report. I accompanied the delegation to the Crow Wing, and with us went my old friend Charles Tullar,²² who was employed to survey the tract. He did not, however, go on with us to Washington, as he had more important business that required him to remain at Green Bay. Arriving at Washington on September 4 we remained there some two weeks before Oshkosh with the other chiefs could get an interview with the commissioner of Indian affairs. There were at the federal capital representatives of several other tribes of Indians, who had business with their great father, the president, who had got there some days ahead of us; so we had to wait till our turn came. When the time arrived, our Wisconsin chiefs were notified that they might come and see their great father and talk over their business with him. We conducted Chief Oshkosh and the rest of the Indians to the commissioner's office at about 9 o'clock A. M. Here we were received by Chief-clerk Charles E. Mix, acting in the place of the commissioner, Mr. Lowrey, who was sick at the time. After a short talk, Mr. Mix accompanied the delegation to the office of the secretary of the interior, and from there the latter conducted his visitors to the White House. After the chiefs were seated according to rank, President Fillmore, accompanied by General Scott, entered and the chiefs were presented and shook hands with both. Chief Oshkosh recognized General Scott, for he had seen him both at Green Bay and at the treaty at Prairie du Chien. The general also recollected Oshkosh, who was a small man, standing only about five feet. When he shook hands with the general, Oshkosh said: "You are like a tall pine tree, and myself like a scrub-oak, so I stand under your branches to protect my head from harm."

The interview with their Great Father was brief. Oshkosh

²² Charles Tullar was born in 1804 in Vermont. Coming to Green Bay in 1830, he entered the employ of Daniel Whitney and was occupied in lumbering, mining, surveying, etc. He acted as sheriff for Brown County, 1836-43. He was accustomed to say that the happiest days of his life were spent with William Powell, his close friend, surveying Indian reservations. The latter years of his life were employed as agent for the Whitney estate. He died at Green Bay Oct. 30, 1874.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

stated in a very few words that the Crow Wing country was not what it had been represented to his tribe by Commissioner Medill, who made the treaty of 1848; and that the tribe did not like to move to that country because the Indians already there were continually engaged in intertribal war. He preferred, he said, a home somewhere in Wisconsin, for the poorest region in Wisconsin was better than that of the Crow Wing. He said that the latter was a good country for the white man, for he was numerous and could protect himself from those warlike tribes; but his own tribe was small, and he wished them to live in peace for the little time they had to live.⁶⁶

The latter part of September I started from Washington for Green Bay in charge of the delegation, and was instructed by the department to stop at the largest Eastern cities a few days and show the chiefs the principal places so as to give them an idea how numerous their white brothers were. We stayed a week in New York and went to Barnum's Museum every day. Barnum invited Oshkosh and his chiefs to come and hear the great singer Jenny Lind, but Oshkosh declined the invitation. A few of the younger chiefs went, however, but when they were asked by the other chiefs how they liked the singing, they replied that she made a very big noise and then a little noise. The white man must have a great deal more money than he needed, to pay so much to hear this lady sing.

Henry Merrell errs in giving the name of Powell, the trader at Green Lake, as William.⁶⁷ His first name was James, and he was a cousin of mine. He came to Green Bay about 1833, and engaged in the Indian trade; in 1838 he moved west of the Mississippi, into Iowa, and I have since lost track of him.

⁶⁶ Permission was given to the Menominee to remain in Wisconsin, which was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of 1854, assigning them a reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

⁶⁷ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 337.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

John B. Dubay

John B. Dubay⁴⁶ was son of a Canadian, whose name I think was Louis.⁴⁷ He came here early; his first wife was a Menominee woman, daughter of the principal chief on the Menominee River, named Powatenot, and mentioned in Grignon's "Narrative" as serving in the War of 1812. He also had a son Louis, who was only a *voyageur*. J. B. Dubay was at least four years older than myself, certainly being born as early as 1806. When a young man, he became a successful trader among the Chippewa. When he went among the Indians, he would pitch his large marquee, fit it up neatly with folding seats and a showy carpet, and invite the Indians there. Its attractive appearance would fix their attention, they would feel honored by the attention and would be quite sure to give him their trade. Dubay was known to them as Oskastawananee, or the Flourishing Young Trader.

In the early years of the Territory and State, he was fond of going to Madison, where he spent his money freely, and would send off to borrow more. Once he borrowed of me while I was clerk in a store of the American Fur Company in which Dubay had an interest. I subsequently asked him what his business was, there. "Why," said he, "I am a *log* member"—meaning a lobby member; he liked to boast that his company at the capital included prominent lawyers, judges, and legislators.

Once I was reminding him that he had neglected to be present at a certain Chippewa treaty and secure his claim for credits to Indians. "Oh," he replied, "I shall not be too late, for the payments have not all been paid; they are to be paid," he said, "in *stora*"—meaning in installments. He had, he said, sent his *monster* (remonstrance) to the Indian department, and he would be all right. But he lost it. He was fond of trying to repeat big words, but would invariably make ridiculous work of it.

⁴⁶See *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 400-402. This statement of Powell is an addition to and correction of Merrell's narrative concerning Dubay, and Draper's statement in a note that he was born in 1810.—Ed.

⁴⁷The name was originally Dubée. Louis was living in Green Bay as late as 1838.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

Dubay had a fine appreciation of Indian character. He knew well how to gain the confidence and the patronage of his red brethren, and thus acquired a considerable influence over them. Had he had a good education, he would have made his mark in the world.

In killing Reynolds, he was advised by lawyers that he had rights that he should protect, and he thought he was doing only what was justifiable. But he was naturally a high-toned, generous-hearted man; and when he came to reflect that he had taken the life of a fellow man, though acquitted of criminal intent, it preyed upon his mind, and he has never since been the man he was before. He now (1877) resides above Stevens Point.

Origin and Meaning of Indian Names

Ashkeeton (town, Brown Co.)—The Crier, name of an Indian.

Assippun, or Ashippun (town, Dodge Co.)—The Raccoon.

Brulé (river, Douglas Co.)—Burnt timber; Indian word *Wesaucota*, in both Menominee and Chippewa.

Buffalo (lake, Marquette Co.)—*Pesahkeconnee*, a great buffalo range in early times. I never saw any buffalo in Wisconsin, nor have the oldest Menominee in their day. *Iometah* and others used to say that their fathers killed and drove them off.

Butte des Morts (lake and town, Winnebago Co.)—*Pahquatenohsah* was the Indian word for Little Butte des Morts, meaning small mound of the dead. *Maspahquatenoh* is big mound of the dead—"noh" meaning dead.

Embarrass (river, tributary to Wolf)—Indian word was *Okquinoe Saparo*, or floating wood. The French adopted this and called it *La Rivière s'embarrass* (the river that is "embarrassed," or interrupted, by driftwood).

Kekoskee (town, Dodge Co.)—Of Winnebago origin.

Keshena (town, Shawano Co.)—The Scudding Cloud, named after a Menominee chief yet living, son of Josette, second chief, and son-in-law of Pewatenot.

Kewaskum (town, Washington Co.)—Name of a Menominee Indian, The Turner: one who has power as a medicine man to turn things as he pleases.

Wisconsin Historical Society

Kewaunee (county and town)—A specie of duck.

Koshkonong (town, Rock Co.)—Not Menominee; probably Potawatomi in origin.

Manitowoc (county and town)—Place of spirits.

Markesan (village, Green Lake Co.)—Probably a Winnebago word.

Maskee—Indian word for marsh.

Mazomanie (town, Dane Co.)—Place of iron deposits, a Winnebago word.

Meeme (town, Manitowoc Co.)—The Pigeon.

Menominee—thus Captain Powell spells the name. The plural is Omahnominewowk, or Wild Rice People, as they call themselves. They still harvest wild rice in Shawano Lake and other lakes above, but do not use it to the same extent as formerly.

Mishicott (town, Manitowoc Co.)—Hairy Leg.

Mukwonago, or Maquonigo (town, Waukesha Co.)—Of Potawatomi origin.

Nashotah (town, Waukesha Co.)—Twin, a Potawatomi word.

Necedah (town, Juneau Co.)—Winnebago word.

Neosho (town, Dodge Co.)—Either Winnebago or Potawatomi word.

Neshkoro (town, Marquette Co.)—Winnebago word.

Oconomowoc (county and town)—Probably Potawatomi.

Oconto (county and town)—The place of the pickerel.

Okee (town, Columbia Co.)—Winnebago word.

Ozaukee (county)—The Sauks.

Packwaukee, or Pakwaukee (town, Marquette Co.)—The Mound, a natural elevation.

Pensaukee (river and town, Oconto Co.)—The place of the brant—a species of small wild geese.

Peshigo, properly Pasheteco (town, Marinette Co.)—Passing through the marsh.

Powaconnee—Poygan abbreviated.

Poygan (lake, Winnebago Co.)—The threshing place (for rice).

Poynette (town, Columbia Co.)—Perhaps of Winnebago origin.

Poyssippi (town, Waushara Co.)—Same as Poygan, with sippi, (meaning river) added.

Puckaway (lake, Green Lake Co.)—Cat Tail Flag.

Powell's Recollections

Shawano (lake and county)—South; the county was named from the lake; Shawano, or South, Lake. I could not learn from the Menominee how this name was derived. Oshkosh once said to me that his ancestors told him a prophet from the South visited the Menominee, and first made his appearance at the Shawano Lake, proclaiming himself a prophet from the South; that he was going to change things generally, to reform their medical remedies and reform their government, and then they would live much longer. I am satisfied, since it has been explained to me about Tecumseh's brother the Prophet, that he was the one who came to the Menominee about 1810 and aimed at their reform; and that he was the one whom Oshkosh referred to and described.

Sheboygan (county and town)—Properly Chapewyaconnee, a Menominee word, meaning a rumbling subterranean sound, as if it were a spirit sound, heard in the lake at the mouth of the river, at that point. Solomon Juneau used to state to me that it was a Potawatomi word, and meant the place of the mermaid.

