FOREWORD

This small book covers an important movement in St. Louis County History. It is true that some of the localities covered are not now within this county, but not a small part of the work done and planned was within its borders. Then it will be noted that during the period covered, the present political subdivisions did not exist and the history of the lake region, including old Fond du Lac and the St. Louis river, is in fact relevant to county history of which it was an important part.

The coming to the West of these missionaries was notable as an historic fact, because it deals with an effort to abate old moral conditions and it marks the dawn of the founding of the present civilization. There was a romantic older white civilization which had come from the St. Lawrence, of which records are being made, but this was submerged in the aggressive current of American colonization of its own frontier.

The older civilization has left its traces, its current may even be discerned a little, but in general it was swept aside and it quietly took its place in the newer life offered by those far more numerous, speaking another tongue which is now the only one in general use.

This is not, except in part, an original work. The compiler is responsible for what is not directly quoted, but he felt that the missionaries,too long silent, should be allowed to speak for themselves. Most citizens love history, but few will study it.

These few certainly will prefer to visit with the missionaries in the most intimate possible way. Hence, this work is, in considerable part, by

the hands of the dead. The many quotations are literal. Any errors that appear in the quoted text exist in the original, it being deemed proper not to change them.

The work is based, in large part, on the personal and official correspondence of the missionaries, copies of which fully authenticated are in the possession of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

Aside from the record of missionary effort, these records and this pamphlet give a reliable insight into conditions on the lake, in 1830 and thereafter, of the natives, the traders, modes of living and travel, the fur trade, and life in general.

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EARLY PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN THE

LAKE SUPERIOR COUNTRY.

CHAPTER I

Conditions in 1831. State of the natives. Their legal status. Their religion. The fur traders and their good qualities. Traders on Lake Superior. The Warren Brothers. William A. Aitkin. Friendship for the Missions. Indian wives.

In the year 1831 Protestant missions first appeared in the Lake Superior country. That was a ~~little less than~~ one hundred years ~~before~~ and one ~~this~~ year ~~1930~~ ago. For a long period before that time there was no church nor working mission of any denomination on the great lake. Its shores and islands were as nature left them, except that there were a few trading posts established to profit from the exchange of merchandise with the Indians for their furs. Such posts existed at La Pointe, now Madelaine, one of the Apostle Islands, at Fond du Lac, now Duluth, and there were posts on the Canadian shore. To that time Protestant missionary labors and active military domination had stopped at the Sault, at the entrance to the lake, and farther south at Mackinac Island, where Lakes Michigan and Huron meet, although the traders had not hesitated to extend their posts far beyond to the West a long time before.

The Indians regarded the lake, bays, its islands and shores as their common property. They were found at Chequamegon Bay near the present Ashland, at Fond du Lac the present Duluth, at Grand Portage, and at points on the Canadian shore. These Indians, who were then known as Chippewas, a name that has clung to them since, were not numerous. The scattered bands on the shore of the lake did not exceed 1500 in number. The term Chippewa, which is merely a form of the name Ojibway, seems to have been a local name for the lake Indians. Their real racial name, quite forgotten now, was An-ish-in-aub-ag which means "original people," according to Warren, their historian and kinsman. Quite uniformly they were pagans. They practiced the rites of their ancestors. For all that, more than 150 years earlier, the Roman Catholic missionaries Menard, Allouez and Marquette had labored among them and their labors are among the classics of lake story. But in 1831 there was little, if any, trace of their work among the natives. These Indians had a form of worship known as the Medawa rite. This had its system of belief as to the origin and destiny of man. It had its fasts and feasts, its priests, ceremonies and ritual. It had its degrees of advancement. It claimed supernatural powers and specialized at times in pretending physical cures. The Medawa had an answer for all queries, natural and supernatural. It filled the Indian mind. It was a screen which few white men have ever penetrated, and its power was great.

Following the Catholic pioneer missionary attempts, more than 150 years elapsed, a sort of silent time in religious history on Lake Superior. It is known that during that time, French traders, explorers and soldiers came and went, but there is little trace of missionary effort. The traders and others who came, with but few exceptions, were Canadian-French Roman Catholics down to the American rule following 1783, and the laborers, boatmen and trappers

were as well very largely of that faith. But these men, the traders, did not concern themselves very much with religious questions either for themselves or the natives. They were after fur. At the same time hundreds of the Canadian French took Indian wives, so that there was always a certain Catholic tendency among the Indian dwellers on the lake. But it was not a strong feeling. In view of all this, when Protestant evangelization began on the lake in 1831, it approached a field quite uncultivated, as far as the natives were concerned. The natives were quite content with their own rites, but at the same time they were very tolerant towards other faiths. At this period too, from trading extending back for 150 years, they had become familiar with firearms and iron utensils and with white men's dress, although they lived as their ancestors did in greater part. The country became British in 1763 and American in 1783. During the time between 1763 and the coming of the Protestant missionaries in 1831, the fur trade came into the hands of Scotch and American traders, so that in 1831 the chief traders were not French, although the organizations they directed were as of old.

Legal Relations.

In the year 1831, which marked the earliest Protestant missionary labors, the South shore of the lake was an American shore. In the law and by treaty it had,in fact,been American since 1783. But in a business way and in the feeling and practices of its few inhabitants, it remained British or Canadian for thirty years after it became by treaty American soil. The fur trade remained in Canadian hands and the British flag was in evidence on the posts. It will be recalled that the region passed wholly from French to British hands in 1763, to become American,to the extent it is now, in 1783.

The Indians wore British medals as late as 1820. In fact no adherents of the new government at Washington had come this far to stay up to that time.

It took time for our flag to penetrate the wilderness. Folwell, in his history of Minnesota, records that it was not until 1796 that the British withdrew their troops from the military posts along the Great Lakes, and that twenty years after that was to elapse before traders under the British flag with Canadian connections and authority withdrew from the Lake Superior country. General Lewis Cass, who visited Lake Superior twice in the eleven years before 1831, made it a part of his work to replace British with American flags and to take British medals from Indian breasts replacing them with great medallions of American presidents.

It is evident that the British, long after the peace of 1783, hoped for a turn of affairs which never came, which would restore to them the region of the lakes. They claimed certain equities on which they relied to delay their departure, alleging for instance that the American government had not done its duty in relation to the property rights of loyalists and British claims against American citizens as stipulated in the treaty. Then why should the established British traders leave? No Americans challenged their actual possession for a generation after the new Republic was erected.

The Indians, in their tribal relations, were not in the least interfered with until very recent times. They made their own laws and lived in their own way under their chiefs chosen by themselves, not always formally nor by blood but merely by a sort of natural development. During the year 1831 in which we stand to start this story there was not a soldier of any nation on all the shores of the great lake, not a judge nor court, merely a wilderness, the Indians as always and the few whites in the few posts living in a patriarchal way, masters and lords of the wilds.

Fur traders, as a class, have been quite uniformly condemned by numerous wroters. But an unbiased scrutiny of their condition, their work and their history does not bear out this condemnation. It is probable that the so-called traders who

accompanied the first ~~floods~~ flights of settlement were a bad lot as a whole, but the traders who first entered the Indian country long before the white onrush, had among them, as Folwell says, "men of commanding ability and irreproachable reputations." Many of them were men who sought the quiet and ease of the wilderness, weary of the stress of civilized life. Usually they took Indian wives and won a commanding influence over their native patrons by reason of their power, their knowledge and reliability. In many cases they espoused the cause of their new friends against that of the oncoming whites and thus incurred enmity which was vented in slander. Like the Indians, they looked with sorrowful eyes on the pressure of their own peoples towards the West. It meant the end of their business and their power. They often loved their own flock of children, little half-breeds. These were well enough at the trading post. What would they be in the settlements approaching? Certainly there were scoundrels among these traders, but what class anywhere is free from them?

It may not be denied that they, many of them, are chargeable with selling liquor to the natives who loved it too well. But in this they did only what was done everywhere and there are not many instances in which they set their faces against it. It often meant ruin to them.

In a letter written in 1845 by Samuel W. Pond Jr., son of a distinguished Minnesota missionary to the Sioux, to David Greene, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions at Boston, this language is found:

> "It seems to me that the restraints which the providence and Spirit of God have laid upon the principal fur-traders among the Northwestern Indians, from the time when we first became acquainted with them through the Mackinaw mission in 1823, till the present time---the number of them who have become hopefully converted, or at least serious and moral,---who have been decidedly friendly to missionary operations and to the moral and social improvement of the Indians, is an indication of the favor of God toward the Indians in that quarter, of great importance, and which has not been sufficiently noticed. It has facilitated our entrance and residence among the Indians; removed many embarassments and greatly promoted the quiet and comfort of the mission families. If the traders had been of the opposite character, and exerted an opposing influence, it would have been nearly impossible to maintain our missionary stations in the Indian country."

But whatever may be the facts about fur traders in the general, it is sure that the Indian traders on Lake Superior at the time of the first coming of the missionaries were good men and friendly to the missionaries. Those in prominent control were usually of some Protestant faith and they opened the doors of the West to them. They not only invited the missionaries but aided in sustaining them. For the immediate purpose at hand, a few words may be said of the Warrens and the Aitkins who, when not trading for themselves, represented at different times the American Fur Company organized by the well known John Jacob Astor, the founder of the American family of that name. This company succeeded to the business of the British Fur companies on American soil in the Lake Superior region.

LAKE SUPERIOR FUR TRADERS.

It would be an inadequate story of the labors of the early Protestant missionaries unless the environment into which they came, in 1831 and after years, were made clear. This is a reason why a few words must be said about the individual traders on the American shores of Lake Superior. The chief traders were not only friendly to the missionaries but, as already said, they were of the same faith, were instrumental in bringing the missionaries to the lake, and they contributed money to their support, welcomed them to their rough hospitality and trusted them.

In 1818 Lyman Marquis Warren, with his younger brother Truman A. Warren, came to the lake in search of profit and adventure. They were scions of a distinguished New England family. They were kindly received by Michael Cadotte, a patriarchal half-breed trader at La Pointe on Madelaine Island on Chequamegon Bay, and they entered his service. Cadotte had an Indian wife and an interesting family. The Warrens became popular with the Indians. They married sisters, half-breed Indian women, daughters of their employer, the marriage ceremonies being performed by a missionary at Mackinaw Island, and in time they succeeded to his

business. Truman A., the younger Warren, died in 1825 but Lyman Marquis Warren had still a long life before him. One of his children, by his Lake Superior half-breed spouse, was that distinguished William Whipple Warren who wrote a history of the Ojibways, which is Volume V of the Minnesota Historical Collections and is a classic in that history. Who writes of the Chippewas in these days and for a half century past, bases his work, in large part, on this Warren's authority.

The Warrens were not religious workers but business men, and yet they loved their New England background, although their wives were Catholics. The children, the boys at least, were brought up in the faith of their fathers. Appreciating their need of education, the Warren surviving in 1831 was largely instrumental in founding the missions with which this writing has to do. When they came to the lake, Cadotte appears to have been an independent trader, but later on under himself and then under the Warrens, his post was associated with the American Fur Company.

Westerly from Chequamegon Bay where the Warrens located, at Fond du Lac on the St. Louis river, the American Fur Company had a post under William Alexander Aitkin, a Scotsman. He seconded the efforts of the older Warren. He too had an Indian wife and an interesting family. A Minnesota county and city bear his name.

It must not be thought that these traders were religious enthusiasts. They were rather simply business men who felt that religious training should be a part at least of their lives. Most of their trusted employees were French-Catholics and the records show that these, generally speaking, were fair and courteous to the missionaries. The fact is that on the remote frontier religious differences were given little consideration in estimating a man. His general conduct was the test. There was an easy toleration.

A word about the Indian wives of these traders. It is evident that they were a real link between the traders and the natives. They were loyal and good. They were happy and proud as the wives of white men and their contentment was manifest. Some of these Indian consorts developed good business ability and actively aided their white husbands in the trade.

Chapter II.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Back to New England. Ayer, Hall, Boutwell, and Ely. Their Aspirations. Ayer at La Pointe in 1830. Hiw work. Always a Pioneer. Hall and Boutwell go West. Storm on Lake Huron. Reach Mackinac. Hall to La Pointe with wife and Interpreter. Description of canoes and Batteaux. Beauty of Chequamegon Bay.

Now the reader must go back to New England. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, then recently organized, was planning the planting of the Christian faith in distant places and looking for young men, and even women, who would go on such service into the wilds. It was in New England that Ayer, Hall, Boutwell, and Ely, of whom this is in large part written, were born. They were deemed worthy of the work,and it is sure that there was no reason ever developed that in selecting them that any mistake was made. Frederick Ayer was the pioneer. He is recorded as a Presbyterian. He had been laboring at Mackinac Island in his work, when in 1830 he was authorized, on the urging of Warren the trader, to establish a school at La Pointe at Warren's post. As shall appear, he was a pioneer of pioneers. It should be noted that Ayer, and those who followed him, worked in the wilderness not only with the natives but with the whites as well. Their idea was to bring New England with its churches, habits, laws and institutions into the West. They saw hope for the Indians only when they would adopt the habits and industry of white men. For themselves, they became Western men and merged easily into the great emigration movements which came after them. They at last became pastors of white churches. At least one of them took an Indian wife. Their labors were of the highest value. If they did not succeed in making many proselytes, in changing

the philosophy of the Indians, they made a deep impression for good, not only on the Indians but on the whites. If their plans did not work out exactly as they hoped, they superimposed upon the wilderness the traditions of their ancestors. The work was difficult. They did not speak Chippewa nor French, which was the language of most of the whites they met. So they set themselves, each of them, to learn the Indian tongue, to reduce it to writing, that they might talk with the natives. In the beginning they had recourse to interpreters, when such were available.