Suamico (river, Brown Co.)—Red Sand River.

Taycheedah (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—A Winnebago name.

Waucousta (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Waukesha, or Waukeshoon (county and town)—Something about a fox.

Waupaca (river, county, and town)—The dawning of the morning. The French endeavored to give the meaning by calling it To-Morrow River.

Waupuu (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Day-break or dawn.

Waushara (county)—A Winnebago word.

Wautoma (town, Waushara Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Wauseka (town, Crawford Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Welaunee (town, Winnebago Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Weyauwega (town, Waupaca Co.)—Named by Judge Doty after an Indian Weauweya, said to have lived there and claimed the country. But others said that the name of the locality came from Weyawaca, the grand encampment, as it was a noted Indian camping place. This latter seems to me most probable.

Winneconne (town, Winnebago Co.)—The place of the skull, a battleground, where some of the Sauk and Foxes were chased by the French and Menominee at the Butte des Morts battle. See *ante*, p. 150.

Wyocena (town, Columbia Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Wisconsin Historical Society

William Powell's Recollections

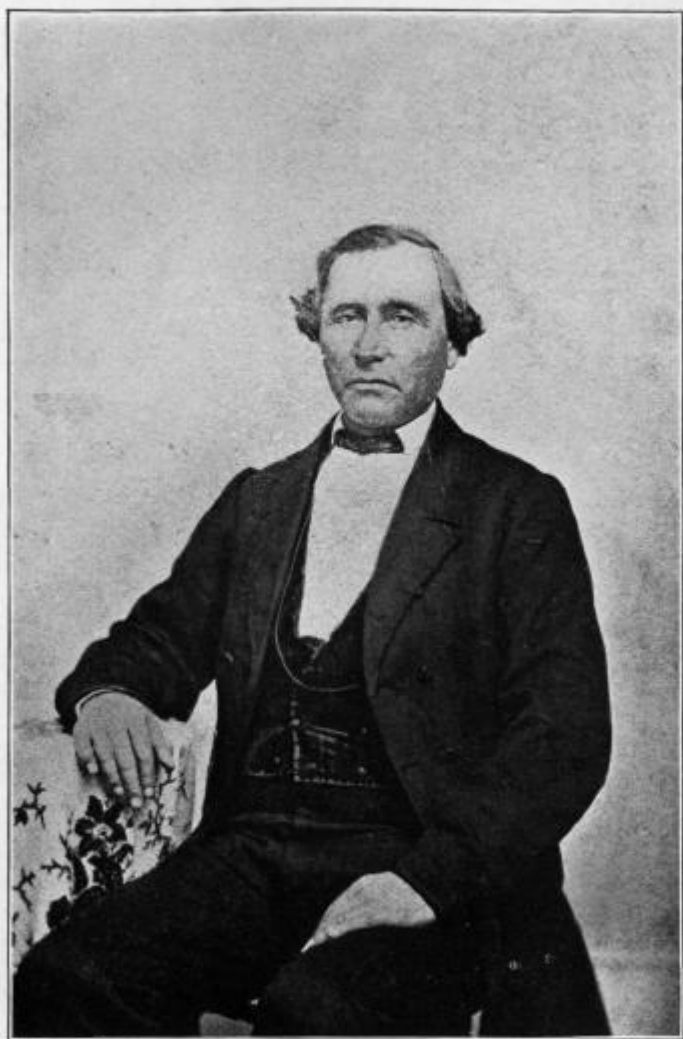
In an Interview with Lyman C. Draper¹

Peter Powell,² my father, was born in England in 1778. Coming to what is now Wisconsin in 1800, he engaged in the Indian trade, his earliest post being at White Rapids on Menominee River, about eighty miles from Green Bay; he made his returns at Mackinac and passed his summers at Green Bay settlement. At first he was a clerk for Jacob Franks,³ but afterwards en-

¹ In the Society's annual report for 1878 (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 53) is the following: "The secretary, during the past year, * * * made a visit to Capt. Wm. Powell, of Shawano County, a native of Wisconsin, now bordering closely on three score and ten, and intimately connected with the Menomonees and other Wisconsin tribes since 1819, and noted down a lengthy statement of his dictation, embracing his recollections of the Menomonees and their prominent chiefs, Col. Robert Dickson, the British leader of the Northwestern Indian tribes during the War of 1812-15, and the derivation and meaning of many Indian geographical names in Wisconsin having a Menomonee origin." The interview which Doctor Draper took down in notes at the time, has ever since remained only in manuscript. In editing this document for the present publication, we have combined therewith a letter written by William Powell some years later to the present Editor, detailing some additional facts in the lives of both father and son. In working both sources into a connected narrative, we have made only such changes as involved re-arranging the material and improving the phraseology of necessary points. It is believed that Powell's Recollections, while not as valuable as those of Augustin Grignon, published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, will prove an authoritative and substantial contribution to early Wisconsin history.—Ed.

² The brief sketch of Peter Powell in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 358, was written before this manuscript came to light.—Ed.

³ For a sketch of this trader see *Id.*, xviii, p. 462, note 85.—Ed.



WILLIAM POWELL (1810-1885)

Enlarged from photograph in possession of the Society

Powell's Recollections

gaged in trade for himself. My mother was Mary Jeffrey, a native of Green Bay, and half Menominee. Her father was an Englishman, and her mother belonged to the family of chief Oshkosh. My father and mother were married at Mackinac in 1802. They had a family of eight, five sons and three daughters, of which there are only myself and a younger brother now (1877) living. I was the fourth child and was born near Death's Door at the entrance to Green Bay. My father was returning from Mackinac to Green Bay with my mother—he had taken her with him to Mackinac when he went after his goods; she was taken sick en route, and I was born the twenty-fifth of September, 1810.

My father was with Colonel McKay at the capture of Prairie du Chien.* In August, 1819 [July, 1818],⁶ Col. Robert Dickson,⁷ formerly Indian agent for the British in the War of 1812, visited Green Bay, and advised my father to go to Pembina to trade, saying that he was British agent there,⁸ and would do what he could to favor his interests.

In company with Dickson we started from Green Bay in a bark canoe, hiring four French *voyageurs* and a hunter to kill game en route, as we could not carry provisions enough to last during the trip. We coasted Lake Michigan to Mackinac and up Sault St. Mary River into Lake Superior, coasted that lake and through the Lake [of the] Woods and Lake Winnipeg, thence up Red River to Pembina settlement, arriving at that

*For a history of the expedition see *Id.*, xi, pp. 254-270; xiii, pp. 1-14; and post. A sketch of McKay is in *Id.*, xix, p. 365, note 12.—Ed.

⁶In his interview with Draper, Powell told him that they left for the Red River country in August, 1818. In the letter written later, however, he gave the date as July, 1818. In the light of his further statements and of other corroborating evidence, it seems probable that the latter was the correct date.—Ed.

⁷Dickson's career is sketched in *Id.*, xii, pp. 133-153; additional facts are found in *Id.*, xix, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

⁸Dickson was, in fact, agent for Lord Selkirk, and aiding him in his plans for settling the Red River country. About this time Dickson was urging all the prominent traders at Green Bay—Porlier, Lawe, and the Grignons—to remove to Red River and take with them the Menominee tribesmen. See documents in *Id.*, xx, *passim*. Apparently Powell was the only one of the old British traders who acceded to Dickson's request.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

place the last of September. There father engaged in the Indian trade, having purchased his goods from the Hudson's Bay Company; remained there three years; each spring he went to Hudson Bay with his furs and returned in the fall with his goods.

At the expiration of the three years he started back for Green Bay with his family, by a land route to the headwaters of Minnesota River. Late in November of 1821, we arrived at Lake Traverse, at a trading post then kept by Mr. Joseph D'Aville,* who was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and we passed the winter at that place. A short time after we arrived at Lake Traverse a man came there from Illinois, by the name of Dixon,⁹ with a drove of cattle, on his way to Pembina settlement; but as winter commenced setting in he was obliged to remain there. During the winter he lost more than half of his cattle, killed by wolves and Sioux Indians.

In the spring of 1822 my father sold his carts and horses to Mr. D'Aville and bought two dugouts large enough to carry his family and his goods, descended Minnesota River to its mouth,¹⁰ which emptied into the Mississippi about six miles

* This was Joseph Renville, a Dakota half-breed who was born near St. Paul about 1779. Educated in Canada, he early entered Dickson's employ and was interpreter and guide for Pike in 1806-08 and for Major Long in 1823. He served in the War of 1812-15 as captain in the British Indian department under Dickson, and afterwards received a pension. About 1819 he gave up this pension, became an American citizen, and in 1822 was one of the founders of the Columbia Fur Company. When this corporation was sold (1837) to the American Fur Company, he retired to Lac qui Parle and there died in 1846. A Minnesota county bears his name. See fuller biographical sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xx.—Ed.

⁹ On a map published in 1838 by Judson, of the territory west of the Mississippi, is traced a route from Des Moines River to Lake Traverse, marked "McKnight and Dixon's route, 1822." This no doubt refers to the cattle train here noted. Alexander Ross, *Red River Settlement* (London, 1856), p. 72, mentions the arrival in 1823 of a herd of 300 cattle that sold for good prices—the first, he says, that came to the colony.—Ed.

¹⁰ In the Society's Wisconsin Mss., 16B28, is a letter from Peter Powell to John Lawe, dated Lake de Traverse, March 14, 1822. After speaking of the state of things in the Red River country, Powell con-

Powell's Recollections

above St. Paul. That summer my father with all his family, except myself, arrived at Green Bay. He left me with Capt. William Alexander of the Fifth Regiment, U. S. A., who was stationed at Fort Snelling.¹¹ I was to stay with him until my father should send for me, in order to go to the school which was kept in the garrison for the officers' children.