It was in the summer of 1830 when our Frederick Ayer came to the Warren trading post on Madelaine Island. He was the first Protestant missionary who entered the big lake. He organized a school with twenty-five little half-breeds and such natives as could be brought in at La Pointe. No doubt William Whipple Warren, the future historian, son of Lyman Warren and his wife who had been Mary Cadotte, was there studying the alphabet. This lad was then five years of age. Reverend John N. Davidson, writing of Ayer in the year 1892, at a celebration under Congregational auspices held at the site of Ayer's labors, has this to say of him:

> "Again a pioneer of pioneers, Mr. Ayer, in the autumn of 1832, pressed farther into the wilderness on a tour of missionary exploration. He visited Sandy lake and Leech lake. The former, lying on the great portage route from Winnepeg, by way of the St. Louis river, to Lake Superior, has been a noted point on that waterway for two hundred years. Very near the confluence of the lake's short outlet with the Mississippi was the home and trading post of William Aitkin, for whom a Minnesota county has been named. Mr. Ayer wintered with him, taught school, and finished an Ojibway spelling-book, begun at La Pointe. Early in the spring, with eighty dollars paid by Mr. Aitkin, who also furnished an experienced guide, Mr. Ayer started on foot for Mackinaw, bound for Utica, New York, to get his book printed soon enough to make it possible for him to return to Lake Superior that season with the traders. In those days, it was a journey for a hero, and indeed nearly cost him his life. Once, having broken through the ice, he would have been drowned but for a long pole which prudently he was carrying. Of all books written wholly or in part in Wisconsin, this Ojibway speller is probably the first in point of time."

The next phase in this missionary work, following the efforts of Ayer

in his school work in 1830, deals with the labors of Sherman Hall. The work of Boutwell and Ely will be specially dealt with after that, although references to them necessarily appear in dealing with Hall.

Hall and Boutwell were sent to the West in the year 1831, by the Missionary Society. They were Andover clerical students. They were to carry Protestant Christianity to the heathen and teach them civilization. The Lake Superior country had long been without resident missionaries of any faith, aside from Ayer. Hall married before his departure from the East and his wife accompanied her husband and his associate apostle Boutwell into the wilderness. The Missionary Society undertook the financial burden of their work. It had already extended its arms into the West, although not to the great upper lake.

Hall was apparently lonesome at times during his studies at the Andover Theological Seminary, as appears from the following language in a letter written by him to his sister Lydia, at Weathersfield, Vermont, on February 7, 1831, from the school:

> "Shut up here, I find no news to tell, only what I get from a newspaper, and that you get as soon as I. You have all the news of home and the town with which you may fill a letter, and it is all interesting to me. I ache now to hear about your school, your meetings, your stove in the meetinghouse &c &c. besides the thousand little things in the family and neighborhood -- who is married, who is going to be, -- who is quarreling, who is at peace, and as they say, "all this, and that, and t'other." I guess all this scolding will make you think I want a letter."

It was not long after this that he was given the opportunity to enter the missionary field in the West. He was invited to enter the service of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was glad of the offer and disposed to accept it, but he felt that it was his duty to submit the matter to his father, to whom he wrote as follows on February 21, 1831:

> "Last week I received an official letter from one of the Secretaries of the American Board, informing me that the Prudential Committee had appointed me a missionary of that Board,

"with a view to my becoming a preacher of the Gospel somewhere in the unevangelized parts of the earth." I feel it my duty to accept the appointment. I do not however feel willing to return an answer to that effect, until I hear from you and the family. I therefore take this early opportunity to inform you of the situation of this business, and to request you to state to me fully and freely your feelings in regard to it. I wish every member of the family to do the same. I feel that any objections from you, would be entitled to a serious regard on my part.

I have not made up my mind in haste on this subject. It has been one of deep consideration with me for a number of years. I have endeavoured to examine it carefully, and my decision is made on a thorough conviction of duty. I do not see any obstacle which ought to prevent me from becoming a missionary. As to the hardships and self-denials of a missionary life, they do not terrify me at all."

He asked his father to respond with his advice forthwith, and the conclusion of this letter throws this side light on financial affairs:

"In what manner I may be employed, I cannot tell. When the Board will wish to send me out, if they ever do, cannot be determined at present. They cannot send any more missionaries out of the country, until they have more funds than they now have. The state of their finances at this time is very depressed. When it will be any better is doubtful. The public seem to be very reluctant to contribute to the cause of foreign missions for some reason or other."

Matters apparently were satisfactory to his family and in a letter written in April,1831, to his father at Weathersfield, he talks about his outfit of clothing. He did not wish, he said, to burden his father with the expense of providing clothing for himself, but expected that a suit could be made for him out of some goods in his father's possession. Apparently the neighborhood tailor was to be at the father's house while this suit was being made. Other necessary garments would, no doubt, be contributed by his friends and whatever was not donated would be supplied by the missionary society. He says, "I shall need underwear very much." In the same letter he announces with much pleasure that Boutwell was to accompany him and that he could not ask for a more agreeable companion.

In May, the same year, Hall was in Boston. Evidently he had been raised to the miniatry at this time. In a letter to his sister Lydia, he

announces that he was likely to be married to "Betsey" and that she need not be surprised to hear that they had been "published." But there was to be no marriage unless the Board of Foreign Missions approved of it and also gave the intended bride an appointment as a teacher to accompany her husband to the West.

The facts may as well be disclosed here that a marriage did take place, and that the bride went into the West with her husband. She was with him thereafter in all of his labors and was a faithful and devoted wife. At times she suffered much from illness, but became the mother of a family of four. She was always active in missionary work, but by no means to the exclusion of her domestic duties, which were with her always first, in order that her husband might be free to carry on his duties.

Boutwell was single and did not marry in the East. He found a bride in the Western wilderness, as will be told later on.

Duly commissioned by the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of Boston, Hall and his wife, with Boutwell, started for the West about June, 1831. A journey of some ninety days was before them before they could reach their destination on Lake Superior. Their salaries, which would look small in these days, were stipulated and they had boxes of religious books and pamphlets, together with their trunks of personal wear, everything lovingly planned and prepared for the wilderness.

After leaving Detroit and passing through the St. Clair river into Lake Huron, they suffered from stormy weather although it was in the month of July, 1831. It took them several days in their small sailing vessel, which, however, was fitted in part for a few passengers to make the trip from the St. Clair river to Mackinac Island, where there was a station for trade and even a missionary outpost.

Hall, in a letter to his father, written after his arrival at Mackinac, tells of a dreadful storm through which they passed on the lake. No one could

stand upright on the deck of the ship unless he held fast by some firm object. Betsey became very seasick and suffered much, and this was also the case with Boutwell. Head winds held them back for several days. The boat was obliged to lie to and beat during this time to prevent being carried back. Betsey was so sick for a few days that she did not put on her clothes or take much food. She suffered severely, but Hall says that his own sickness was light compared with the others and he lost his meals for only one day.

The party, however, reached Mackinac safely and were warmly received. There was much debate between the new arrivals and the Protestant missionaries and teachers stationed at Mackinac as to future plans. They found Mr. Ayer, who had established a Sunday School at La Pointe, at Mackinac when they arrived and he gave them much information. The place where they were destined, according to him, was comfortable enough, that is to say, as comfortable as it was at Mackinac.

Warren, the trader, was friendliness itself and he was to give $100 cash for the support of the mission. The resident missionaries and our newcomers finally reached a decision. It appears that the instructions of the Board at Boston gave some discretion to their missionaries. They had their general orders but were expected to use their own judgment in cases that arose, making reports from time to time with the reasons for their actions.

At length is was decided that Hall and his wife, together with Ayer and an interpreter, should journey on through Lake Superior to La Pointe, which was almost at the western extremity of Lake Superior, and there carry on religious work, building on the foundation laid by Ayer during the year before.

The interpreter was a Mrs. Campbell. She had come forward and offered for this service. Evidently Mrs. Campbell was part of Indian blood, as she spoke their language. She was also conversant with French, and Hall describes her as a devoted Christian and actuated "by love for the souls of the heathen in going

to carry them the gospel." She was able to give religious instruction. She had a husband and seven children, but she was leaving all her family behind except a child of nine or ten months. She was to go out for a year. Hall says, "She will be to us a mother, a counsellor, a mouth to the Indians, and in short everything reasonable to expect in a Christian friend and fellow helper. Her friends do not object to her going." We have made no sacrifices which will compare with this.

There were no boats of any kind on Lake Superior excepting those planned on the native model. This is true because even the larger batteaux, about to be described, were planned in much the same way as the birch bark canoe, which was the popular vehicle. Travelling rapidly it was nearly a week's trip from Mackinac Island to La Pointe, allowing for customary delays. Often it took much longer -- never less. There were no roads excepting on the water. In 1831 the best automobile would have been worthless, because there were no roads anywhere.

What follows is a description of the batteaux on which these adventurers made their way into the wilderness. This is Hall's description of these boats:

> "The manner of traveling on the upper waters of the great lakes is with open canoes and batteaux. The former are made in the Indian style, the material of which is the bark of the white birch and the wood of the white cedar. The cedar forms the ribbing, and the bark the part which comes in contact with the water. These are made of various sizes, from ten to thirty feet in length. The largest are sufficiently strong to carry from two to three tons of lading. They are propelled with the paddle, and when well built and well manned, without lading, will go from eighty to one hundred miles in a day, in calm weather. Batteaux are lightmade boats, about forty feet in length, and ten or twelve feet wide at the center, capable of carrying about five tons' burden each, and are rowed by six or seven men. They have no deck. Upon articles of lading with which the boat is filled, is the place for the passengers, who have no other seats than they can form for themselves out of their traveling trunks, boxes, beds, etc. On these they place themselves in any position which necessity may require or convenience suggest. Such is the vehicle which is to convey us to the place or our destination. In the small compass of this boat we have to find room for eleven persons. At night our tent is pitched on some convenient place on shore."

Hall's description that the batteaux were propelled by five or six men with paddles is an understatement, as the number often exceeded that and they were usually so rigged that they would carry a sail when the winds were favorable, either to aid the paddlers or to make their work unnecessary.

The missionary party in their canoe, which was one of a little flotilla making the journey from the outside world at Mackinac to La Pointe, left that island on August 9 and reached La Pointe, which was to be the home of Sherman Hall for the next twenty-three years, on August 30. Thus they spent twenty-one days in traversing the South shore of the lake. Each night they camped in the woods along the shore. The party enjoyed excellent health, despite the unusual exposure to the heat of the sun in the day time and to the coolness of the nights. The journey was not rushed and there were delays from storms and for other reasons.

Hall spared no pains to make himself agreeable to the French boatmen and to the half-breeds and Indians he journeyed with and met at the landing places. A journey in a canoe along the South shore of this lake, to one in the enjoyment of health and a lover of the outdoors, is a pleasure of which the modern traveller knows but little. At present the tourist is swept through the center of the lake in a great steamer, and even if the shore is in sight at times, which it sometimes is, its features are not clear. To such a traveller an occasional glimpse shows the shore line as merely a somewhat heavier cloud than a cloud in the sky. A temptation to describe this journey in detail is resisted, as it has been told often elsewhere.

What has been said before about this missionary has been taken from his personal correspondence with his relatives at Weathersfield, Vermont. These are entirely reliable as in fact all of the Hall's writings are. A few more references will be made to this family correspondence and then a more intimate view will be given of his labors as a missionary, what he did and what he thought,

and the condition of the country, based on his official reports.

Hall's mission, as has been stated and at which he arrived on August 30, 1831, was established on the Southern part of Madelaine Island, one of the Apostle Islands which lie in front, in large part, of Chequamegon Bay. This bay is historic and beautiful. It was here that Marquette and his associates labored more than 150 years before the coming of Hall.

Chequamegon Bay is distinctively beautiful. There are no swamps except upon the main land, the islands are clearly defined and the channels between them usually deep. A number of islands are rugged and wooded. The bay, which extends more than fifteen miles from the lake and is some three or four miles wide at the base widening towards the lake, now has three little cities on its shores, all of which have had ambitions and have played somewhat important parts later on in the history of Northern Wisconsin.

But in Hall's day there were no cities. There was nothing but Warren's trading post on the island, some Indian villages in the interior, and scattered Indian clearings with a cabin here and there through the woods or around the shore.

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Chapter III.

Christmas letter 1832 to Lydia Hall. Indian Poverty. Language Difficulty. Good Crops in 1832. Food Plenty. A Lake Full of Water to Drink. Indian Character. Their Religion. His Excellent Letters. His Resources. Describes his School. Death and Burial of an Indian Child. His Manual Labors and Mechanical Dexterity. How he Made his Study Table and his Wife's Rocker. Can conduct Services in Chippewa but with Difficulty.

After living sixteen months on the island in his work, writing on Christmas Day in 1832 to Lydia Hall, his favorite sister, Hall writes this:

"We are situated upon an Island, dear sister, surrounded by the wild natives of the forest; and our house is daily thronged with them, and they are always in want of something. They are most certainly a destitute race of beings; we pity them in their wretchedness, and would wish to relieve their wants, were it in our power, but to feed and clothe them much we have not the means of doing at present. They are not very willing to receive instruction -- appear a little afraid of the white man's religion. I have not room to be particular on any subject.