Soon after my father returned to Green Bay he again engaged in the Indian trade. His wintering places were up the Mississippi, also up Minnesota River as far as the Blue Earth, which empties into it thirty to forty miles above St. Paul. In the spring he made his returns with his furs at Mackinac. In 1826 he stopped buying his goods from the American Fur Company and bought them from Daniel Whitney of Green Bay,¹² who was the only man in the Western Department who dared to oppose John Jacob Astor in the Indian trade. In the spring of 1827 my father built a log house on Lake Butte des Morts and left his family at that place while he wintered at his trading post; returning in the spring he passed the summer with his family at Butte des Morts. That place continued to be his home till his death in September, 1837. My mother survived him several years, was remarried, and died at Green Bay in the summer of 1844.

The French and Fox War¹³

From Iometah, Oshkosh, and other aged Menominee, I learned that the Sauk and Foxes once had a town at Red Banks; later they removed to Green Bay and got into trouble with the French

thus: "there is no prospect of doing anything in this Country. I have past a Miserable winter for starvation. I intend to pass the Spring a Hunting then go down to the Entry of St. Peters this Summer. * * * I am now much distressed, my family are Quite naked & on the point of Starving."—En.

¹¹ Alexander was at this time Lieutenant in the 6th Infantry. He was from Tennessee, entered the regular army in 1820, was promoted to a captaincy in 1836, and died two years later.—En.

¹² For a sketch of this early Green Bay merchant, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 274, note S.—En.

¹³ See Louise P. Kellogg, "Fox Indian Wars," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 142-188.—En.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and were made to retire to Little Butte des Morts—now Neenah. Here they exacted tribute in the following way: some of their leaders would post themselves on either side of the stream with a long pole, held up and leaning over the water, indicating that the trader's boats must heave to, and pay tribute before proceeding farther. Getting tired of these exactions, the French got up an expedition and drove them off from Little Butte des Morts. The Sauk and Foxes then retired to Big Butte des Morts and at that point renewed their exactions in the same way. At this time there was a Menominee who had married a Sauk wife. The French and Menominee at Green Bay prevailed on him to go to the Sauk and report some pitiful story of bad treatment on the part of his people as a reason why he had retired to Big Butte des Morts to make his future home with his wife's people; and to report also that there were some traders' boats soon coming up, upon which they could levy rich tribute.

In time the flotilla appeared in sight, each canoe covered with an oilcloth over a ridge-pole, like a roof. Beneath this were a body of armed French, while a large body of Menominee and Chippewa marched up the river by land. As soon as the fleet hove in sight of the town, the Menominee spy quietly and unnoticed took his departure, and apprised his countrymen whom he soon met, that the boats were nearing the Sauk and Fox village. Thereupon they hastened and crept into the rear of the place. As the boats came up, and the tribute poles were posted, the French made for the town landing, and the people rushed down to see and meet them. Then the boat coverings were suddenly thrown off, and the soldiers fired on the Sauk and Fox assemblage, who as they fled back to their houses to get their weapons, were met by the Menominee and Chippewa in the rear, and soon overpowered. Some fled to Winneconne, about three miles distant, where many were overtaken and killed. There their bones were left to bleach upon the ground, hence the name—Winneconne, "the place of skulls." Thus the Sauk and Foxes were again driven westward, up the Fox and down the Wisconsin. A part of them went up to Puckaway and Buffalo lakes, and settled there; the rest settled at Sauk Prairie on the Wisconsin, where subsequently they were joined by the others.

Powell's Recollections

War of 1812-15

Chicago Massacre, 1812: Souigny related to me that a splendid-looking woman (who proved to have been an officer's wife), refused to surrender after the Indians attacked the retreating garrison. She stood up in a wagon and defended herself with her sword, cut and slashed with it, and perhaps wounded an Indian or two, when the Indians, who would have preserved her life, felt constrained to shoot her. Souigny spoke of her long, handsome, flowing hair. He likewise referred to her heroism in sacrificing her life rather than yield herself up a prisoner to the Indians. Such an act naturally attracted the attention of the warriors.¹⁴

Indians under Dickson. During 1812-13 Col. Robert Dickson wintered in a nice piece of timber on the west side of Lake Winnebago, between Garlic Island and Neenah—about half way between the Island and Neenah. He reached there late in 1812 with a large supply of British presents for the Indians, which he distributed liberally; and then the Indians retired for their winter's hunt, being admonished to meet him early in the spring to go upon the warpath.¹⁵ They assembled in large numbers and received numerous presents and supplies; but at Mackinac a large portion of them backed out and returned home, so Souigny and others related, conveying the idea that only the boldest and bravest kept on.

At Fort Meigs, Souigny first met Tecumseh, shook hands with him, and represented that he regarded it as an honor to have met and fought by the side of so noted and brave a man. Tecumseh was tall, fully six feet, and well-formed. Arrived at Fort Meigs, they drew a party of Americans into an ambuscade

¹⁴ Probably this was Mrs. Corbin, wife of a sergeant. Mrs. Kinzie in *Waukegan* (Caxton ed., 1901), p. 178, refers to her heroism. She also narrates the resistance of a Mrs. Holt, who hacked and cut with her husband's sword; but she was on horseback, not in a wagon; and moreover she was ultimately saved from death.—Ed.

¹⁵ See Dickson papers in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 271-215; xix, pp. 344-346. In xi, p. 278, Dickson dates his letter from Garlic Island, which would seem to indicate that he wintered thereon, not on the mainland. Arndt, *post*, also locates Dickson on the island.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

[Colonel Dudley's party],¹⁶ but after that failed to make any impression on the fort, only now and then picking off some of the sentinels. Finally as a last resort, Tecumseh formed the novel idea of the pretended fight in the woods—as if the Indians were encountering an American reinforcement—expecting the garrison would hasten out to the relief of their supposed friends. But General Harrison was too wary to be caught in any such trap.¹⁷ During the siege two Menominee were captured by some American Shawnee, but managed to escape. Becoming discouraged, the British Indians wanted to go home, when Colonel Dickson and the British leaders, to divert their attention, led them against Sandusky. There the Indians picked off some of the Americans going for water; but after the British repulse, all retired.¹⁸

There probably were no Menominee at the taking of Detroit, or at the River Raisin. Souigny and others spoke as though their first service was when Dickson embodied them and led them to Fort Meigs and Sandusky.

Mackinac in 1814. There lived for many years a very aged Winnebago chief, called Caramaunee, at a little village composed of only three or four bark lodges belonging to himself and his sons-in-law, located about two miles east of what is since called Waukau. [Captain Powell suggests that this may be a slight change or corruption for Nahkaw].¹⁹ East of Fox River, about two miles above Omro, is Delhi. Some two miles back [south] east of Delhi was Waukau, on the old Fort Winnebago trail from Green Bay to the Fox-Wisconsin portage. About two miles east [south] of Waukau, on the west bank of [the outlet of] Rush or Mud Lake, near the centre of the stream, was Car-

¹⁶ The interpolation is probably that of Dr. Draper, explaining Powell's reference to an ambushade. For a brief account of the siege of Fort Meigs and Dudley's defeat (May 5, 1812) see C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 76-77.—Ed.

¹⁷ Reference is here made to the second siege of Fort Meigs in July; see *Ibid.*, p. 78.—Ed.

¹⁸ This relates to the siege of Fort Stephenson, Aug. 1 and 2; *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79.—Ed.

¹⁹ Nahkaw was the Indian form of Caramaunee's name; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 181, note.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

amaunee's village.²⁰ He was a large, square-shouldered, stout man, not very tall, but with a powerful frame and long face. While his people were generally regarded as unreliable and thievish, Caramaunee bore a most excellent character, was liked by all traders, and was friendly to the whites. When I saw him last, about 1830, he seemed nearly a hundred years of age. He said he was out with Colonel Dickson in the War of 1812, went with the Menominee to Sandusky, and was at Mackinac when Major Holmes²¹ was shot by L'Espagnol.

Caramaunee and L'Espagnol both gave me the following account of the battle on Mackinac Island.²² When the Americans landed, the Indians and most of the garrison went out to way-lay them. The Indians hid behind rocks and boulders on either side of the anticipated route, while the English with cannon were in the rear towards the fort to draw the Americans forward into the net or trap. While in waiting, the few whites left in the fort got alarmed, thought the Americans were approaching in their rear, and sent a messenger in great haste to notify those in front; whereupon nearly all the Indians fled to the rear, ex-

²⁰ Publius V. Lawson, *Winnebago County* (Chicago, 1908), i, p. 308, says that there was a village at the outlet of Rush Lake as late as 1848. According to John T. La Ronde, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 360, Caramaunee had by 1828 removed to the Baraboo River.—Ed.

²¹ Maj. Andrew Hunter Holmes entered the regular army from Mississippi at the outbreak of the war, and was assigned as captain of the 24th Infantry. In March, 1814, he distinguished himself in a skirmish on the River Thames, Ontario, where he defeated a British force superior in numbers to his own. For this success he was promoted to the rank of major, and assigned to a part in the recovery of Mackinac. He was killed Aug. 4, 1814, and after the recovery of his body, buried at Detroit. The fort on the highest point of Mackinac Island was subsequently, in his honor, named Fort Holmes.—Ed.

²² The expedition to recapture Mackinac was undertaken against the judgment of the American officers of the Western department, but it was ordered from Washington. The fleet was commanded by Commodore Sinclair; the land forces by Col. George Croghan. Landing on the west side of the island, the Americans advanced (Aug. 4, 1814), against the British who had thrown up rude fortifications. The death of Holmes threw the advance into confusion, whereupon retreat to the ships was ordered.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

pecting to encounter the Americans there; but it proved to be a false alarm.

L'Espagnol and his nephew, the Yellow Dog (Oshawwahnem),²³ remained in their places of seclusion. Oshawwahnem said "Uncle, let us go with the others." "No," said L'Espagnol, "I shall remain; if you wish to go, you can; but you ought to show proper respect for your uncle by standing by him." Soon they saw the Americans approaching by the route along which they were originally expected, with the officers and a small bodyguard in front. The dress of one officer was thickly covered with silver lace, upon which the sun shone and reflected brilliantly. Supposing this to be the principal officer, the young nephew asked of his uncle the privilege of shooting him, as it would be the greatest honor. Among the Indians, it was a custom that when an uncle commanded a nephew to perform any service, however dangerous, he was in duty bound to do it with unquestioned promptitude; and in return the nephew had the right to ask any favor of his uncle, which must as readily be complied with. Hence L'Espagnol promptly acceded to Yellow Dog's request. The nephew was to fire when his uncle should set the example by firing at a plainer dressed officer, who was swinging his sword carelessly by the handle. When L'Espagnol fired, Major Holmes—for so he proved to be—with his epaulette on his shoulder, fell forward dead. His sword and cap were pitched somewhat ahead of him, and L'Espagnol had barely time to dash out, seize them, and hasten away in the rear of the rocks, with his nephew following him. The latter's gun had missed fire, so the bespangled captain escaped unhurt.

When Major Holmes fell, his negro servant ran off with his body, hiding it between a couple of boulders and throwing some leaves and stuff over him. Hence, when the Indians subsequently returned to get his scalp and searched carefully, they

²³ Dr. Draper wrote on the Ms., "It must be an error in Grignon's 'Recollections' [*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, p. 280] that Oshawwahnem was a cousin of L'Espagnol." But Indian relationships were not carefully marked in degree—the difference between nephew and cousin might not be regarded as important. For further information concerning this chief, consult *Id.*, x, pp. 493, 500.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

failed to find it. Shortly after, the Americans sent back a flag of truce from their ships lying at anchor, asking permission to take away Major Holmes's body. This was granted and the Indians who went along with the British guard were surprised when the American party, with the "black meat" (as they termed the negro servant) for their guide, went and uncovered the concealed body within a few feet of where they had repeatedly passed in search of it. Thus L'Espagnol lost his much coveted scalp; but the exploit, and the trophies which he gave to Colonel Dickson, gave him a high reputation among his people. I myself saw in 1819 the sword and cap formerly belonging to Major Holmes, then in Dickson's possession.

The Yellow Dog must have died early, for I have no recollection of ever having seen him. L'Espagnol used to live in the Green Bay region, making his winter hunts up the Wisconsin. He was an excellent hunter and trapper, and really a peaceable and good Indian and popular with the traders. L'Espagnol was not less than six feet two inches in height, rawboned, and powerful. He could pack on his back a deer he had killed, a five-year-old buck, weighing over two hundred pounds. Saketoo, the eldest surviving son of L'Espagnol, and a younger brother, are (1877) living near Keshena.

Prairie du Chien Expedition. I have no knowledge of Colonel McKay's history prior or subsequent to the Prairie du Chien expedition. But I knew Duncan Graham, a Scotchman who married a Sioux woman. He was a small-sized man and while on a visit to Green Bay about 1830, got a power of attorney from Peter Powell, John Lawe, and some of the Grignons for British services, and went to Montreal to collect the claims; but he was never heard of afterwards.*

My father, who was in McKay's expedition, used to relate that the [American] gunboat was upon the river above the fort. When the British and Indians (Menominee, Winnebago, Sioux, some Chippewa, and perhaps Potawatami) were lying around

*For facts in regard to the life of Duncan Graham, see *Id.* ix, pp. 292, 467. Peter Powell was employed by Graham in the Red River country, 1818-21, so that Captain William must have known him when a boy. The story of his disappearance is untrue; he died in Minnesota about 1845, at the home of his son-in-law, Alexander Faribault.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

on the flats, beleaguering the post, the gunboat floated down. Seeing the British and Indians apparently so numerous, those on board of the boat regarded the chance of maintaining the fort as hopeless, so concluded that their best course was to save themselves and boat and pass on down the river. As they passed, the [American] garrison hailed them, and even shot off their cannon at the vessel from the bastions, to make them heave to; but they passed on without stopping. Lewis From [Louis Manaire], one of the crew or men on the gunboat, whom I later knew well, stated to me that the shot from the American cannon penetrated the stern of the vessel.

When the British first arrived and demanded a surrender the American commander refused; thereupon Colonel McKay had a furnace erected to heat balls with which to attempt to fire the fort. Seeing the gunboat had deserted them, the garrison concluded it was best to surrender, and did so just as the British had got ready to fire their hot shot. Peter Powell used to say that had the gunboat taken its place near the fort, it could have done effectual work in beating back the British and Indians, and he thought, would have saved the garrison. I have heard the Menominee speak of Colonel McKay as a brave, good leader and instance the fact that when the Americans fired their cannon, the Indians would dodge behind some protection, or fall upon the ground; but Colonel McKay himself would remain standing, erect and fearless. On the way to Prairie du Chien, there was but a short supply of salt, so the expedition had to take barrels of sugar to use in covering and preserving the fresh beef, which answered the purpose.

Boilvin,²⁸ the Indian agent at the Prairie, was scared half to death; he acted as British or American, as best answered his purpose. Peter Powell also related that while the negotiations were going on for the surrender at the gate, and the firing had ceased, the Indians pressed up to the outside of the pickets, when one of the Sioux peeping through a crack between the pickets, seeing an American soldier near-by called out "how-do," extending his hand. When the American thrust his hand through between the pickets, the Indian seized it with one hand,

²⁸ For a sketch of Nicolas Boilvin see *Id.*, xix, p. 314, note 51.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

at the same time treacherously drawing his knife and cutting the soldier's hand quite to the bone before the treachery was discovered. When Colonel McKay learned the facts, he ferreted out the culprit, and punished him by degrading him to a squaw, depriving him of his gun, and putting on him a petticoat.

Rolette²⁶ was sent by canoe with a flag and a few men to carry dispatches to Mackinac from Colonel McKay. As they hove in sight of Mackinac, singing their songs, the people all rushed to the landing, asking for news from the expedition before they reached the shore. Rolette, excited and impressed with the importance of what had been accomplished, replied: "Oh, we've gained a great and bloody battle and victory!" when in fact scarcely any lives were lost.

The only Menominee I now recall who served in the War of 1812 and is still living, is Okamawsah, known by the whites as Louis Ducharme. He was a half-breed son of Colonel Ducharme,²⁷ and on going to parties used to put on his uniform. The Colonel himself was a large, dignified man, and died when quite aged, at Green Bay about 1831.

Tecumseh. From what Souigny and others related, I understand that Tecumseh never visited the Green Bay Menominee in persons; but some of his messengers did come, bringing a wampum belt or speech, urging the Menominee to join the confederacy, and they accomplished their object. Souigny and others had formed a high opinion of Tecumseh, and used to relate that they first saw the great Shawnee leader at Fort Meigs, in the spring of 1813.

Robert Dickson

I know nothing of Dickson's early life. Soon after he came out as a trader, he married a daughter of Wanoti, head chief of the Yankton band of the Sioux—a band that lived on the

²⁶For Joseph Rolette see *Ibid.*, p. 140, note 34.—Ed.

²⁷For a brief sketch of Col. Joseph Ducharme, see *Ibid.*, p. 293, note 22; his son Louis is mentioned in *Id.*, xv, pp. 215-217. Dr. Draper, however, thought that reference was here made to a son of Dominique, brother of Joseph and Paul Ducharme.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

plains and prairies.* His oldest child, William,** was in 1819 about twenty-one and just married. Thus he was born about 1798, and Dickson must have formed this marriage connection about 1797. Dickson's wife was a very small woman, fair of complexion, but at forty not handsome. When we left Pembina in the spring of 1822 and went to Fort Snelling, we met Dickson, who shortly after left his children there and took his wife on a visit to England. It was said that he presented her to the king and court, where she maintained herself with much dignity.

The Indians fairly revered and worshipped Dickson, regarding him as a great man. He was of fine appearance, over six feet in height, a very large-sized man, in later life being somewhat corpulent, weighing over two hundred pounds. The Indians called him Mascotapah, or The Red-haired Man—sometimes Dick-e-son. He was generous to a fault, and humane. Souigny related that Dickson constantly impressed it upon the Indians not to kill and take scalps when they could take prisoners, saying that the greater warriors took and saved prisoners rather than destroyed them. I also remember having heard that Colonel Snelling entertained Colonel Dickson very courteously at Fort Snelling, in recognition of his humanity during the War of 1812-15.

Dickson used to assure the Menominee and Sioux that those who had served under the British standard should never be forgotten; that their Great Father had empowered him to say that as long as one should be alive who had thus served the king, he should not want; that their lodges should be covered with scarlet cloth.

In 1823 Dickson visited Prairie du Chien, leaving there his daughter Ellen, then a young lady grown, probably to obtain something of an education. This was the last time that I ever saw him. Ellen subsequently married Joseph R. Brown, a sergeant in the army, who was not long after discharged and went

* According to Warren, "History of the Ojibwa," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 363, Wanahta, chief of the Yankton band, was a nephew of Dickson's wife. The former was a noted Sioux chief of the plains of the Red River of the North.—Ed.

** For a brief sketch of William Dickson, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 444, note 73.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

to live upon a farm near Fort Armstrong, on the western side of the Mississippi. There I once stayed over night with him, and have since learned that he was a member of the Minnesota legislature during its territorial period, so he must have subsequently removed to Minnesota.³⁰

Dickson's son Thomas was a clerk in the Indian trade, and got killed in some affray with the Sioux. The younger girl lived at Faribault. I think it was not long after this visit to Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, that the news came of Dickson's death at Drummond Island.³¹

. Menominee chiefs

Among the Menominee, the White Beaver (to which Oshkosh belonged), the Wolf, the Turtle, the Crane, and the Bear were the principal clans—there were several lesser ones, such as the Turkey, etc.