We are all enjoying the smiles of health; and perhaps we are as happy as we should be were we in New England, though we have trials here to endure that we should not if we were there."

In 1832 his first child, Harriet, was born, and he says this about her:

"Little Harriet grows finely. She is a fine plaything for us all."

There is a long letter written to this sister, bearing the same date as the one above quoted from, but it is probable that it was written long before and dated when an opportunity occurred to forward it. It was usually a matter of ninety days for a letter to reach Vermont from this distant place. Hall says:

"And will you not be in earnest in trying to do something for the heathen. Missionaries cannot do all that is required.

Those at home must do something too. We do not find any where in the Bible that missionaries are commanded to do any more than others. All are commanded to serve God in all things. Missionaries, it is too much to be feared, come a great way short of this. Those who are Christians in these days have much to do."

The above quotation is from a letter in reply to one written by Lydia in April, 1832, and it appears that this letter of April was the first that had reached Hall from the outside. He had been ten months without hearing from his friends and they were generous with encouraging letters. But the communications were bad and many letters miscarried. In the same letter he says:

"As to our prospects I have nothing in particular more to say, than I have said in my former letters. We are very much limited in our means of doing good, for want of a suitable interpreter, or the ability to speak the language of the Indians. Mr. Boutwell and myself are trying to speak the language; but as yet we make poor work of it. We are barbarians to the Indians, and they to us. We make some progress however. Our interpreter is only a boy. One Indian died lately who gave evidence that he sought and found the Saviour before he died. This is the only case of hopeful conversion we have yet witnessed here; but our hearts are encouraged by this.

We had a good crop of potatoes and peas this year which added to our fish and foreign provisions gives us very comfortable living. Through Mr. Warren's liberality we have also a cow which gives milk this winter. We have a pig which we expect to kill for meat before long. Thus the Lord is furnishing us with all things necessary for a comfortable subsistence. We have enough to eat and a lake full of excellent water close to our door to drink. We have no requests for particular articles of clothing. Such kind of things as came in the box last spring will be acceptible and useful to us. We need all such things as families among you use. We are pretty well supplied with bedding. Fulled cloth and flannel will be useful at times.

If our friends are disposed to give us any thing, they may give such things as they are disposed to give. Let them however remember that it is too expensive transporting clothing too much worn to do but little service. Otherwise we are not particular about the quality. I wish you would send an almanac for 1833. We have had none this year. Perhaps you will move away before this letter reaches Vermont."

From this we observe that the interpreter Mrs. Campbell had returned to her home at Mackinac and that the missionaries were themselves compelled to do hard manual labor, in considerable part, for their livelihood and to erect

buildings. They had to clear land and plant crops. No one could live in idleness on the frontier and they did not wish to do so. They soon realized painfully, what they had thought before, that it was necessary to acquire knowledge of the Chippewa tongue, and they labored in that direction. They met kindness on all hands and if the Indians were not responsive to their teachings, they did not repel them by unpleasant force. They were cold and indifferent. But Hall had raised a torch, a bright light on this Madelaine Island near the shore. He was bringing civilization into the wilderness. He had behind him the culture of centuries and the habits and customs of the land that he came from. It was not strange that his ways and beliefs did not readily fit themselves to the lives of the wild Chippewas of that Northern lake.

On August 28, 1833, in writing to his brother Aaron Hall Jr., at Weathersfield, Vermont, he tells how the missionary family continues to enjoy the usual comforts. His family had been increased by the addition of a son, who was born on the 8th of July, 1833. He was disappointed in not receiving letters that summer, but sends thanks to those who contributed a box of goods. The twine sent for nets was just the thing they wanted, because fish were plentiful in the waters of the bay. He was pleased with some woolen cloth which his father sent. Mrs. Campbell was to come back as interpreter from Mackinac with her husband and four of their children. Her husband was to act in the capacity of a mechanic. A Miss Cook had come in to teach in the school, and there was a Miss Stevens who had been added to the staff. Boutwell had gone to Sandy Lake, Minnesota, accompanied by Ely, who later on became a missionary at Duluth. A church had been organized. Betsey and he could not settle upon a name for their boy and asked his brother to suggest one. Concluding his letter, he complains that after the letter had gone he would remember a hundred things that he should have said.

On January 18, 1834, in a lengthy letter to his father, the missionary

tells how his wife had been desperately sick for a period of three months. He had been himself her nurse during that time. For many weeks her death was expected, and in this letter the missionary describes in detail her symptoms and appearance. But Betsey recovered from this attack, although, as he says, he did not think she would ever regain her full former strength. The women of the mission, Miss Stevens and Miss Cook, rendered much aid, while Mrs. Campbell the interpreter did not do so much, as she was in bad health and unable to do more than care for herself and children, so bad was her physical state.

Writing on June 23, 1834, he refers to the death of his father at Weathersfield, at the age of sixty-seven years. The news of the death did not come in a letter from home, but he read of it first in an Eastern newspaper which came to the mission. He did not think that he had any financial rights in his father's estate and did not think anything would be left when the debts were paid. In any event, he says that he feels that he has had his share and probably more. He is willing to close the matter in a manner agreeable to his family at home.

On July 1, 1834, he writes to Eastern friends and in this letter undertakes to speak of the Indians. His description is remarkable for its excellence. He uses the following language, which is of great interest because by this time he had become acquainted with the natives and was able to use their language to a considerable extent:

> "They are a noble race of men for whom nature has done much in the formation both of body and mind. Their bodies are straight, generally well formed, of good proportions, athletic, and of about middle stature: Accustomed from infancy to hardship and exposure, and often to a scanty allowance of food, they have acquired a hardiness scarcely inferior to the cattle of the field. It is no uncommon thing with them to sleep in the open air at all seasons, with no covering but a single blanket. Their hair, which they let grow long, is coarse and black, their eyes also are black and piercing, and discover a quick and penetrating mind. They are shrewd and observing. Their complexion is dark, nearly brown, owing no doubt, in a great measure, to their living so much in the smoke and sun, and a want of attention to cleanliness. Their cheek

bones are generally high, the eyebrows black, the nose not large, the face and forehead broad, and the general features coarse.

It cannot be expected from this mode of life; and their acquaintance with only savage manners, that their minds should be more than a mere blank. Though possessing minds capable of high improvement, it is yet in the rudest state. They are enveloped in more than Egyptian night, both mentally and morally. They scarcely know that anything exists beyond their own native forests and lakes. Having known nothing of civilized life, or of mental improvement, they are not prepared to appreciate their advantages; and the consequence is, they think there is no mode of life superior to their own. Could they be divested of their prepossessions in favour of savage life, of which most of them are very tenacious, and could they be interested in mental improvement and in cultivating the arts of civilized life, I doubt whether there can be found a people on the globe, in the same state of rudeness, capable of improving more rapidly. Their skill in manufacturing the few articles which they have occasion to use, shows them to be far from wanting in ingenuity. Considerable taste is also often displayed in the articles which they manufacture."

Writing again on July 10th, he undertakes to explain the Indian point of view in respect to religion. He gives a glimpse of the Indian faith, the Medawa, although he did not see it all. This is his language -- it is better than any other can write:

"They are heathens, and as such, reject the true God. Having rejected the light, they love darkness, because their deeds are evil. The image of God, if ever enstamped upon their minds, is plainly now effaced. While they reject the worship of the great Jehovah, they worship Gods which their own imaginations have created. Though now image worshipers, they are scarcely better than idolaters. They are under the influence of a kind of religious superstition scarcely less degrading and unworthy of rational and immortal beings, than the religion of the Hindoo. Their ideas of a Supreme Being seem to be vague and indistinct. Yet they acknowledge a Great Spirit who made them. Where they imagine him to reside or what character they attach to him, I have never been able satisfactorily to ascertain. They seem to have no idea of Sin as committed against the Great Spirit. Hence they have no word to express sin in a spiritual sense. The words they use to express bad actions and bad feelings, are used only in relation to external character. On this account it is extremely difficult to convey to their minds, any just idea of sin, as committed against a holy God. In times of sickness, they frequently erect poles, to which they attach pieces of cloth or some small garment at considerable distance from the ground. They do this to render the Great Spirit propitious, and they are the only sacrifices I have known them to offer."

Writing again on July 15th, he discusses the liquor question among the natives in these terms:

> "It is a subject of devout gratitude however, that no distilled spirits are allowed by Government to be brought into the Indian country; and through the vigilence of the Agents on the borders, very little comparatively is smuggled in. Could the Indians obtain liquor, it would be a fruitful source of misery and crime among them, as their past history shows, when they were able to obtain it. When it was made an article of traffic by the Indian traders, it was frequently the occasion of unparralleled misery, and sometimes the occasion of death. An Indian will sell the last morsel of food he has for Spirits, though he has nothing but the certain prospect of starvation before him. Last summer a family from this place went to the Sault Ste. Marie, obtained liquor, and on their return, one night they all drinked to intoxication, and in the morning, the father was found dead. But though the evil consequences of drinking have been so often exhibited before them, they cannot be convinced that the use of ardent spirits is deleterious. Many from 400 to 1,000 miles distant, visit the Sault every summer more to obtain it, than for any other purpose."

In the same letter he refers to the marriage relation among the natives and describes the ease with which divorces follow marriages.

He wrote to his brother on October 17, 1834, and tells how the labors of the mission are growing on his hands, and for that reason he has little time to write. In those days the writing of letters was a serious business, because they were much more carefully written than they are now. Hall's letters are remarkable for the information they convey, and this is true of many letters from the wilderness. Letters were things of importance.

It will be recalled that writers were taught to write with great care, to spell properly and punctuate with propriety. That is a reason why the old letters which come to light, written in the first half of the nineteenth century and before, are so accurate. The use of the typewriter has put an end to the formal letter of early days. The letter just spoken of is full of sympathy for all the family, in reference to the death of Aaron Hall the father, and he urges patience and resignation. At that time his family was in good health.

During 1835 Hall continued his labors. By degrees he learned the language of the Chippewas and worked hard at translating the Bible and other religious books, pamphlets, and prayers into the native language. He had no personal resources and was dependent for his support on the salary allowed him by the Mission Board. The amount of this is not stated, but it was not in excess of forty or fifty dollars a month. In addition he received supplies of books, clothing and utensils from the mission authorities and his friends. But his great resource was on his own manual labor. He was obliged to dig and delve. He was occupied in clearing the land for crops and raising crops. He was continually building or adding to his dwellings and building schoolhouses and chapels. But Hall himself was a good workman. He writes in February, 1835, that both himself and wife were well, although he thought that his wife would never recover her full strength from sicknesses which she had passed through. There was a physician at the post now who was a clerk of the American Fur Company, who was a member of his church and very kind to his family. That winter he had begun to live in his new house, although it was not completed. The Indians were encamped near by and there was constant association with them, but he expected that in a few weeks they would slip away on their spring sugar-making and be gone for a month. He had a new school building and thirty pupils, including those of the trader, were in attendance.

Matters were very interesting. He uses the following language in speaking of his school:

> "Since we have moved our school to our new establishment, it has considerably increased. We now have daily about 30 scholars including those of the trader, who resides here, and of the mission family. It has never been so interesting as it is at present. I wish you could just take a look into it and see the little ragged, dirty, lousy and disgusting little objects trying to learn to read their own language and write on slates. Though they are so filthy, it is a pleasure to teach them. We hope thereby to raise them from their degradation and teach them the word of life, which they will also teach to their parents."

He says that he was blessed with the addition to his family of a second son, who was born on January 6, 1835. This was his third child, the oldest being the girl Harriet. He thought his children looked like him and they were decent as to looks, although not handsome.

Writing in September, 1835, he gives an interesting description of the death of a native child and tells how he, with his own hands, made a coffin for the infant and gave it to the mourners:

> "One morning I was awaked early by the beating of the drum and by the discharge of muskets. I arose immediately and went out, and on inquiring the occasion of the firing, learned that a child was dead. Firing is a common way of expressing sad intelligence. The child had been brought from the other side of the Lake the previous evening very sick. None of our family knew any thing of the case, till the child was dead. In the course of an hour or two, some of the relations came to our house and requested me to make a coffin. Having finished it, I carried it to the bark tent where the body was lying. The parents were sitting one on each side of the body of their dead child, which was wrapped up tight in a blanket, over which a cotton shawl was wound closely. On seeing the coffin, the mother fell into a fit of grief, to which she gave vent in loud weeping and cries for several minutes. The relations were sitting by in their mourning habit, which is to black the faces with coal, and to throw their long bushy locks of black hair over their face and shoulders. The friends and those who had come in to sympathize, were seated around the lodge incessantly smoking, passing the pipe from one to the other. I placed the coffin near where the body was lying and after removing the lid took a seat at the other side of the lodge leaving them to proceed according to their own customs. Very soon two of the men arose, took up the body and put it into the coffin. After the body was thus deposited, they took a small pan containing cooked food and a small kittle and deposited them also in the coffin with the body. The lid was then placed loosely upon the coffin. These things are put into coffin or the grave of the dead, because the Indians think when one dies he starts on a long journey and needs them for his convenience. After these things were put into the coffin, a piece of white birch bark was procured in which a lock of hair taken from the head of the deceased child was folded and tied up carefully. This hair is taken as a token of remembrance of the deceased."