Tomah was a large, fine man, much respected by whites and Indians.³²

Souigny was fond of relating his war exploits, and rather magnified them. He was about five feet nine inches high, very stoutly built, and strong. He died about 1867 of erysipelas, nearly eighty years old, but well preserved.³³

³⁰ Maj. Joseph R. Brown was one of the most influential of the early settlers of Minnesota. Born in Maryland in 1806, he ran away at the age of fourteen and joined the United States army as a drummer. Coming with Colonel Leavenworth to Fort Snelling in 1819, he was discharged about 1825 and entered the Indian trade. Later he was a pioneer lumberman, printer, legislator, and editor, being the founder of the *St. Paul Pioneer*. He laid out the town of Stillwater, was in both the Wisconsin and Minnesota territorial legislatures, and was one of the best-known men of the region. He died in New York in 1870. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 201-212; iv, p. 41; ix, p. 179.—Ed.

³¹ Dickson died at Drummond Island, July 20, 1823, aged fifty-five years.—Ed.

³² For a brief sketch of this noted chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 446, note 65; a document in *Id.*, xix, p. 346, proves his participation in the War of 1812-15 on the British side.—Ed.

³³ For a different date of Souigny's death see *Id.*, x, p. 497.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

Waupomasah, nicknamed Old Sore-Eyes, was principal chief of the Menominee at Lake Shawano. The "Admired Man" is the meaning of his name. He was out in the War of 1812, and died at Keshena about 1868, fully eighty years of age.

Iometah died about the same year that Souigny did—very aged and childish. He was a short, thickset man, about five feet eight inches, an excellent Indian in character.³⁴

Poegonah, generally called Big Soldier,³⁵ died in 1834 or 1835 nearly ninety years of age, at the village of his name in Calumet County, on Lake Winnebago, nearly opposite the mouth of the Black Wolf. From earliest life he had gone on every war expedition with his people, and even with other tribes. Once he was out in a campaign against the Pawnee. He was the tallest man among the Menominee, fully six feet four inches, finely proportioned, and was known for his tall form by all the nations around. He always wore a conspicuous eagle feather on the top of his scalp-lock, so fitted into a small hollow upright bone, with a socket, that it would twirl about with every changing breeze. He seemed to pride himself in having his scalp-lock nicely trimmed and ornamented, as much as to say to his enemies in war, "Come and take it if you can!" But he had an abiding faith that no foe would ever possess it. He attended the treaty at Green Bay in 1828, where a drunken soldier acting as sentinel in protecting the Indian camp, recklessly ran his bayonet through Poegonah's thigh. The old chief seized the soldier, disarmed him with one hand, and grabbing him by the throat with the other, threw him to the ground, calling him a dog, and alleging that if he were an enemy, he would take his life for his insolence. Colonel Brooks, the commanding officer of the troops, had the reckless soldier whipped in the presence of the Indians.³⁶ Poegonah went out on the Sauk expedition in

³⁴ See *Ibid.*, pp. 497-499, where Dr. Draper gives some additional statements from Powell, with relation to this chief.—Ed.

³⁵ Compare what Augustin Grignon says of this chief in *Id.*, III, pp. 232, 294.—Ed.

³⁶ There was no treaty at Green Bay in 1828; Powell doubtless refers to that of 1832, which the Big Soldier signed. At that time, also, Gen. George E. Brooke of the 6th Infantry was commandant at Fort Howard.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

1832, but said that it was only child's play, although it would serve to give the young warriors some little experience. So in the skirmish near Cassville²⁷ he did not discharge his gun, but rushed among the combatants to show his fearlessness.

He left two sons, both large men, Sacketook and Wiskeno (or The Bird)—the former was a chief and good Indian. Both have passed away.

Grizzly Bear²⁸ (Kotskaunoniew), a very large, fleshy Indian, the orator of the Menominee, was smart and intelligent and prided himself on being the white man's friend. He went to Washington with Stambaugh²⁹ and stayed during the winter of 1830-31. On his return from this trip, where he had been shown everything grand and magnificent, he was asked what had made the most marked impression on his mind. He replied that the grandest sight he had ever witnessed was a large prairie on fire on a dark night—to see the flames jumping and running like lightning, and sending their glare and flashes to the very skies.

When on the Hudson River steamer from New York to Albany, there was quite a large party aboard. Among the number was a fashionable young lady, who expressed to the interpreter a wish to kiss Grizzly Bear, to which that warrior readily assented. When the kiss had been taken and the young lady retired, some of his friends rallied the old chief, saying that the young lady must have fallen in love with him. He replied that that was not her motive—she simply wished to have it to say that she had kissed a brave and noted Indian chief. He had clear ideas of the whites, was of a commanding appearance, and died a few years after the Sauk War, perhaps somewhat more than sixty years of age.

Pewautenot's son Waunako was a pretty smart Indian and a great speaker. He belonged to the band on Menominee River,

²⁷ See post.—Ed.

²⁸ Compare Grignon's account, *Wib. Hist. Colls.*, III, p. 224; see also *Id.*, II, p. 424. His name in French was *Graisse d'Ours* which signifies Bears' Fat; the denomination "Grizzly" appears to be a misinterpretation—no grizzly bears having had a Wisconsin habitat.—Ed.

²⁹ Samuel C. Stambaugh was for a short time Indian agent at Green Bay; see *Id.*, XI, p. 392; also XII, XV, *passim*.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and has been dead several years. The present chief Keshena is his nephew.

Oshkosh⁴⁰ possessed, in a remarkable degree, a knowledge of the traditions of his people. He was a man of strong sense and died at Keshena, Shawano County, August 15, 1858. He requested his tribe, when he died, to bury him in a sitting posture, with his pipe, tobacco pouch, gun and powder-horn, and pouch, one beaver steel trap, and a rat trap, so that he might be properly equipped when he arrived in the good hunting ground.

Ahconemay, his oldest son, was to take his place as head chief of the tribe after his death, and he was so considered by the tribe, until he was suspended by the Indian agent for killing Augustin Grignon Jr.⁴¹ Even after his suspension the tribe still regarded him, as they had his father, head chief of the tribe.

Oshkohenawniew, or The Young Man, was Oshkosh's only brother. He was small in stature, abusive and bitter in his speech. He died about 1867, and two of his sons are still living.⁴²

Charley Carron is the son of Josette,⁴³ who was recognized by Governor Cass at the treaty at Little Butte des Morts in 1827 as the second chief of the Menominee. Charley was in my employ as clerk from 1841 until 1845, while I was trading on Fox River, two miles above Omro. When he left my employ he went and settled where Omro now is; he pre-empted the land, but sold out in 1847, and moved to Mukwa on the Wolf River.

⁴⁰For this chief see *Id.*, iii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴¹This event occurred in 1861. Augustin Grignon Jr. was a half-breed son of the elder Augustin, and was employed in the fur-trade. He was killed by Oshkosh's eldest son because he refused to allow him to drink in his cabin. Ahconemay (Aconnamie) was tried and sentenced to state prison; but after a year or more he was pardoned by the governor and returned to the reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

⁴²This chief was about seven or eight years younger than Oshkosh, and took part with the Menominee in most of their activities; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴³Charley Carron, well-educated and of fine physique, was a noted leader of the half-breeds in dare-devil exploits. See R. G. Thwaites, "History of Winnebago County," in *Oshkosh Times* for 1876.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

He was in the Indian trade at that place until 1854, when he moved to Grand Rapids. While he was in trade he had several narrow escapes from being killed by Indians; was shot at three or four times, and stabbed as many times with a knife. He has stabbed several of the Indians himself. He is still living, spending most of his time at Grand Rapids and Plover on the Wisconsin.

The Indian called The Rubber, I knew well; Augustin Grignon has correctly portrayed him.⁴⁴ He was of a boasting disposition, fond of representing himself as a hero of exploits of which no one else had any knowledge; especially claiming to have pre-eminently befriended the Americans and the American cause, when others were aiding the British. This was to gain favor in the eyes of the American military officers, in the shape of a frequent friendly dram. The Rubber was also accustomed to claim gifts from the old settlers at the Bay, on pretence that he was the owner of the territory; but the other Indians would laugh at his pretence to either the ownership of land or to prominence. He died about 1839, somewhere along the shore of Green Bay, perhaps at Grass Point, some eight or nine miles below Green Bay. It was at a time when a large number of the Indians were encamped there with the cholera, and they were prohibited from coming up to Green Bay. Dr. Crane,⁴⁵ who yet resides at Green Bay, was employed by the government to attend them, and I used to accompany him on his daily visits as interpreter. The doctor left a quantity of mustard with the Indians, with directions to put a plaster of it over the breast of any one attacked with the disease. The next day when he visited the camp, we were surprised not to see a solitary person stirring anywhere. "Are the poor fellows all dead?" we enquired of each other. But on entering the wigwams, every Indian, old and young, was found spread flat upon his back, covered with a mustard plaster. All had resorted to it, as a precaution against the dread disease, of which large

⁴⁴ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, III, pp. 280, 281.—Ed.

⁴⁵ The date must have been later, for Dr. C. E. Crane did not settle in Green Bay until 1846. He was born in Ohio, 1827, and died at Green Bay 1897. During the War of Secession he was surgeon for the 6th Wisconsin, and later mayor of his adopted city (1874-79).—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

numbers of them had died—I think The Rubber was among them.

Most of these prominent Menominee chiefs were members of the Catholic church, and the dates of their deaths must be on record at the mission; but there is no priest there now. Maybe the Indian agents kept some record of their deaths; but I hardly think that probable.

As late as 1830, quite a number of Menominee, several chiefs among them, went to Drummond Island⁴⁶ and got British presents, guns, traps, brass kettles, ammunition, etc. Col. [George] Boyd, the American Indian agent,⁴⁷ on learning of this fact, warned the chiefs that if any of them went there again their medals would be taken away from them, and they would no longer have any claim upon the American government. This firm action on the part of the colonel had the desired effect of breaking off the British influence.

At this time [1877], the tribe numbers about 1350 souls:

Black Hawk War

In 1832, when the Sauk War broke out, ⁴⁸ General Atkinson⁴⁹ sent Col. William S. Hamilton⁵⁰ with instructions to the Indian agent, Colonel Boyd, to enlist the Menominee and appoint proper commanding officers. Col. C. S. Stambaugh, who had formerly been connected with the Indian service, and then resided at Green Bay, was selected to command the Menominee, who were 480 in number, divided into companies. Augustin Grignon was captain of one, with Charles A. Grignon his son, for first-lieutenant, and George Grignon his nephew, second-lieut-

⁴⁶For a sketch of the British post on Drummond Island see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 146, note 94. The post was removed in 1828. For the prolonged British influence over the tribes on American soil see *Id.*, xx, *passim*.—Ed.

⁴⁷For this person see *Id.*, xii, pp. 266-269.—Ed.

⁴⁸For papers on the Green Bay contingent in the Black Hawk War, see *Id.*, iii, pp. 293-296; xii, pp. 217-298.—Ed.

⁴⁹For Gen. Henry Atkinson consult *Id.*, i, ii, iv, *passim*.—Ed.

⁵⁰A biographical sketch of William S. Hamilton is given in *Id.*, xii, pp. 270, 271.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

enant. George Johnston commanded the other company, with William Powell first, and Robert Grignon second-lieutenant, while James M. Boyd, a young son of Colonel Boyd, was third-lieutenant and secretary of the company. Alexander Irwin was quartermaster.⁶¹

We went to Fort Winnebago by land. There Stambaugh received word from General Atkinson of the Bad Axe affair⁶² and an order, since the war was now virtually ended, directing him to return to Green Bay and disband the Menominee. The latter were very desirous of going to Prairie du Chien, as they had some relatives and friends residing there, and they probably had some curiosity to go to headquarters and learn all they could about the war. So Stambaugh sent Robert Grignon and me with dispatches to meet Gen. [Winfield] Scott, who was expected at Prairie du Chien, and make known this earnest wish of the Menominee; and say that he would march in that direction. From the Blue Mounds, Grignon returned according to instructions, while I continued on alone to Prairie du Chien, where General Scott had just arrived on board of a steamboat. I delivered to him the dispatches, and he sent me back with dispatches to Stambaugh. Information had just reached General Scott at the very time I appeared, that a hostile party of Sauk and Foxes, said to be a hundred in number, were wending their way down the Mississippi by land. So General Scott concluded to gratify the Menominee and directed Stambaugh and his Indians to repair to Brunet's Ferry, at Little Rock, a few miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin,⁶³ and thence proceed to intercept those Sauk and Foxes. This permission gratified the Menominee. I overtook the party about

⁶¹ See *Ibid.*, p. 278, note 1.—Ed.

⁶² See *Ibid.*, pp. 257-261.—Ed.

⁶³ Brunet's Ferry, which for many years has been in disuse, had its southern end in Grant County (section 14, range 6 west, township 8 north), and crossed the Wisconsin in a northwest direction. It was established in 1827 under license from the territorial legislature by Jean Brunet, a French-Canadian of Prairie du Chien, and was on the military road from Fort Winnebago to Fort Crawford. Probably, however, Brunet had lived at this place for some years previous to securing a license, and was in the habit of aiding travellers across the river.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

forty miles above Prairie du Chien. On reaching Brunet's Ferry, Lieutenant Boyd and I were sent to Prairie du Chien for provisions and any later news about the hostile party. Augustin Grignon is mistaken in saying that Col. William S. Hamilton had anything to do with this expedition, for he had not, and was not along.

Among the Menominee chiefs was Ahkamotte—not La Motte, as Grignon has it—selected by the Indians on this expedition as their prophet, and he held powwows every night to determine where the enemy were.

Colonel Stambaugh with a hundred warriors and six chiefs—Oshkosh, Grizzly Bear, Pewautenot, Souligny, Ahkamotte, and Poegonah—started to pursue the hostiles. They struck the trail and followed it, expecting it would lead to the river not far below the mouth of the Wisconsin; but it bore off from the river. Lieutenants Powell and Boyd, with the remainder of the Indians, some 200 in number, except those sick and sorefooted, were ordered to go direct to the Mississippi and follow its bank, to intercept the enemy should they attempt to cross that river. There were no prominent chiefs with Powell and Boyd; all had gone with Stambaugh, thinking that he would have the expected fight, and reap the honors. Each of these parties kept out spies.

About five miles back of Cassville,⁵⁴ in the interior, the next day after leaving Brunet's Ferry in pursuit, they found the enemy camped by a little stream between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. The Sauk and Foxes had had four days the start, but made slow progress, as they had to stop and hunt for their living. The hostiles would keep on the trail for a few miles, then would scatter awhile, then reunite and go on together again. Robert Grignon, Sacketook (son of Poegonah) and two others were in advance spying, and discovered the enemy in a hollow, cooking their venison. They returned and thus reported. The Indians were formed into four parties—one led by Augustin Grignon and the Prophet, with Oshkosh and Poegonah; another party by Robert Grignon; Alexander Irwin led another; and Lieut. C. A. Grignon the fourth. Captain Johns-

⁵⁴ The only other printed description of the battle of Cassville known to us, is that of Grignon in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 293-295.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

ton and Colonel Stambaugh remained with the Prophet's party.—Johnston because he was somewhat advanced in years."^a

Just before starting, about half a mile from the hostile camp, Stambaugh made a brief speech to the Indians, saying to them: "Take prisoners. Your Great Father will give you more for one prisoner than he would for a dozen scalps;" and he charged the officers to enforce this order. Grizzly Bear responded in Menominee, Charles A. Grignon interpreting: "Tell our Father here that the Great Spirit saw proper to put a switch in the hands of our Sauk and Fox enemies to chastise us last year, which they did at Prairie du Chien, killing a good many of our people. Now he has seen proper to put that same switch into our hands to-day, which I cannot prevent my young warriors from using. Tell our Father also, that since we left Green Bay we have been obedient children to all his commands; but in this matter about not taking scalps, we must be excused if we fail to regard it."

The Prophet had a large, valuable wampum belt, seven feet long and a foot and a half wide, very heavy; it must have cost fully \$70, being made of stone wampum beads, alternately grey and white, from Van Dieman's Land. This was to be the reward for the first scalp to be brought to the Prophet. He also had a flute upon which he was to blow a shrill, loud whistle as a signal for the several parties to raise the war-whoop when they had taken the places assigned them, completely surrounding the enemy. When the signal was given, and the war-whoop raised, they were but a quarter of a mile from the Sauk camp, and it was but a few moments till the whole were rushing down upon them, whooping and hallooing. One of the Sauk fired, but without effect, save to hit off the breech of the gun of Saunapow, or The Ribbon. The latter quickly returned the fire, killing him, when several ran to get the scalp; but Saunapow got the main scalp, and others some smaller scalps. Then there was a race for the Prophet, but Saunapow won and received the prize belt, the Prophet keeping the scalp, and thanking the young warrior for a valuable gift. Some of the Sauk women and four or five children seeing that Robert Grignon

^a For a brief sketch of this person see *Id.*, xx.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

was a white man and approaching the nearest, ran toward him and threw themselves at his feet for protection. Among these was a young warrior, about seventeen years old, who dropped his gun, seeing the hopelessness of the unequal contest, and ran mixing in with the women, and Robert Grignon protected him. Meanwhile some of the Sauk and Foxes ran and hid behind some boulders near by, and one of these was firing from behind a boulder, about half way up the hill, when Grignon started after him, with a Menominee close beside him. The concealed Sauk fired, apparently intending to shoot the Menominee, but the bullet struck Robert Grignon, hitting a rib, and coursed around, lodging in the small of the back. About the same moment Grignon received the fire of another Indian, two buckshot entering his left shoulder. Whereupon the Menominee rushed up and shot the one who first wounded Grignon, killed him, and hacked him up, and kept at him till there was little left of him.

Among the Sauk was a Winnebago with whom some of the Menominee in Calumet had intermarried, and recognized his nationality. He held up his hands and prayed for mercy in the Winnebago language; whereupon a lame Menominee, Okeemonaah, or Little Chief, ran up, and said: "I have been many times to war, and from my lameness was always a little too late; now I will not return without a scalp; you can be no good Winnebago to be with our enemies." Thereupon he gave him a sudden stab with his spear, when he fell, and the Menominee seized his scalp lock, whereupon the Winnebago seized him by the hand on his scalp; but with the free hand Okeemonaah quickly encircled his head, gave him a kick in the back of the neck, and stripped off the scalp, and the poor victim, just after another Menominee had walked up and shot him through the head, soon expired.

Augustin Grignon, naturally very tender-hearted, walked up, and was much touched with such savage conduct; a tear was observed by Grizzly Bear to trickle down Grignon's cheek—Grizzly Bear was an uncommonly large Indian, over six feet, a brawny man, weighing fully 250 pounds. He said to Grignon, "What are you crying for? Was this fellow one of your kindred? If not, you had better go home and join the

Powell's Recollections

squaws, who alone indulge in weeping." Grignon gave the old chief a lefthand blow across the mouth, replying that no brave warrior would indulge in such a horrid carnage; that he should be satisfied after having killed his foe; "now", he cried, "since you are so brave a man, resent this, and defend yourself," giving him another blow. But Grizzly Bear, though as well armed as Grignon, refrained from returning blows. Three other Indians were killed in the melee, and a small child on its mother's back was shot through the body between the shoulders, the ball lodging in the mother's clothing. She did not discover that the child was dead, or even hit, till after the affair was over.

The skirmish lasted but a few minutes—the Sauk keeping the Menominee at bay, by getting behind the rocks and boulders. Eighteen women were taken prisoners, a boy some eight years old, and three or four younger children.

Just as the affair was over, Colonel Stambaugh came up, and wished to shake hands with the chiefs. Grizzly Bear wanted to know what the colonel wanted to shake hands for—it was only a few minutes ago that they parted. Stambaugh explained, however, that he wished to do it to express his pleasure at their success; but he had no word to say about the scalps.