Showing the necessity of personal manual labor on his part, he goes into some detail and presents an interesting picture of missionary life. This

is what he says in his letter of August 6, 1838:

"My situation is not like that of a minister at home, in many respects. Everything that can be purchased at all, is procured at an expense double that for which it can be procured with you. It requires of me much manual labor to find the means of subsistence for the mission family here, and to keep up our establishment. It is true that we might hire nearly all done had we the means; but the means allowed us by the Board (and we have probably our full share with other missionaries) together with the high price and unproductiveness of labour here, will not allow us to hire all done. I feel it duty to engage more or less in various kinds of out-door work, such as I used to do when I was digging the hills of Vermont. I find full employment here for that practical knowledge of common business which I obtained in the early years of my life. Without it I do not know I could manage here. You recollect probably that formerly I had some taste for the use of edge tools, and used to whittle out sleds, and rude tables, and homely book-cases. This taste which I used to cultivate, as I had opportunity during my course of education & especially while at Andover, has since ripened into wonderful skill. Nearly all the nice work in our house, such as windows, doors, partitions &c. are the result of my mechanical skill. Of our household furniture I recollect scarcely an article which did not derive its existence from the same source. My first essay of this kind was a study table; the timber for which I found growing in the woods, and hewed and plained with a few old tools which I found here, till it became a table. I am writing on it now. My next attempt was to make my wife a rocking chair. The bottom I split from the trunk of a Norway-pine. This after hewing and plaining awhile, I bored full of holes with augers of different sizes. Into these I put the end of sticks which I whittled and shaved with such tools as I had, till at length it became a chair with high back arms and rockers. It has proved a resting place and comfort to my wife in many a weary hour for more than six years. If it were of mahogeny and wrought "with cunning work", I know not that it would answer any better purpose. So successively came into existence, our beaureaus, and sideboards, and chairs, and tables, and bedsteads, &c. But you will probably ask, what has all this to do with my remarks at the top of this page. Just this. I have to turn my thoughts to a thousand objects and employ my strength in a thousand ways of which a minister at home knows but little. These things together with other labour more appropriately missionary, too often fill my hands,and head, and heart too full to leave much opportunity to observe the rapid flight of time, or to give that attention to friends which I could wish. It is often painful to be so much employed in secular business, when there is missionary work enough of another kind to employ ten times the strength to do all. It is one of our missionary trials to see the heathen perishing for the want of instruction, and at the same time to be unable to give it to them. I usually have three exercises on the Sabbath at each of which I spend from an hour to an hour and a half. Two of them are in the native, and one in the English language. It is with considerable difficulty that I can speak the native language enough to conduct a religious exercise in it; but I have generally done it for the past year, when I have had no interpreter."

Chapter IV.

Hall's Letters to his Relatives. Indian Professions. Death of Hall's Son. Leaves La Pointe. At Chippewa Agency. Goes to Sauk Rapids. Letters and Reports to Boston Board. Retracing his Steps. Mode of Travel. Recommends Woman Teacher. Hall's Opinion of Boutwell. Translations. Hard Journey to Lac Du Flambeau. Death of an Indian Convert. Missionaries make Coffins.

Hall carried on an interesting correspondence with his relatives in Vermont and many of these letters are available. Anyone who reads them will get a real view of missionary life on Lake Superior at that time. The letters are in excellent English, in good taste and written with repose and moderation. For the purpose of this paper, however, there must be an end and only a few windows may be opened through these missives. Those who care to read this correspondence will learn much of conditions on the great lake early in the last century.

There is a letter dated May 8, 1853, written, not as most of his earlier letters were from La Pointe, but from Chippewa Agency. This was a place 300 miles Westerly from La Pointe on the Mississippi, in the then territory of Minnesota. The Indians at La Pointe were threatened with removal to the West and there was much discussion, excitement and dissension among them. Other missionaries were to be stationed at La Pointe and Hall was sent on to the West. He felt that he had done his full share of missionary work, although he was not by any means discouraged. To him this work was a matter of life long toil. He saw how lightly the natives took Christian teachings. In one of his letters he tells how at times a native would profess religion and promise everything, but

within a few weeks the same person would be found indulging in "his heathen dance." In fact, at the time when this history is written, in the year 1926, no inconsiderable number of the remaining native Chippewas, who are fully as numerous as they were in the day of Hall almost 100 years ago, still persist in their pagan rites and beliefs. Perhaps about one half or more of these natives, at this time in 1926, are practically Christians and have given up pagan ways.

All the preceding is drawn from the missionaries personal letters. It shows how he came into the wilderness, his labors and how, when his family was grown, he passed into Western civilization where he died full of years and sanctity, but not without suffering. On January 15, 1852, his second son Elias, aged 17, died at La Pointe. Let the father tell it:

> "One of our number has been stricken and cut down in the vigor of youth, just as his powers were maturing into manhood. Elias, our second son, was attacked about the 18th of December, 1851, with a fever. At first it did not appear violent, and we entertained hopes that it would yield to the power of medicine, and that in a few days he would be out again. These hopes however proved fallacious. His disease did not yield to the remedies used. Though for many days we did not consider him in immediate danger, we watched with much solicitude for the result. Day after day his fever continued with little abatement. Several times for a day he would appear a little better, and once or twice we almost hoped the crisis was past. But uniformly after a few hours, of appearing better, he again appeared more sick than he had at any time before. On Sunday the 4th of January we nearly gave up all hopes that he would recover. He was at times delirious. For a few days after this, the virulence of the disease seemed to abate a little, and we entertained some faint hopes that his constitution would resist and outride the storm. But these hopes were raised only to be disappointed. He began rapidly to sink. The violence of his symptoms increased. For the last three days he had his reason only at short intervals. We stood by his bed and watched him until one o'clock on the morning of the 15th January when he ceased to breath. On the afternoon of the 16th we committed his remains to the cold grave."

It was on March 1, 1853, when Hall left his beloved post at La Pointe, leaving his family there and went to the Chippewa Agency, in Minnesota, to establish a new missionary station and manual labor school for the Indians. He

canoed along the South shore of Lake Superior and passed what is now the city of Duluth. Up the St. Louis river and on to the Mississippi, making difficult and desperately difficult portages on the way. His party, in their canoes, floated down the Mississippi to the Agency, which was near where the Crow Wing river joins the Mississippi. He passed through no settlements on the way except the trading post at Fond du Lac, which is now Duluth, and the trading post at Sandy Lake. At the Agency he built a small log house and started to live in it before it was floored. He was lonesome without his family and planned to go after them as soon as he could. He thought the land was better in that region than it was in Vermont.

During 1855, and afterwards until his death, his residence was at Sauk Rapids, across the Mississippi from the city of St. Cloud. This was then a pioneer place and the missionary entered upon what was to him a new life. This is his explanation:

> "I suppose Harriet told you we had left the Indians, and that I am now in a different field of labor. We did not leave them because we were tired of our work among them; but because there seemed to be no place among them where we could labor with the prospect of results sufficient to warrant the expense of maintaining us among them. They have undergone many political changes since we first went among them. These changes are every year becoming greater, but on the whole, I think are not favorable to their improvement. They have now sold nearly all their country to the U. S. Government, with the exception of a few reservations. Whiskey is introduced among them very extensively and is a great evil. Drinking is destroying them."

Writing on February 10, 1875, we find the following, which was written four years before he died on September 1, 1879:

> "Our children are all married and live by themselves, except Harriet who, with her only child, has been with us for more than a year. During this time her husband has not been with her, he living in the western part of Michigan, and she here on account of her health which is better here than in that state. Both of our other children live within a few rods of us."

> "I still continue to preach for the little Congregational Church in this place. They raise for me $250 salary, and I get a little more as Superintendent of Schools. With this we have been able to live comfortably."

There may be an idea that this chronicle yields too much to quotations but, after all, Hall writes so well and understandingly that no commentation could improve his reports. Who should paraphrase it? Then, those interested enough to study this field will prefer his words to those of another. Now let us go back to his coming to the West and travel with him as well as we can through his official reports to the Board that stood behind him. The reader must bear in mind that the preceding is based on what Hall wrote to his family intimates, and what follows is taken from his official reports. The first is perhaps more open in expression, and what follows will be more careful and precise. There are, however, no jarring discrepancies. He states in his journals and letters the facts following. In due time the journals were placed in the hands of his superiors. While the ground covered in the succeeding paragraphs has been, in part at least, covered in what precedes, it will now be journeyed in different company and new aspects will appear. This is one of his descriptions of travel in those days, found in his official reports:

> "A person travelling in this region, is obliged to submit to many inconveniences. Here when one attempts to travel, he must take his bed, his house, his provisions and his utensils to cook them with, along with him, or consent to sleep in the open air on the ground, and to subsist on what the woods and the waters may chance to afford. In short, if he would have any thing to make himself comfortable, he must provide himself with it before he leaves home. There are no New England taverns here, at which the traveller can rest when he is weary and find supplies for all his wants. In this country people think those near neighbors, who live 50, 100, 200, or 300 miles distant from them. A journey of 200 or 300 miles even in the dead of winter, is no more accounted of here than a journey from one city to another on the coast of the United States, though he who performs it must take his provisions and his snowshoes and march without a track through the unbroken wilderness."

He goes on to tell how the party stocked itself with provisions before it left Mackinac, which was on August 6, 1831. A few days later he was at the settlement at the rapids of the Sault Ste. Marie river. There was already a mission there headed by Mr. Bingham, representing the Baptist commission. He

preached for Mr. Bingham, at the latters request, and listened to a talk by John Sunday, a Methodist Indian. On August 11th, the canoes were loaded and the party started on its toilsome journey to Warren's post at La Pointe.

On August 12th, 1831, they had a favorable wind which enabled the party to make a good day's journey. But the day before they were obliged to remain on shore because the winds were contrary, making sailing impossible and paddling difficult and dangerous.

He tells that on the 13th there was an adverse wind and no headway could be made with the paddle, but they went on because the voyageurs, with the aid of a long line, towed the canoes close to the shore on which they walked, a man in the boat with a paddle keeping it clear.

August 14, 1831, was Sunday. An attempt was made to hold services. Most of the party with the missionary were French Catholics, but some of them attended his preaching. There were readings from the French Bible and distributions of French tracts. He describes the Pictured Rocks, which were passed on the 16th.

On September 17, 1831, he writes to the missionary authorities at Boston, addressing his letter to David Greene. "There is an opportunity," he says, "to send a letter to St. Peters, whence it would be forwarded to the East." St. Peters afterwards became Fort Snelling, which was the earliest federal military post in Minnesota. He reports later on that the trader Truman A. Warren had been very kind and did everything possible for him. He hopes to be able to raise sufficient provisions for the mission and make it self-sustaining. He reports that Mr. Aitkin, the trader at Fond du Lac and Sandy Lake, wishes to have a school established at Sandy Lake, which is 300 miles further West.

By the summer of 1832, Hall was quite well established at La Pointe. He begins to appreciate conditions. He began to understand the nature of the

natives and the difficulties of his place. At no time did he lose courage, although progress seemed slow to him. He probably did not realize the good impression which his mere presence made upon those whom he met. It appears also that he was becoming a Western man. He began to love the wilderness and its people. Although he did not know it at the time, his lot was cast in the West for all of his life. He did not realize perhaps that he was a religious leader of the great flood of future immigration, in fact a blazer of great trails.

On June 14, 1832, he wrote from La Pointe to his superiors at Boston in this language:

> "Our lives have all been preserved, and the blessing of health, except in two or three instances, has been given to us. Mrs. Hall, after a childbed confinement, had a severe fit of sickness in consequence of an imposthumated breast. She has now so far recovered as to enjoy comfortable health, though she has not fully regained her strength. Mr. Ayer has enjoyed better health than he did the preceding year. The Lord has also granted us favour in the eyes of this people, so far that we are respected by them, and no very serious prejudice, to my knowledge, exists against us. A large proportion of those who visit this country for purposes of trade with the Indians, are French Catholics. But I do not know that any of them have exerted themselves much to prejudice the Indians against our mission. The Cadotte family which resides at this place and constitutes a large part of the civilized inhabitants here, has been very kind to us and favoured our mission. They are Catholics, and it was apprehended would oppose us."

It was one of his duties to search out the Indian villages and visit trading posts within an area of one hundred miles, to do what he could. Under this instruction he visited Lac du Flambeau and writes to Boston from that place on September 28, 1832. Lac du Flambeau is some seventy-five miles from the lake, is very easily accessible at the present time, but very difficult and by a round about course in 1832. In this letter he says that he hopes to make a complete report together with Mr. Boutwell during the coming winter and make suggestions as to what would be expedient. Conditions at La Pointe were encouraging. The school was in operation most of the time, except when the

Indians were on their work to the maple sugar brush or on hunting expeditions. Mr. Boutwell had returned from his labors at Sandy Lake. The mission needed a teacher for the school in order that he and Boutwell might be free for field labor. The gospel had to be carried to the Indian village however remote, and even into their lodges. He had begun to learn to speak Chippewa. A woman teacher was preferable to a man.

> "She should be a person of decision of character, possessed of a good share of resolution, contented to be anywhere, when in the path of duty, a person who enjoys good health, and who is willing to deny herself many of the comforts and conveniences of life for the sake of Christ and the heathen. In short, she should possess the spirit of him "who went about doing good." It is desirable that she should be acquainted with the system of instruction pursued in infant schools. Such a person would render us essential service. And may we not hope the Lord has disposed the heart of some one thus qualified, during his late seasons of blessing among his people, to come to this field, and whom the Churches are willing to send to us."

Living was very simple, being fish, salt meat and bread. But the fish was very good and vegetables were easy to raise. There were no fruits except wild ones. Missionary Ayer, at this time, was at Sandy Lake.

On Marcy 25, 1833, he reports that he was sending the journal that he had kept from the beginning. He had intended to copy it and abridge it but did not have time, for which modern readers will be thankful. Mr. Ayer was going to New York to get an Indian spelling book printed. In the same letter he uses this language, in which he gives an opinion of Boutwell, to whom he was nobly loyal:

> "We have adopted the orthography recommended by the Hon. Mr. Pickering, as the basis of ours in writing the Ojibue. You will probably be surprised to see the letter which accompanies Mr. Boutwell's journal. I was surprised that he should write exactly in the strain he did. Yet I think the cause is plain. Your missionaries to this country will ever be subject to depression of spirits. To this cause united with want of confidence in his own abilities, may be attributed, I think, the cause of his writing in the strain he has. He has a strong aversion to seeing anything appear before the public from his pen. Permit me however to add that his friends entertain a very different opinion of his abilities from what he has himself. I hope that before the Board dismiss him from their service, they will exchange a letter or two at least."

Turning to his journal, the following passages of much interest are found. They are of much historical interest. It will be noted that he describes in detail his hard journey to Lac du Flambeau and gives much insight into the ways and condition of his time. It will be seen that he was a veritable pioneer in the footsteps of the fur traders who had preceded him and who still continue their business.

"It is trying to be deprived of the means of giving this people instruction during the present summer. For two or three months past nearly all the Indians have been absent from the island, and we have been unable to give them instruction; now just as they are returning to camp near our house, we shall be again deprived of the means of communicating instruction for want of an interpreter. It seems however to be the will of Providence that it should be so."

"May 25, 1832. Sabbath. Our meeting was attended by a larger number than has been present on any Sabbath for considerable time. The increased interest to hear has been excited, very evidently, through the influence of the young Indian mentioned above. A large part of those present at our family devotions, understand only Indian, and I have therefore called on this young man frequently to pray. At our evening worship particularly, the number present has not been less than 20, including the children of Mr. Warren's family, which lives with ours during his absence."

"After the exercises of the evening, an Indian who arrived here last week from the interior, came to me and said he wished his son, a lad of about a dozen years, to attend school, and also to learn the hymns which the children sing. At first I thought he wanted to have his son in our family, and I told him we could not take him. I soon found I had misunderstood him, and told him I should be glad to teach him, if he would send him to school. He said also that he and his wife wished to come and learn to sing; that he did not wish to kill and do other bad things as many of the Indians do. He wished to learn God's word. He has been much with Poquo-jineni for several days past."

"July 4. The interest which the Indians have appeared to take of late in our meetings and family worship seems to be only the effect of novelty. Their interest in these exercises is now evidently subsiding."

"July 22. The Indians have lost their interest in our religious exercises and very few of them now come to meeting."

"Aug. 6, 1832. This evening Mr. Schoolcraft arrived here, on his return from the North. His arrival was unexpected as he accomplished his tour in less time than was anticipated. Mr. Boutwell returned with him to this place where he is to remain for the present to be associated with me in my labour here."

This is a comment on Schoolcraft's great tour in which he visited and named Itasca Lake, in company with Hall's friend Boutwell. What follows narrates a missionary journey to visit a fellow worker at Lac du Flambeau:

"Sept. 11, 1832. This morning I left La Point for a visit to Lac du Flambeau accompanied by one man, to carry my provisions and baggage, and as my guide through the woods. Our way lay down the lake about 20 miles to the mouth of the Montreal river. As I had only one man with me, I was obliged to take a paddle and manage one end of the canoe myself. About 4 o'clock P.M. we reached the place where we were to leave the lake. Here we laid up our canoe, formed our baggage into packs, my man taking our provisions and cooking utensils, and I my blanket and coat and a gun, and commenced our march across the Forty Five Mile Portage."

"Sept. 18, 1832. This morning as soon as it was sufficiently light to follow the path, we arose and prepared to recommence our march. My man dressed himself in the habit of a voyageur, that is, a short shirt, a red woolen cap, a pair of deer skin leggins which reach from the ankles a little above the knees, and are held up by a string secured to a belt about the waist, the azion of the Indians, and a pair of deer skin moccasins without stockings on the feet. The thighs are left bare. This is the dress of voyageurs in summer and winter, and is substantially the common dress of the Indians."

"The ground in this great forest is not as level as much of the western country. We crossed no high hills, but the surface of the country was continually undulating. The soil appeared to be of excellent quality, and capable of furnishing the means of subsistence for a dense population, if it should be cleared of its present heavy burden of timber and suitably tilled. It is not stony, though stones are to be found nearly all the way. The country seems to be well watered with clear transparent streams."

"The carrier uses a collar, which is composed of a strap of leather about three inches wide in the middle to which smaller straps are attached of a sufficient length to tie around the object to be carried. These strings are tied round each end of the piece which is then swung upon the back, the lower part resting about the loins, and the collar is brought over the top of the head. The person, when he takes his load, inclines a little forward, so that it rests considerably on the back, and draws but gently on the

collar suspended across the head. After the first piece is thus swung on the back, the second is taken up and laid on the top of it, reaching, if it be bulky, nearly to the top of the head. I was surprised to see with what ease these men, after they had suspended the first piece, would raise up--------the second and place it on the top of it."

"July 19. We were now to embark on the lake at which we had arrived, in a canoe. After our arrival we made a paddle, repaired an old canoe which we found here, and made preparation for our passage down the lake. It was nearly noon before we were ready to ply our paddles. We were now to embark on the waters which communicate with the great river of the United States, and roll for thousands of miles through "the great valley."

"We made our way up this river against a strong head wind by slow degrees and with hard work, and reached the port a little before sundown, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, by which we were completely drenched. I was very cordially received by Mr. Oakes and family, and was glad to find in his house a comfortable shelter from the storm and inclement weather to which we had been exposed the night and day previous, and to enjoy once more the society of friends. The first object we met with after we left Lake Superior, which indicated an approach to civilized people, was some stacks of hay which Mr. Oakes had out and put up a little distance down the Lac du Flambeau river. You may sometimes see around an Indian village a small field of corn or potatoes, but never any forage for cattle. They keep no kind of animals but dogs."

"July 23. The village of the Indians is two or three miles distant from the trading post. This morning three men having heard that I had arrived came, as they said, to see me, and to hear what I had to say to them. Two of them were young men, and the other, I should judge to be about 50, of a straight, well proportioned body and limbs, not very tall, a countenance rather dignified, a keen arch looking eye, and a carriage that told him to be a man who claimed some title to chieftianship among his band."

"Oct. 1, 1832, at Lac du Flambeau. Collected what Indians I could and explained to them the object of my visit to this place and the design of the Board in sending missionaries to this country. No chief was present, and I got no expression of their opinion on the subject. It appeared from the conversation that one of them felt opposed to the establishment of missions in the country."

"Dec. 5, 1832. Arrived at La Pointe last evening, after being three days on our journey from Lac du Flambeau. The weather was delightful and we found our journey home less unpleasant, than the one in going in."

"Dec. 23, 1832. "The sick man" who has been mentioned frequently in my journal, died last night. He has had for two months past, repeated attacks of bleeding at the lungs, attended uniformly with great distress. During this period, in which his sufferings have been very great, he has appeared to hold fast his faith in God, and bear his pain with Christian fortitude. He has left evidence that he heartily renounced his heathenism, and trusted in the true God.

We regretted that we had not been there to see him in his last moments. We were told that he left his dying testimony in favour of the Christian religion. He shook hands with his friends and exhorted them to throw away their medicine sacks and believe in God. He told them that they believed there was no God; but he knew there was. He could see him. He was dying and should be with him."

"Dec. 23, 1832. This morning the friends of the departed sent to request us to assist in burying the body. They desired him to be buried after the manner of white people. We prepared a decent coffin and wrapped the body in a sheet, removing the blankets which they had wrapped around it. While I was engaged in making the coffin, Mr. Boutwell spent some time at the lodge with the Indians who were collected there, in religious conversation, to which they were attentive. At the grave a short prayer was offered and an Indian hymn sung. After the interment, we invited the people to go to the schoolhouse, where we would hold a religious exercise. Nearly all the male friends of the deceased attended and several of the near female relatives. We had a more full and attentive meeting than ever before."

The entry following refers to the death of an Indian lad and to his burial in a coffin made by the missionaries. But the ceremonies were under the pagan rites of the Chippewas.

"Jan. 30, 1833. After the body was put into the coffin, Mr. Boutwell and myself left the lodge to assist in digging the grave. During our absence, one of the Indians observed to our interpreter, that the Indians sing and pray at their funerals as well as the white people. They ask the Great Spirit that the soul may go to be happy. He said the Great Spirit made the Indians good at first, and they had no need of a new heart, alluding to the doctrine of the new birth which I have frequently preached to them."

Chapter V.

Indians Fickle. Sickness of Hall's Wife. Traders ask for Books on Religion. The Medawa Indian Rites. Outlaying Missions. Sickness of Interpreter Campbell. Troubles of Town the Associate. Asks for a Business Manager. Translations. Coming of Baraga the Roman Catholic Missionary. His Chapel.

On August 10, 1833, Hall returned home after a week's absence, which was spent in getting hay. From letters received in the meantime, he learned that the Board had decided to enlarge missionary operations and increase the number of workers on the lake. He says:

> "The news of this arrangement so affected me that I scarcely slept at all during the night. The Lord be praised."

His associates Boutwell and Ely, who had been visiting at La Pointe, departed for their Western posts on the 21st of August, 1833. Hall's feelings, in regard to their departure, are expressed in the following passage:

> "This morning Brs. Boutwell and Ely left us. It was a trial to my feelings to part with a brother with whom I had been so long and so intimately associated, yet I could not but feel it was a call in providence for him to go. The Lord go with them and make their way plain and give them success."

It appears that the Indians still remained as superstitious as ever and gave little attention to Hall's instructions. They thought they were rendering him a great kindness when they listened to what he had to say on religious subjects, and considered it a great favor if they sent their children to school. It was exceedingly trying to labor with them. He reports that parents will not send their children to school unless the mission agrees to feed and clothe them. He says in a letter to the Board, written November 7,1833:

"They are as fickle minded as children. I think we shall in the end accomplish more for them to let them depend principally on themselves, and do what we can to induce them to change their habits of life, and learn to read their own language."

In the same letter he has this to say in regard to the missionaries last sent out by the Board:

"Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Ely remained with us four days and then proceeded to Fond du Lac. The last intelligence we had from them was after they reached Sandy Lake. They had been there two days and Mr. Boutwell was on the point of starting for Leech Lake. Mr. Ayer and his family remained with us about a week. They reached Yellow Lake in about 20 days after they left us. They write that they are contented and happy, though they are much secluded from society. They were favourably received by the Indians and have commenced a small school."

Hall concludes his letter to the Board by speaking of his wife's health as follows:

"Our family are well except Mrs. Hall, who is quite feeble. She has been unwell for several weeks, and is now confined to her bed. I fear it will be several weeks before she will regain her health."

On December 2, 1833, he enters this in his diary:

"Mrs. Hall very sick. On account of the want of suitable help to take care of her, Miss Cook was obliged to dismiss her school."

On January 12, 1834, Hall writes that his interpreter had been sick for several weeks and he was obliged to carry on his meetings alone as best he could. On May 4, he makes the following entry:

"Today administered to the members of our church who reside here, and baptized Mr. Campbell's youngest child. The number of communicants was seven. This was the first communion season ever enjoyed by Christians probably, this side of the Sault Ste. Marie. I hope it will not be found that we eat and drink unworthily at the Lord's table."

On January 20, 1834, he again writes to the Board, addressing David Greene in charge, and has to say, concerning his wife's illness:

"After she had been confined two or three weeks, she began to be convalescent, and we thought she would speedily be well. By too much exposure and overexertion, her fever returned

returned with violence, and so reduced her, that in four or five days we gave up all hope of her recovery and looked almost hourly for her dissolution. Through divine mercy, her fever in a few days subsided, but left her so low, that with symptoms of other disease which appeared, we had but slight hopes of her recovery for a month or more. She appears now to be recovering, though yet unable to move without assistance."

He reports that they are badly in need of new buildings which will afford comfortable accomodations, of which they have been deprived heretofore. He thought it would not cost more than $1,200 to erect them in a comfortable and durable manner, although the Board had agreed to appropriate only six hundred or eight hundred dollars for this purpose. According to this letter, much responsibility had been placed on Hall in regard to the expenses of the missionary station and he wishes to be relieved of this as much and as soon as possible, so as to have more time and strength to devote to missionary work.

On February 18, 1834, we find Hall writing to the Board at Boston asking for books for the Indian trader Lyman Marquis Warren. Learning was penetrating the wilderness. Evidently Warren was of a religious turn, because in the long list of books which he asks for were: Baxter's Saint's Rest, Pilgrim's Progress, Cotton Mather's Essays to do Good, Baxter's Dying Thoughts, Mason's Crumbs, and Heavenly Manna. These titles are characteristic of the long list of a religious nature. He asks for a score of secular works, among them Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, Lockhart's Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, and Life of Alexander the Great. The books were to be leather bound and of the best edition, and paid for in the first instant by the Mission House at Boston. When the bill for them was received, Mr. Warren was to pay Mr. Hall the amount for the use of the society. He supplemented a list made in a former letter asking for a flat fur cap, size small for a man, some pairs of plain suspenders, shaving soap, and glass ink stands.