Boyd and I, with our party, heard the distant firing, and were approaching to take part. Between the river and the battleground, we met four Menominee carrying by hand Robert Grignon on a litter of a blanket stretched between two poles—meaning to watch an opportunity to get some sort of water conveyance to Prairie du Chien. My whole party then returned to Brunet's Ferry, two Indians taking Grignon up in a canoe which they got from some settler; and the young Sauk lad, who was taken prisoner, went up with them.

On the way to Brunet's Ferry, my party and Stambaugh's met and went on together, reaching Brunet's the next day. But the night after the fight, Stambaugh and party stopped at a little village where they met General Dodge and Colonel Hamilton, without soldiers, these having been disbanded after the battle of Bad Axe. They got plenty of liquor, for Dodge and Hamilton were treating the Indians freely. The latter indulged in great boasting as to who took the most scalps; by their repre-

Wisconsin Historical Society

sentation, one would have thought that a great battle had been fought, and hundreds of scalp trophies taken.

After reaching Brunet's Ferry, all the prisoners were assigned to me to convey without any guard to the fort at Prairie du Chien, seven miles distant. When about half way there, I met Wistweaw, the Blacksmith, somewhat in liquor. He was one of those who had conveyed Robert Grignon in a canoe to Prairie du Chien, and approached us begging the privilege of killing the young Sauk and taking his scalp home, so that he could say he had a war trophy—otherwise he would have nothing to relate, only cooking pork and dough-boys. But I refused, saying that the prisoners were confided to me to take and deliver at the fort. Still the Indian pleaded, and finally made a lunge with his knife at the young Indian who was close to me, but the latter saw the action in time to dodge the blow. Then the Blacksmith was compelled to desist, but ever afterwards he lamented his great misfortune in failing to secure that scalp.

When the news reached Prairie du Chien of the prisoners taken near Cassville, the women of the Menominee band residing at the Prairie, some of whose husbands and brothers had been killed by the Sauk and Foxes the year before, came to Brunet's Ferry, seven miles, to seek revenge. These squaws, to the number of about twenty, arranged themselves on each side of the path. When Stambaugh's party and prisoners crossed at the ferry and landed on the north side, Oshkosh in particular suggested that these Menominee women be examined to see whether they had any weapons with which they could injure the Sauk squaws. Upon search being made, several of them were found to have small tomahawks and knives concealed under their clothing. These were taken from them. But as the Sauk prisoners passed between the rows of Menominee women, the latter availed themselves of an Indian custom for each to touch the prisoners as they passed. Some barely touched them tenderly with the tips of their fingers, while others seized them by their hair and shook and jerked them about without mercy. The Sauk women were rejoiced to get off without worse treatment. They were kept in duress a short time in the garrison at Prairie du Chien, then sent down to Rock Island, and soon after discharged.

After a few days of recruiting and preparation, the Menom-

Powell's Recollections

inee returned home, scattering from Butte des Morts. Robert Grignon remained some time in the hospital at Prairie du Chien. Doctor Beaumont⁶ easily extracted the buckshot from his shoulder; but the ball in his back could not with safety be taken out. Grignon drew a pension of \$15 per month and lived till he froze to death, near his own house, not far from Christmas, about twelve years ago.⁷

Makata Mishekakah, or the Black Falcon, was the name the Sank and Foxes gave Col. Zachary Taylor. Ahchechawk, or the White Crane, was their name for General Scott. Black Hawk claimed that he surrendered himself, as he had heard that in case he did so, all the prisoners would be released. On reaching Prairie du Chien, Colonel Taylor brought out handcuffs to put on him. "Why do you want to put the handcuffs on me when I have given myself up and can't get away; I had expected better treatment from the Black Falcon." Taylor replied that it was not his wish to do so, and that he was sorry so to treat him; but he was himself but a small chief, and had to obey the orders of his superiors; and these were the orders of the big chief, the White Crane. Then Black Hawk said that he had supposed the Black Falcon was too humane to treat him thus; but as these were the orders of the White Crane, then do so—whereupon he extended his hands and received the handcuffs.

At the treaty at Rock Island, General Scott had Black Hawk degraded from his chieftainship and Keokuk appointed in his place. Keokuk rose and addressed Black Hawk, saying that this was not of his own seeking, that he regretted Black Hawk's degradation; but the latter had, contrary to his advice, plunged himself and people into the war, and the Great Father had taken the chieftainship from him. Then Black Hawk addressed General Scott, asking why he who had not conferred this honor upon him, could have the power to deprive him of it. Pointing

⁶For Dr. William Beaumont see *Id.* xv, p. 397, note 4.—Ed.

⁷Robert Grignon was the eldest son of Pierre Antoine, himself the eldest of the Grignon brothers. Robert was born about 1804 at Green Bay. He early entered the fur-trade, and was a clerk for his uncle, settling first at Butte des Morts, later within the limits of Oshkosh. He died in 1864, frozen near his own home, having become bewildered in a storm.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

his finger upward, he indicated that the One who had made him a chief alone could unmake him.

Capt. William Powell

When my father returned from Hudson Bay in 1822 and left me in the care of Captain Alexander, I remained with him three years at Fort Snelling. The captain being sent on a recruiting service to St. Louis, took me with him, and during his stay there sent me to school five miles from Belle Fontaine.

I remained there until the spring of 1827, when I came to Rock Island, and stayed until the first of September, 1828, when my father sent for me and I came home to Butte des Morts. When I arrived where Portage City now is, Major Twiggs had just got there with two or three companies of United States troops to commence building the fort, which was called Fort Winnebago.⁸⁸ Twiggs was the commanding officer. Jefferson Davis⁸⁹ was also there, just from West Point; he was only second-lieutenant at that time.

Two years later, while Lieutenant Davis was stationed at Fort Winnebago, Twiggs still commanding, a powerful Kentuckian named Stewart, a carpenter by trade, dwelt there as Daniel M. Whitney's agent in transporting boats over the portage. There was a camp of Menominee Indians near the American Fur Company's store, where Pierre Paquette lived,⁹⁰ and Stewart went over one day with a tanned deer skin to get some moccasins made. It was a Sunday, and Davis happening to be there, ordered him off. Stewart intimated that he had as much right there as Davis had, and that he should go when he got ready, and not before. Davis felt his dignity insulted, and gave Stewart an unexpected and heavy blow. Stewart recovering, pitched upon Davis and gave him a severe whipping, badly bruising his face and eyes. I was then a clerk in the store, and Davis had me get a chicken, kill it, and put the fresh carcass on

⁸⁸ See account of this event and a sketch of Twiggs in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 65-76.—Ed.

⁸⁹ On Davis at Fort Winnebago see *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75; also *Id.*, viii-x, xii, xiii, *passim*.—Ed.

⁹⁰ For an account of Pierre Paquette see *Id.*, vii, pp. 352-355.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

his face, to prevent the bruises from leaving their discolored marks. Stewart, himself brave, was persuaded by Mr. Whitney, his employer, to leave for Green Bay, lest he should be retaliated on by Davis or his friends, and he subsequently returned to Kentucky.

Except for a short time at the Portage, I remained with my father at Butte des Morts until 1832, then went as first-lieutenant in the Black Hawk War. After the war, I returned home and went into partnership with Robert Grignon in the Indian trade. We established our trading post at Algoma in the fall of 1832, and continued at that place till the fall of 1835, when we dissolved our copartnership and I went and lived with my father until he died.

Treaties. I was appointed United States interpreter for the Menominee in 1836. The same year, Gov. Henry Dodge of Mineral Point was appointed commissioner to make a treaty with the Menominee; this was concluded September 3, 1836.¹ After the treaty I resigned and went into the Indian trade on Fox River, two miles above where Onaro now is, and continued to trade there till 1846, when for a year I established a trading post at the mouth of Shawano Creek, in Shawano County. Then quitting the Indian trade, I was again appointed, in 1848, United States interpreter and in that capacity served at the treaty of that year. Medill was the commissioner on the part of the Government in that treaty, wherein the Menominee ceded all of their country that they owned in Wisconsin for \$400,000. By its terms the Government gave them for their future home a tract of 500,000 acres of land on the Crow Wing River,² 150 to 200 miles above St. Paul. They were to remain in Wisconsin for two years after the ratification of the treaty, and then to move to the Crow Wing. At the same time the Government agreed to furnish \$5,000 to defray the expenses of a delegation of nine chiefs with their head chief Oshkosh to go and examine the country, before removing in 1850.

Visit to Washington. President Taylor instructed Major Bruce, Indian agent at Green Bay, to take a delegation of chiefs

¹ Powell was sworn interpreter at the Menominee treaty of 1836.—Ed.

² The treaty guaranteed that there should not be less than 600,000 acres of land in the tract assigned.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

and go and survey the land allotted them on the Crow Wing, and after doing so to bring the same delegation to Washington and report. I accompanied the delegation to the Crow Wing, and with us went my old friend Charles Tullar,²² who was employed to survey the tract. He did not, however, go on with us to Washington, as he had more important business that required him to remain at Green Bay. Arriving at Washington on September 4 we remained there some two weeks before Oshkosh with the other chiefs could get an interview with the commissioner of Indian affairs. There were at the federal capital representatives of several other tribes of Indians, who had business with their great father, the president, who had got there some days ahead of us; so we had to wait till our turn came. When the time arrived, our Wisconsin chiefs were notified that they might come and see their great father and talk over their business with him. We conducted Chief Oshkosh and the rest of the Indians to the commissioner's office at about 9 o'clock A. M. Here we were received by Chief-clerk Charles E. Mix, acting in the place of the commissioner, Mr. Lowrey, who was sick at the time. After a short talk, Mr. Mix accompanied the delegation to the office of the secretary of the interior, and from there the latter conducted his visitors to the White House. After the chiefs were seated according to rank, President Fillmore, accompanied by General Scott, entered and the chiefs were presented and shook hands with both. Chief Oshkosh recognized General Scott, for he had seen him both at Green Bay and at the treaty at Prairie du Chien. The general also recollected Oshkosh, who was a small man, standing only about five feet. When he shook hands with the general, Oshkosh said: "You are like a tall pine tree, and myself like a scrub-oak, so I stand under your branches to protect my head from harm."