We find a long letter written October 17, 1834, in which he gives a general account of conditions at the mission. Miss Cook had been in charge of the school during the preceding year, but the general outlook with the Indians was not

so cheerful. He uses this language:

> "Many seem resolutely bent on closing their ears to instruction, and appear determined to live and die heathens. Indian dances, and the celebrations of their "Grand Medicine" have been more frequent during the past year, than ever before since we have been here.
>
> Several influential ones in the band appear to fear the result of the Indians listening to our instructions..... The cares and business of the mission, increased by the sickness we have suffered, have been so many and so burdensome as to leave me by far too little time to study the language."

The Indian dances referred to in the preceding quotation were those indulged in by the Chippewas in their Medawa ceremonies. This Medawa was, and still continues to be, a high class pagan Indian society, in which there are regular initiations and incantations. The society is the center of pagan Indian culture and those versed in its mysteries are regarded with fear and veneration. Its priests pretend to have power to cure the sick, and they do have a very large knowledge of various wild roots and herbs. These,in different mixtures, are regarded as specifics for various diseases. Some are good for the old and some for the young. But most of these herbal doses are of no medical value whatever.

These simple formulas were linked up with a sort of magic and the knowledge of knowing them was made a matter of great secrecy, and around this knowledge were built up pagan practices and also pagan crime and extortion. These Medawa societies formed centers in which Indians organized against the spread of Christianity,and they were a considerable obstacle working in secret against missionary efforts.

In the same letter Hall hopes he would soon be relieved from the manual labor of building. He reports that he is now able to speak and translate a little Indian and write a little in their language. There is a long report on expenses. The mission now owns a yoke of oxen, three cows, and three young cattle, and this small herd was as large as would be profitable for the mission to keep. The Indians were not taking much interest in agriculture. They preferred the wild ways of the woods and the lake. Some few were friendly.

He did not fear, as the Boston authorities did, that the American Fur Company would be hostile to the missions. On the contrary, he wrote that it would do all it could to promote his work, at least in the region of Lake Superior. He tells how Boutwell had married Hester Crooks, who was the daughter of Ramsay Crooks and an Indian mother. There is a long discussion of the characteristics of Mr. Town, a missionary who had arrived. He speaks in his praise, but it is apparent that he is not certain that the newcomer is altogether wise. He praises his enthusiasm, but he says:

> "Mr. Town has somewhat of a visionary turn of mind, which may perhaps lead him to some extravagances, unless he has some check upon it. He may be inclined perhaps to try experiments in civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, rather than pursue a patient and persevering course of instruction."

He then discusses the wisdom in maintaining a missionary station at various places, such as Fond du Lac, Sandy Lake and elsewhere. He wisely argues that stations should be maintained but not in large number, and that each mission should be thoroughly equipped. He says a word about the question of gifts to the Indians, and well he might. The Indian, Christian or pagan, was inclined to ask the missionary for everything in sight. They were persistent beggars. If they gave up their savage ways at the urgency of the missionary, they considered that the missionary should feed and clothe them and their children. If the mission could do nothing in that direction, the native was inclined to turn his face to the forest and the lake. Hall wished authority to be able to make presents of tools, weapons for hunting, and clothing to the natives from time to time. A very modest stipend would help him do that. In fact it appears that he was in the habit of giving something now and then to his Indian acquaintances. These gifts were from himself and from supplies sent from the East. But he wished to have the approval of his superiors and to have an allowance for that purpose.

He had been to Fond du Lac, and wished that there would be a mission there. The Fond du Lac trader, although Catholic, desired that Ely have a school

at that place. At the same time, he pointed out that if the Board did not establish a school at Fond du Lac, the Roman Catholics would no doubt take possession there.

The interpreter Mrs. Campbell was in a bad way. Her husband and family were with her at La Pointe at this time, and they had six children. Mr. Campbell was laborer and mechanic at the place for the mission. The children are beginning to do something. But the Campbells were dissatisfied because they did not feel that they were getting enough money and besides they did not feel that they were doing much good, which they were very anxious to do. The problem was difficult. Campbell could earn more money with the American Fur Company. He was a faithful worker, and useful, but had to be compensated in order that he might live and support his family.

In this same letter he gives the list of missionary workers, of whom there were six. There was himself and wife; John Campbell and wife, mechanic and interpreter; Joseph Town, missionary assistant and teacher; and Delia Cook, teacher. Boutwell and Ely were at their posts further in the West. At that particular time there were sixteen scholars belonging to his school. This is what he says about the Indians at this time:

> "These Indians universally lead a wandering life, and until they can be persuaded to abandon it, and settle, it will be difficult to keep their children regularly at school. Proposals of aid in agriculture have recently been made to them, on condition of their settling near the station, and receiving instruction in letters and the arts. Several seem disposed to listen to such a proposal. We have not heretofore had the means of doing much for them in this respect."

It appears that about this time the American Fur Company took over the trading post at La Pointe,and Warren, its head and owner, entered the service. Boston authorities continued to fear that the fur company would be hostile. Probably this feeling was based upon its experiences at other places. But the Lake Superior missionary had no such anxiety because the men who did represent the fur

company on the lake were warm supporters of the missions. He continues to ask that he be permitted to spend up to $100 toward small presents to the Indians. Mr. Ramsay Crooks, who is a general agent of the American Fur Company, expressed gratification that his daughter Hester, who had an Indian mother, had become the wife of Boutwell. Ely at Fond du Lac, now Duluth, was getting on finely and feeling encouraged.

There is a fine letter dated February 8, 1835. He continued to urge gifts to the Indians, and tells how Boutwell had been informed by a friendly Indian that in their hearts the Indians did not appreciate the work of the mission. It is evident that Mr. Town, the missionary, was somewhat of a chemist, a medical man. Hall says that he practiced medicine on the Thomsonian system. He asks for the following supplies:

"Opodildoc 6 Bottles. Peper Sauce 6 do. 1 pt Siringe. 1 Gill do. Ginger Root 1lb Ginseng 1lb Green Myrh 3lb Aloes 8 oz. Rhubarb 8 do. Chamomile 8 oz. Bitter Sweet Bark or Root 8 oz. Snake Root 8 oz. Bille thistle 8 oz Balm of Gilead 4 oz. Orange peel 4 oz. One iron Morter. 1 graduated measuring Glass. 1 small tunnel. Phials & Corks.

Oil of Bone set 4 oz)
" of Peppermint 4 oz)
" of Tanzy 4 oz)
" of Wormwood 4 oz)

These oils to be put into tincture bottles holding 2 qts each, and cut with Spirits."

On February 12, 1835, he asks the Board to send some books for Dr. Charles W. Borup, agent of the American Fur Company at La Pointe.

"Since I wrote Dr. Borup's order for the books, he has concluded to purchase Lezar's Anatomical Plates. They are imported by Carey, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, and probably can be had of the principal booksellers in Boston. You will not find much time, I presume, to spare in doing business of this kind, but if you would hand a list of the books to some bookseller, I presume he would furnish them. We feel ourselves under many obligations to Dr. Borup for his kindness to our family and should be very glad to do him a favour, if we could."

By March, 1835, the mission was pretty well established. It must be understood that the missionary had to learn something about the new country, had

to learn the language of the natives, and build houses to live in, chapels, school buildings, barns, and even furniture. He had to form acquaintances with the outlying tribes and plan and consider where missions had best be established. The Boston authorities had their ideas about these matters, and they were usually short of funds. But in the last analysis the burden of decision rested on the shoulders of Hall and his associates. Some of these details may now seem small, but they loomed big in their day. By this time the mission buildings were either erected or well along towards completion. Something had been learned of the native tongue and much had been learned in reference to the wilderness on the South and West. Several outlying stations had been planned and some of these were functioning, as the Yellow Lake, Fond du Lac, and Sandy Lake. There was a constant labor in religious teaching. The plan of the Boston authorities and of the missionaries was not only to bring religion to the Indians, but to bring to them civilization in its many forms.

Hall wished to be a missionary only, and on March 25, 1835, he again urged his superiors at Boston that he be relieved of business responsibilities and that the work of the mission and its funds be placed in the hands of a business manager, in order that he might devote himself to the religious field. This plan was approved by Boutwell, Ayer, and Ely. In addition to carrying on the business of the mission it would be part of the work of such business manager to settle the Indians at the mission, leaving the missionaries time

> "to devote to the study of the language, to giving religious instruction to the Indians, and to the preparation of books which are called for."

Hall did not like to depend on interpreters and, therefore, he wished to become more conversant with Chippewa. He thought La Pointe was likely to grow and that it would be necessary to have a church for the English speaking residents. It was not many years before the bay itself was settled and several small cities

graced its shores. Another reason why he wished a business manager was that he needed a "judicious adviser."

On July 4, 1835, he reported that he had prepared several small works for publication in the Chippewa language, which he expected would be printed. It should be remembered that the Chippewa had no written language. They had to be taught to read and write and the missionaries had to reduce their language to form. He forwarded a Chippewa spelling book and wished that to be printed at once. He had prepared some Chippewa hymns and would soon forward them. On this date the Campbell interpreter and his family were leaving for Mackinac. More laborers were needed.

During the same year, on September 24, he repeated his request for a man to take charge of the secular business of the station. The Board had not encouraged this proposal and Hall suggested that it might be wise for him to resign on account of his own incapability and the sickness of his wife. He would give up his place to some one better qualified. Nevertheless, if it was desired, he would continue to labor.

It seems that some differences had arisen between missionary Town and Hall. It was difficult to understand what these differences were, but it is likely that Town was a fervent enthusiast without much experience, whereas Hall had become experienced, and, understanding the Indian character, wished to move with deliberate but certain and safe steps. But there was not really much difference between himself and Town and he regretted that the authorities should think that there was. The mission was getting on very well. He longed to see the time when multitudes would come and pray. He often felt discouraged and disheartened. He had drawn for $1,910.45. Of this $691.28 was for Mr. Boutwell at Leech Lake, and $163.83 for Ely at Fond du Lac. Some of it was for travelling expenses of the Campbell family and also expenses of Mr. Town and other missionaries and helpers. It included also a greater part of the supplies for the coming

year.

On October 9, 1835, he sent a copy of a report which he had made to the Secretary of War, Honorable Lewis Cass. At that time the staff consisted of Sherman Hall and wife, Joseph Town the missionary, listed as a mechanic, Edmund Franklin Ely and wife, and Delia Cook, teacher. The Elys were at La Pointe temporarily, probably waiting for orders. During the preceding school term forty-six different pupils had attended Hall's school, although not more than twelve or fifteen of these were regular attendants. The visible assets of the station were valued at $1400, covering the little herd, fishing aparatus, farming tools, mechanic's tools, and buildings. He reported that there was some disposition on part of the natives to turn their attention toward civilized life.

On October 13, 1835, he wrote to Mr. Greene of the Mission Board, expressing gratification that the Indian books, his own translations, would be available early in 1836. He was inclosing some more material, including some Indian hymns and the ten commandments in Chippewa.

It was about this time that Baraga, the Roman Catholic missionary, was stationed at La Pointe. He labored there for many years but was not pleased with the results of his work. He was a man of learning and produced a Chippewa dictionary, now out of print. References to him in different places appear that he was an easy victim to the begging propensities of the natives, giving them freely of anything he had. While this method made friendships between Baraga and the natives to a considerable extent, it did not convert or civilize them, but tended rather to encourage them in habits of waste.

Father Baraga built a chapel at this place which, after a lapse of fifty years, was ascribed to the missionary Marquette, which was of course incorrect. Marquette left this bay in 1672, more than a century and a half before Hall's arrival, and any chapel which he had built had long before Hall's time crumbled into dust. That fact is, that the missionary Hall was the first

permanent settled missionary on Lake Superior after Marquette, but there is evidence that during the long interval between Marquette's and Hall's labors, French missionaries and priests had made occasional trips to Lake Superior from the St. Lawrence and the lower lakes with the trading expeditions to the Lake Superior posts of the French traders.

Chapter VI.

Indian Methodist Teachers. Progress at Fond du Lac. Work of Baraga. Hall Masters Chippewa. Urges sending more Workers. Gifts to the Natives. Their Insensibility. Missionary Town Departs. Divergence of Views. Offers to Resign.

There was a sort of stock taking on the first day of the year 1836. Hall reported much depravity among the natives and yet he felt that the outlook was not hopeless. His confidence was great. These are his words:

> "January 1, 1836. I see new evidence of depravity and the strength of sin in them every week. But I have never felt so strong a confidence that God has some of his elect among them whom he will gather in, as at the present time. I believe several others have the same feeling."

In the same letter he tells of the two young teachers of the Methodist faith, who were spending the winter with him and seeking converts. Hall does not say so, but evidently these teachers were of one of the tribes further East.

> "Two native young men of the Methodist connection are spending the winter at this place. They are invaluable assistants in our work. They were sent out by the Methodist Episcopal Society as native missionaries or exhorters, with instructions to go to Lac Courteraille."

In the same letter he reports as follows on Fond du Lac, now Duluth, where Ely was laboring with his wife as an assistant. In this letter there is interesting gossip about the Catholic missionary Baraga.

> "We have heard nothing from Fond du Lac since Mr Ely returned there. What his prospects are I do not know. It has appeared to me desirable, that, if he remains there, some judicious man should be associated with him, who should have

the responsibility of managing. He is a man of ardent temperament and both himself and wife are young and inexperienced. He has a happy talent for teaching and for being useful in various other ways. If a station is maintained there, it will be necessary to provide some building. They have now only one small log house, with a single room for the use of the family and school.

You will probably expect me to say something in relation to Catholic influence here. But I hardly know what to say. The Catholic priest is still here, and is very active among the Indians. He has persuaded several of them to be baptized. I do not know that he has yet attempted directly to prejudice the Indians against us. His policy seems to be so far, to leave an impression on their minds, that there is no great difference between his religion and ours. I have not been able to learn from any of his converts that they know anything what baptism means or why they are baptized. I have no doubt I could have baptized any of his converts months ago, if I had taken the course he has. But none give the smallest evidence of piety, and of course cannot be admitted to a standing in our church. Some of them were a long time ago offended with me because I would not baptize them. Most of those whom he has baptized have never appeared more willing to listen to the gospel than they do at present. I do not expect the priest will continue his present policy very long."

"We have difficulty to obtain cloth of such quality as we need here. The cloths which have been sent us from Boston have been often too fine and thin to be durable. The nature of our business is such as to require our clothes to be made of strong cloths. Satinette is the best we have been able to obtain, but it does not answer every purpose very well. Thick shoes are also needed both to supply the mission families and the men we employ."

Hall, by this time, had become quite familiar with the native tongue. He could speak it well enough to use it in his sermons. Aided by his associates, he had translated chapters of the Bible and many religious tracts and some prayers into the native tongue. He had even compiled a spelling book. Note what he says of it:

"February 25, 1836. I am glad to learn that our Spelling-book is printed. I hope that, with our other books, will be forwarded by the first opportunity in the spring."

"That part of your letter which relates to Mr Sproat demands a notice. I do not know where the Committee obtained the information respecting his character, which you mention in your letter. I had no knowledge of him till he arrived here,

and know but little respecting his character, except what I have learnt by his residing in our family more than four months. Since he has been here he has exhibited a character entirely the opposite of that attributed to him in your letter. He has never manifested anything like sectarian feelings since he has been with me. He was formerly connected with a Baptist Church in Massachusetts, but was never an advocate for close communion. He refused to unite with a Baptist Church at Chicago on account of his scruples in respect to close communion. While at Mackinaw he became connected with the Presbyterian Church there, and is a member of their communion at the present time, not yet having removed his connexion to the church at this place. He has manifested but little of a theorizing disposition here nor have I discovered any thing like changefulness in him."

He sought to induce the Boston Society to use its weight to bring about an agreement between its workers and the Methodists on Indian orthography. This he felt was very important.

"August 9, 1836. The gospel I trust has been more extensively and faithfully preached the past year, than in any previous year since the station was established."

"It seems to me very desirable that one uniform method of writing the Ojibwa language should be agreed upon and adopted by the Methodist Society, and the Board. It is not probable that any other society will do much for the cause of letters among the Ojibwas. A uniform orthography would do much to facilitate the progress of missions here in several respects. The orthography adopted by the Methodist Society is so different from that which we have adopted, that our books will be of no use to those Indians who are taught only their orthography, nor their books to those who read in our orthography. In writing the Ojibwa language they have copied after the English orthography, and their system is defective in various respects. Ours is much more simple than theirs."

"At present the Catholics exert themselves to prejudice the Indians against us, and to draw them away from our influence. This influence is exerted principally through French population. You are aware that the fur trade has brought a large number of French Catholics from Canada to this country, they being better adapted to the kind of labour required in the trade, than Americans. These have become connected by marriage with the Indians and are so nearly assimilated to them in habits, that they are almost identified with them. They are scarcely elevated above the Indians in any respect. They are generally too ignorant, and care too

little about religion, to exert much influence in favour of the Catholic religion when left to themselves; but when put forward and directed by a priest, they can be, and are made a powerful auxiliary to the cause of Romanism.

We have a more formidable foe to encounter in Catholicism than in heathenism itself.....Some of the Indians may yet be made to believe."

Fond du Lac was coming along, as appears from this report:

"Labourers. Perhaps you will say, we have already troubled you enough on this subject. But our stations, especially Fond du Lac and Leech Lake, need to be reenforced..... On this account the number of labourers ought to be multiplied.

Miss Cook is not at Fond du Lac. She went there in May and will probably remain till next spring. Her aid seemed to be needed there more than here. Mr Ely is erecting some small buildings for the accomodation of his family and the school."

On October 14, 1836, Hall wrote to the Board recommending that G. T. Sproat should be taken into the service of the society. He spoke highly of him and wrote that he was well fit for work at La Pointe. He took pains to inclose with his letter from his mission house a note from Sproat expressing his willingness to enter the service of the society, but leaving it entirely up to it to determine. He would have no fault to find, if it were decided that he could not then be employed. It appears that the Boston heads were not sure that Sproat was fully fitted for their work, but Hall was not in any doubt whatever.

On October 14, 1836, there is a financial report showing that Hall had made a draft in favor of the American Fur Company on the society for $2584.30. Of this sum, $367 was for Boutwell who was in the West much of the time, $1196.28 for Edmund Franklin Ely, $64.53 for Ayer, and $954.49 for the La Pointe mission.

Hall continued to discuss the question of small gifts to the Indians, and deals with the work pursued by the Roman Catholic missionary, Baraga, in this language:

"There is one subject on which I will solicit your advice. It seems to be one part of the policy of the Roman priest here to take advantage of a particular trait of Indian character, and draw the Indians into his favour by giving them numerous small presents, such as fish hooks, ornaments, shirts and other small articles of clothing, which though of small benefit to the Indians, they are much valued by them. I have not practiced this method to obtain the favour of the Indians generally, choosing rather to assist them in that which is of more real value, and in such a way as to call forth their own efforts to help themselves. One dollar expended to furnish them with some useless ornament they would value more than ten expended to prepare ground and furnish seed to plant, if they are to have the labour of taking care of the crop. Is it expedient to pursue a similar policy in any respect? or shall we depend solely on the Word and Spirit of God to work their effects, and take no advantage of this trait in their character to oppose a false religion and gain their favour? This course would be the cause of much trouble and perplexity and subject us to a constant teasing. I have already spoken of the subject of building for the Indians. You will advise respecting it. The priest has left this place for the winter, it is said, to go to Europe to solicit funds to carry on his plans more vigorously here."

On October 14, he forwarded to headquarters a translation of Luke's Gospel in the Ojibwa tongue, which had been made by himself and George Copway, a half-breed and a missionary under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society. He speaks modestly of this performance, but it was a culmination of his labors in seeking to evangelize the natives. It will be recalled that the Indians had no written language, and it was necessary for Hall to reduce their spoken tongue to a written form. Then it became necessary for him to teach the young of the tribe to read their own language. This was far from being easy.

Much light is thrown upon the work of the mission by a letter of January 2, 1837, which was accompanied with a long list of necessary supplies, which included medicines, carpenters' tools, religious and secular books, fishing tackle, and clothing. The letter included a requisition for a suit of clothes for Mr. Sproat, together with his measurements, apparently taken according to some schedule at hand. Where measurements for clothes were not

sent, he requested that clothing be sent fit for men of middle size. He makes the following report as to religious conditions:

> "As to the religious interest of the station there has been no material change since I last wrote. The meetings among the members of the church are attended with considerable interest, though there is not the strength of religious feeling which existed last winter. The disposition of the Indians remain about the same that it has been. They are disposed to treat us friendly, but there is no moving yet among the dry bones. We need very much the mighty energy of the Holy Spirit. Without his influences, the hearts of these degraded heathens never will be touched. They seem as insensible as the rocks which are washed by the waves of their native lake. When will God come and give his church here and his missionaries faith so that he can work. I long to see the days of Brainard return to the Indians. They do not feel that they are sinners, and of course will not apply to the physician. Our hope is in God and his precious promises. Take these away and we should all go too."

He reported, under date of January 9, 1837, that the mission had been offered a gift of communion service. This he wished the Board to send, and the price, which was not to exceed $25.00, would be paid by the donor. He asks for religious tracts and books in the French language, believing that there were some of that place who would make use of them.

In April 1837, missionary Town decided to leave the service and apparently he was not pleased with conditions. Hall writes in respect to Town as follows:

> "Though Mr. Town is not in every respect well qualified for this field of labour, I regret very much that he should leave before some effort had been made to procure another person to supply his place. His leaving at this time, will throw additional labour upon my hands, and give me less time to devote to direct labours for the Indians than I could wish. I have said to him all I thought would be of any use, to induce him to stay and labour in these missions, where he might render essential service. But if his mind could not be rendered more settled in regard to remaining, than it has been for several months past, he would render us but little aid by remaining with us.
>
> He has mentioned the circumstances of his mother and brothers as a reason why he thought it his duty to leave; but I presume the principle cause lies in disaffection with the general plan of missionary operations in this country. He has never appeared satisfied and contented since a short time after his arrival at this place. I presume he had built some "air castles" before he had seen the heathen, and the work to be done among them, which he found to

vanish before the reality of missionary life. The complaint which I have most frequently heard him make against the present plan of operations here, is, that the time of the missionaries is too much occupied in manual labour and in providing for their families. We all feel this to be an evil, but in the present state of the country and of our stations, which are yet scarcely provided with any accomodations for prosecuting our work, we do not see how it can be avoided."

However, he goes on to insist that Town has many good qualities, although he feels that he lacks a little judgment. He uses the following language in the letter:

"Though I hardly expect any one can be found to supply the place left vacant by Mr. Town at present at least, I cannot refrain from urging the Committee to use their best endeavours to send us some one as soon as possible. I believe there is but one opinion among your missionaries here, in regard to my having some one associated with me to assist particularly in secular cares and labours. There is, and necessarily must be, much to be done at this station, besides giving instruction and making translations. The mission family must be attended to, and some assistance be rendered to the Indians."

He writes at length on the question of a successor for Mr. Town, and thinks that a married man should be sent in his place.

In the last page of the same letter, he refers to the murder of the half-breed son of trader Aitkin of Fond du Lac and Sandy Lake, which was a very prominent event in those days in the North country. It appeared that the young man was killed by an Indian, without reasonable provocation when he resisted an attempt at looting.

About this time missionary Town filed some sort of a criticism with the Boston authorities in reference to Hall. The Board took the matter up with Hall. He expressed regret in a letter to the Board that his co-worker had not been fully frank with him and that he was not advised as to what complaint had been made against him. He himself was conscious of no unkind feelings, but he said if the mission was not properly carried on in the view of the Board, it should be abolished and he was willing to resign at any time, although he was giving his best to the work. He did not think he should be supported by

the charities of the church longer than he was worthy of its confidence, nor would he wish to be so supported unless it could be seen that he was useful.

On August 10, 1837, in answer to a letter from the Board which pointed out that economies were essential on account of lessened revenues, he expressed sympathy. He would curtail expenses in every possible way, but he pointed out that some money was necessary if the work was to go on. He was willing to labor with his own hands for his food and shelter, rather than abandon the field. This, he thought, was the feeling of his brethren. In the same letter he tells that Mr. Sproat had just left to visit Mackinac for the purpose of getting a wife.

The school was in pretty good condition at this time and had a listed roll of from thirty-five to forty, with an average attendance of about half that. This was due to the roving habits of the Indians, who took their families wherever they went. Translations which had been made in the Chippewa tongue had become very useful and were of much value.

The Board of Missions at Boston continued its confidence in missionary Hall. He continued to toil at his post, in the manner that appears, until about the year 1853 as hereinbefore noted, and when at last he left La Pointe the Board gave him another post in the West on the Mississippi. Before he left he had reduced the Indian language to a written tongue, and many of the Indians had come under his kindly influence. He had built numerous buildings with his own hands. He had established a white man's church in the wilderness, which was a part of his missionary labors. It was not only the natives who needed spiritual guidance. He was more or less disillusioned at times, but he never lost faith. He raised a family of four, three boys and one girl, at La pointe, almost to maturity, and one of them a youth, a boy of seventeen years, died there.

He is entitled to a leading place among the pioneers of the western end of Lake Superior. That the Indians in general were benefitted by his labors, is beyond any question. There was of course much opposition to his labors among them, arising principally from the deities of the Medawa rite. This lodge was powerful and its elderly heads set their faces against Hall's teachings simply because they clearly saw that if he prevailed, their powers over their victims would be at first weakened and then at last lost.

When due honors are given to the pioneers of the nineteenth century on Lake Superior, Hall must not be forgotten.

Chapter VII.

Character of Boutwell. His Capacity for Friendship and Objections to Personal Publicity. Friendship with White Leaders. Aids in Inventing name Itasca. Journey to that Lake. Visits Much new Country. Back to La Pointe. Goes to Leech Lake in 1833. Problem of Baptism. School Urged at Leech Lake. Explains the Fur Trade. His Marriage to Hester Crooks. Asks View of Board.