The interview with their Great Father was brief. Oshkosh

²² Charles Tullar was born in 1804 in Vermont. Coming to Green Bay in 1830, he entered the employ of Daniel Whitney and was occupied in lumbering, mining, surveying, etc. He acted as sheriff for Brown County, 1836-43. He was accustomed to say that the happiest days of his life were spent with William Powell, his close friend, surveying Indian reservations. The latter years of his life were employed as agent for the Whitney estate. He died at Green Bay Oct. 30, 1874.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

stated in a very few words that the Crow Wing country was not what it had been represented to his tribe by Commissioner Medill, who made the treaty of 1848; and that the tribe did not like to move to that country because the Indians already there were continually engaged in intertribal war. He preferred, he said, a home somewhere in Wisconsin, for the poorest region in Wisconsin was better than that of the Crow Wing. He said that the latter was a good country for the white man, for he was numerous and could protect himself from those warlike tribes; but his own tribe was small, and he wished them to live in peace for the little time they had to live.⁶⁶

The latter part of September I started from Washington for Green Bay in charge of the delegation, and was instructed by the department to stop at the largest Eastern cities a few days and show the chiefs the principal places so as to give them an idea how numerous their white brothers were. We stayed a week in New York and went to Barnum's Museum every day. Barnum invited Oshkosh and his chiefs to come and hear the great singer Jenny Lind, but Oshkosh declined the invitation. A few of the younger chiefs went, however, but when they were asked by the other chiefs how they liked the singing, they replied that she made a very big noise and then a little noise. The white man must have a great deal more money than he needed, to pay so much to hear this lady sing.

Henry Merrell errs in giving the name of Powell, the trader at Green Lake, as William.⁶⁷ His first name was James, and he was a cousin of mine. He came to Green Bay about 1833, and engaged in the Indian trade; in 1838 he moved west of the Mississippi, into Iowa, and I have since lost track of him.

⁶⁶ Permission was given to the Menominee to remain in Wisconsin, which was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of 1854, assigning them a reservation in Shawano County.—Ed.

⁶⁷ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 337.—Ed.

Wisconsin Historical Society

John B. Dubay

John B. Dubay⁴⁶ was son of a Canadian, whose name I think was Louis.⁴⁷ He came here early; his first wife was a Menominee woman, daughter of the principal chief on the Menominee River, named Powatenot, and mentioned in Grignon's "Narrative" as serving in the War of 1812. He also had a son Louis, who was only a *voyageur*. J. B. Dubay was at least four years older than myself, certainly being born as early as 1806. When a young man, he became a successful trader among the Chippewa. When he went among the Indians, he would pitch his large marquee, fit it up neatly with folding seats and a showy carpet, and invite the Indians there. Its attractive appearance would fix their attention, they would feel honored by the attention and would be quite sure to give him their trade. Dubay was known to them as Oskastawananee, or the Flourishing Young Trader.

In the early years of the Territory and State, he was fond of going to Madison, where he spent his money freely, and would send off to borrow more. Once he borrowed of me while I was clerk in a store of the American Fur Company in which Dubay had an interest. I subsequently asked him what his business was, there. "Why," said he, "I am a *log* member"—meaning a lobby member; he liked to boast that his company at the capital included prominent lawyers, judges, and legislators.

Once I was reminding him that he had neglected to be present at a certain Chippewa treaty and secure his claim for credits to Indians. "Oh," he replied, "I shall not be too late, for the payments have not all been paid; they are to be paid," he said, "in *stora*"—meaning in installments. He had, he said, sent his *monster* (remonstrance) to the Indian department, and he would be all right. But he lost it. He was fond of trying to repeat big words, but would invariably make ridiculous work of it.

⁴⁶See *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 400-402. This statement of Powell is an addition to and correction of Merrell's narrative concerning Dubay, and Draper's statement in a note that he was born in 1810.—Ed.

⁴⁷The name was originally Dubée. Louis was living in Green Bay as late as 1838.—Ed.

Powell's Recollections

Dubay had a fine appreciation of Indian character. He knew well how to gain the confidence and the patronage of his red brethren, and thus acquired a considerable influence over them. Had he had a good education, he would have made his mark in the world.

In killing Reynolds, he was advised by lawyers that he had rights that he should protect, and he thought he was doing only what was justifiable. But he was naturally a high-toned, generous-hearted man; and when he came to reflect that he had taken the life of a fellow man, though acquitted of criminal intent, it preyed upon his mind, and he has never since been the man he was before. He now (1877) resides above Stevens Point.

Origin and Meaning of Indian Names

Ashkeeton (town, Brown Co.)—The Crier, name of an Indian.

Assippun, or Ashippun (town, Dodge Co.)—The Raccoon.

Brulé (river, Douglas Co.)—Burnt timber; Indian word *Wesaucota*, in both Menominee and Chippewa.

Buffalo (lake, Marquette Co.)—*Pesahkeconnee*, a great buffalo range in early times. I never saw any buffalo in Wisconsin, nor have the oldest Menominee in their day. *Iometah* and others used to say that their fathers killed and drove them off.

Butte des Morts (lake and town, Winnebago Co.)—*Pahquatenohsah* was the Indian word for Little Butte des Morts, meaning small mound of the dead. *Maspahquatenoh* is big mound of the dead—"noh" meaning dead.

Embarrass (river, tributary to Wolf)—Indian word was *Okquinoe Saparo*, or floating wood. The French adopted this and called it *La Rivière s'embarrass* (the river that is "embarrassed," or interrupted, by driftwood).

Kekoskee (town, Dodge Co.)—Of Winnebago origin.

Keshena (town, Shawano Co.)—The Scudding Cloud, named after a Menominee chief yet living, son of Josette, second chief, and son-in-law of Pewatenot.

Kewaskum (town, Washington Co.)—Name of a Menominee Indian, The Turner: one who has power as a medicine man to turn things as he pleases.

Wisconsin Historical Society

Kewaunee (county and town)—A specie of duck.

Koshkonong (town, Rock Co.)—Not Menominee; probably Potawatomi in origin.

Manitowoc (county and town)—Place of spirits.

Markesan (village, Green Lake Co.)—Probably a Winnebago word.

Maskee—Indian word for marsh.

Mazomanie (town, Dane Co.)—Place of iron deposits, a Winnebago word.

Meeme (town, Manitowoc Co.)—The Pigeon.

Menominee—thus Captain Powell spells the name. The plural is Omahnominewowk, or Wild Rice People, as they call themselves. They still harvest wild rice in Shawano Lake and other lakes above, but do not use it to the same extent as formerly.

Mishicott (town, Manitowoc Co.)—Hairy Leg.

Mukwonago, or Maquonigo (town, Waukesha Co.)—Of Potawatomi origin.

Nashotah (town, Waukesha Co.)—Twin, a Potawatomi word.

Necedah (town, Juneau Co.)—Winnebago word.

Neosho (town, Dodge Co.)—Either Winnebago or Potawatomi word.

Neshkoro (town, Marquette Co.)—Winnebago word.

Oconomowoc (county and town)—Probably Potawatomi.

Oconto (county and town)—The place of the pickerel.

Okee (town, Columbia Co.)—Winnebago word.

Ozaukee (county)—The Sauks.

Packwaukee, or Pakwaukee (town, Marquette Co.)—The Mound, a natural elevation.

Pensaukee (river and town, Oconto Co.)—The place of the brant—a species of small wild geese.

Peshigo, properly Pasheteco (town, Marinette Co.)—Passing through the marsh.

Powaconnee—Poygan abbreviated.

Poygan (lake, Winnebago Co.)—The threshing place (for rice).

Poynette (town, Columbia Co.)—Perhaps of Winnebago origin.

Poyssippi (town, Waushara Co.)—Same as Poygan, with sippi, (meaning river) added.

Puckaway (lake, Green Lake Co.)—Cat Tail Flag.

Powell's Recollections

Shawano (lake and county)—South; the county was named from the lake; Shawano, or South, Lake. I could not learn from the Menominee how this name was derived. Oshkosh once said to me that his ancestors told him a prophet from the South visited the Menominee, and first made his appearance at the Shawano Lake, proclaiming himself a prophet from the South; that he was going to change things generally, to reform their medical remedies and reform their government, and then they would live much longer. I am satisfied, since it has been explained to me about Tecumseh's brother the Prophet, that he was the one who came to the Menominee about 1810 and aimed at their reform; and that he was the one whom Oshkosh referred to and described.

Sheboygan (county and town)—Properly Chapewyaconnee, a Menominee word, meaning a rumbling subterranean sound, as if it were a spirit sound, heard in the lake at the mouth of the river, at that point. Solomon Juneau used to state to me that it was a Potawatomi word, and meant the place of the mermaid.

Suamico (river, Brown Co.)—Red Sand River.

Taycheedah (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—A Winnebago name.

Waucousta (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Waukeshah, or Waukeshoon (county and town)—Something about a fox.

Waupaca (river, county, and town)—The dawning of the morning. The French endeavored to give the meaning by calling it To-Morrow River.

Waupuu (town, Fond du Lac Co.)—Day-break or dawn.

Waushara (county)—A Winnebago word.

Wautoma (town, Waushara Co.)—Not a Menominee word.

Wauseka (town, Crawford Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Welaunee (town, Winnebago Co.)—A Winnebago word.

Weyauwega (town, Waupaca Co.)—Named by Judge Doty after an Indian Weauweya, said to have lived there and claimed the country. But others said that the name of the locality came from Weyawaca, the grand encampment, as it was a noted Indian camping place. This latter seems to me most probable.

Winneconne (town, Winnebago Co.)—The place of the skull, a battleground, where some of the Sauk and Foxes were chased by the French and Menominee at the Butte des Morts battle. See *ante*, p. 150.

Wyocena (town, Columbia Co.)—A Winnebago word.