At this point it will be well to turn back and consider, in a special way, the career of William Thurston Boutwell,who, as has been said, came to Mackinac from the East in the summer of 1831 with Hall. Boutwell was a man of strong religious convictions, and at the same time a sturdy character in other ways. He was very outspoken in his reports to the Board and never hesitated to express his views,even though they might not be entirely welcome to those whom he addressed. This is not to say that he was brusque or ill-tempered. He was merely straightforward. Above everything, he hated publicity.

The Board of Missions issued a publication known as the MISSIONARY HERALD, and a prominent feature in this HERALD was the missionary reports. At times the missionaries, in writing their reports which were intended to be frank and full statements of the condition in which things Western were and clear explanations of life in the West, might contain statements about individuals or conditions which would not be pleasing in the locality to which they referred. But the HERALD was not always judicious in what it gave to the public and sometimes the little paper, with parts of confidential reports, found its way into the West, into the hands of those who were criticized. It should not be understood that such reports were malicious. They were usually a plain

statement of facts, as a report should be, but this was often unpleasant to those written about. Boutwell often protested against the publication of his letters, which was a natural and wise feeling.

He was a man of parts and much more than common intelligence, because he made solid friends and real supporters of the officers, soldiers, traders and travellers, who themselves were men of intelligence, with whom he came in contact. He became an intimate of the celebrated Schoolcraft at Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie, and also an intimate of Warren, Cadotte, and Aitkin, traders further to the West.

These friendships, with Boutwell, were of a permanent character and held fast to his life.

He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age when he came into the West with Hall. It will be recalled that in that summer of 1831, by mutual agreement, Hall with his wife and other companions, made his way to the incipient mission of Ayers at La Pointe at Chequamegon Bay, near the western end of Lake Superior. Boutwell remained at the Sault, where Fort Brady, a military post, was then established. He remained there through the following winter, but he was not idle. At these frontier posts there were always those who spoke the native language, missionaries of different churches, traders, half-breeds, and interpreters. He devoted himself to acquiring the language of the Indians and he conducted a little church for both whites and Indians. He formed intimate friendships with officers of the post and also with the private soldiers stationed there. It is evident from reading Boutwell's letters, reports, and studying his history, that he had completely cut off his life from the East. He became a western man without any intention of ever returning to his birthplace. He continued to honor and respect the East, but did not show the affection for it that was held by other missionaries. He regarded himself as a pioneer in a new country which was to be his home

forever. There was also in Boutwell a love for adventure. He always felt an impulse to go further and further, and he never missed an opportunity to search out and discover what was beyond. His time seems to have been divided between Mackinac Island and the Sault.

Writing on the 26th of January, 1832, to the Board at Boston,he makes the following report:

> "Four months have now elapsed....My little study has become a place of resort for the anxious enquirer. The Com. Officer, Capt. Wilcox is also among the number who now cherish a trembling hope. Four months since, seldom was an Officer seen at Church and rarely a dozen soldiers. Now the Com. Officer, Capt. Wilcox and also Capt. Russel are members of a Bible Class with which I meet once a week -- the major part of the soldiers attend on the same exercise, conducted by Br.Porter from Princeton Theological Seminary labouring here under the direction of the Board of Domestic Missions. The Indian Mission here under the superintendence of Elder A. Bingham is also sharing richly in the blessing.....He expressed a desire of doing something to benefit the people. H. R. Schoolcraft the Indian Agent, advised me by all means to take him with me, for two reasons -- first he would do his people more good than it is possible for me to at present, as he can address them directly... clothed and in his right mind.
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> Have not heard from Br. Hall since the boat returned which took him within two days of La Point. Nor has there yet been an opportunity of sending him since the traders returned in August, nor will there be till navigation opens -- a long winter to him I fear."

Thus it is seen that he was living at the Sault, separated from Hall who was far to the West at La Pointe, and evidently he thought that Hall's situation was less pleasant than his own. The monotony of the winter was broken by the plans for mission work. Then, to his great pleasure, he received a letter from Schoolcraft, the celebrated writer on Indian affairs, dated February 14, 1832, asking that Boutwell accompany him the summer following on a great journey eight hundred miles to the West, to locate the precise head and source of the Mississippi river and the territory far beyond. This was to be a Government expedition and Boutwell was to be a guest of the Government, under Schoolcraft's invitation. He invited the missionary to a seat in his

canoe. This was a most attractive offer to Boutwell. Schoolcraft pointed out to him that this would enable him to study Indian conditions and location. He expected to journey along the South shore of Lake Superior to Fond du Lac, where Duluth now is, and thence make his way by lake and river, portaging the baggage and canoes when impelled, far on into the West. The source of the Mississippi was to be found, and thence they would make their way still further West to Red Lake, and thence in a round about course to what is now the Minnesota river and down its waters to Fort Snelling on the Mississippi.

But Boutwell did not feel authorized to accept this invitation and relax from his special missionary duties for sixty days or more without the consent of his superiors, and he transmitted Schoolcraft's request to Boston for approval. He thought that Schoolcraft's invitation was providently open because it was one of his specified duties to explore the country and become familiar with the locations of the tribes. Of this great journey he said, "God in his providence now seems to open the way to be accomplished."

Boutwell remained at the Sault, making at least one visit to Mackinac, until June 1832, when he started on the great trip to the West with Schoolcraft, his guides, interpreters, and canoemen. Schoolcraft did not carry out the grand plan outlined in his letter to Boutwell, but he did accomplish the important part of it, reaching and locating the source of the Mississippi. Having reached this lake, which he named Itasca, he retraced his course on the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, which is now a suburb of the city of St. Paul. Boutwell continued with Schoolcraft to Fort Snelling and then made his way by lake, land, and river, via the St. Croix and Chippewa, back to La Pointe where Hall was and whom he had visited on the outward journey.

It is probable that this official expedition, under the auspices of the Government at Washington, was not in fact for the purposes of exploration and discovery. The Government's object was to investigate the conduct of the

traders in the West, and ascertain from Schoolcraft's investigation if they were complying with the laws and keeping within the terms of their licenses to trade. It was deemed advisable to send Schoolcraft rather as an explorer than as an investigator. Boutwell suggests this and thinks that the traders were not deceived, but were on their guard and good behavior.

On this journey Boutwell suffered all the hardships of pioneer travel, but he speaks of these with sort of complaisant satisfaction. His name has thus become interwoven with the history of the Mississippi, because it was he who was the author of the name Itasca, which is a manufactured word. In his old age, Boutwell told how it was formed. Schoolcraft asked him to suggest a name for the body of water which they expected to find as the source of the Mississippi, and said that name should mean "true head." Boutwell, who remembered some Latin, gave Schoolcraft the word "veritas", meaning truth, and "caput," meaning head. Thereupon the explorer Schoolcraft united the last two syllables of veritas with the first syllable of caput, forming the word Itasca, and declared that Itasca should be the name, and so it was.

It is a matter of regret that Schoolcraft, in writing of this some years later, leaves the impression that Itasca was adopted from the Chippewa tongue, although there is no such Chippewa word, and later on the missionary told the story which has just been told, and which is clearly in accordance with what was the fact.

This journey, which extended over two months, made Boutwell an experienced pioneer. It is true that others before him had made the same journey, in considerable part, but he was perhaps the most acute observer and certainly he left the best record. He saw the trading posts, the remote stations, he learned the trails, he saw the tribes in the wilderness, and it seems that he must have somehow developed an affection for northern Minnesota, which led him back to evangelize there the very next year.

It was sometime in August when, at the end of his journey, he reappeared at the mission at La Pointe and was welcomed by Hall. They labored on together for the remaining part of the year, and in February, 1833, joined in a somewhat elaborate report to the Boston Board. They planned outlying stations and asked for further help. They pointed out their difficulties and every line of their communication breeds confidence and hope. The following paragraph from that report of February 7, 1833, tells how the missionaries were living:

> "As our undertaking here is rather an experiment at present, we have adopted such a system of living in our family as we supposed missionaries generally who shall come to this country, will be satisfied with. We have endeavoured to use the strictest economy both in living and dress. The greater part of our living is fish and vegetables. We made use of between two and three barrels of salt meat last year, and have procured about the same quantity for the present year's supply. We consumed about six barrels of flour during the same period, and seven or eight will supply us with bread during the present year. As a compensation for our labours in the care of Mr. Warren's farming business last year, we had upwards of 150 bushels of potatoes, and 25 of peas, besides garden vegetables and many other things. The expenses of the mission during the past year, including our expense of getting from Mackinaw and Mr. Warren's donation, will probably fall not much short of $500. We have not all Mr. Ferry's account and cannot ascertain exactly. This amount includes the household furniture we had to purchase and some other things, which remain as the property of the mission. The expenses of the current year must be somewhat more."

It was also reported that they were studying the Indian language and had made some translations, which they hope soon to have printed at Boston.

The missionaries think La Pointe is the place for a central mission. All the Indians within hundreds of miles are likely to visit that place some time during the year. La Pointe was central as to Fond du Lac and Yellow Lake, and not so terribly distant from civilization down at the Sault. The Chippewas from all points were accustomed to visiting there, and they led a roving life. To be effective, missionary work would be obliged to pursue them more or less into the wildernesses, although there should be a central point, a base of

operations as it were, and La Pointe was the place for that. It appears that the Cadotte family gave the missionaries a piece of ground for a mission building. The missionaries said that the Indian title to the land was extinct. No doubt they thought so, but it was not true in a legal sense. Nevertheless, a possessory title came to them from the Cadotte family for their missionary village. Note the following language in this report:

> "We would also recommend that 30 or 40 acres of land be put under a state of cultivation as soon as it can conveniently be done. We shall do a little towards it the present season. The time of the man we have already in our employment, will be so much occupied in fishing and raising something for present use, that little will be left for clearing land. The mission needs a small stock of cattle. We cannot well maintain our present establishment without a pair of oxen or a horse, and some cows. A good pair of cattle can be purchased for a sum something less than $100, if purchased soon. We have already two cows, one of which Mr. Warren gave the mission last year; and the other lately. It is not very expensive keeping stock at this place."

> "Perhaps the Committee may think the estimated expense of building higher than it ought to be. The labour constitutes the principle item. Timber is plenty here and of good quality. Labour is high. All the sawing must be done by hand. It is best to build so as to render the buildings comfortable."

> "The American Baptist Board have sent to the Sault Ste. Marie, two or three persons to learn the language, intending to form a new station some where in the country. Where they will go, we are not able to say. In our letters from the Sault, it is intimated that they think of going to Fond du Lac, by which we suppose it is meant the post at the head of the lake. You can ascertain the intentions of the Baptist Board, by communicating with their Secretary. It is not our wish to interfere with ground which they wish to occupy, as we presume it is not the wish of the Board. The field is large and the labourers are few. It is our prayer that the Lord would send forth more labourers to this harvest."

> "We would recommend that caution be used in giving any thing to the public contained in our communications from time to time, which affects personal character, or relates to the Catholics. We feel it our duty to be particular in our reports to the Board on all subjects which relate to the cause of truth here. Many things are proper to be said to the Committee which we should regret to see in print as coming from us. The Herald finds its way to this country."

In February, 1833, we find Boutwell planning to return to the West, where he had been with Schoolcraft. He tells how Mr. Ayer, the missionary, had been laboring in the Sandy Lake country, far West from what is now Duluth, and we find him urging upon the Boston authorities that he be ordered to return there. He based his opinion on Ayer's report, although it is evident enough that he was personally enthusiastic over the plan. This is his languege:

> "He brings a more favourable report respecting the prospects for missionary effort in the Fond du Lac department, than we had anticipated. He thinks the Board or some other Society ought to do some thing there soon. It is his opinion and that of Mr. Aitkin and of most others that Leech Lake is the place to locate a mission for that section of the country. That band, or rather the two or three bands who reside on the borders of that lake, contain more Indians than can be found so contiguous almost anywhere else. There are several other large bands in the surrounding country which could easily be approached from Leech Lake as a central point. The Indians of this region have been supposed to possess a character unfavourable to missionary efforts among them. From what Mr. Boutwell saw there last summer, he thought there would be no prospect of doing any thing among them at present. It is thought that he saw them under rather unfavourable circumstances, and that they would now be more inclined to listen to proposals for a mission among them. The chief visited Sandy Lake during the time Mr. Ayer was there and appeared pleased with the school. He expressed himself favourably toward schools. Mr. Aitkin expressed a strong desire that one of us should visit Leech Lake this spring and ascertain what the prospects are.
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> There are supposed to be nearly as many Indians in the Fond du Lac Department, as in all the Lake Superior Department. If circumstances will permit, one of us will start in about 20 days for Leech Lake. It is about 10 days march from this place to that. Should we find things favourable for a mission there, it would only be extending operations, and would not materially affect the report we now submit to the Committee. The plan of a mission there, Mr. Ayer thinks, would be, for the Board to provide buildings and teachers, and that all the scholars boarded be supported by their parents. Scholars enough in that Department would be supported in this manner to maintain a good foundation for a school. The clerks in that Department are very anxious for it. Most of them are able to maintain their children. Mr. Aitkin's clerks are more able to support their children at school than most others in the country. Mr. Aitkin would use his influence in favour of an establishment at Leech Lake, though his interest might lead him to desire to have it at his post."

He wrote on April 1, 1833, to the Board, answering a letter which had come on February 8, and had been mailed at Boston on August 28. This shows that

five months elapsed between the mailing and receiving of the letter. The day after he received it, he received a copy of the MISSIONARY HERALS, in which some of his letters were printed. He was much stirred by this fact and thought the printing ought not to have been done, especially as he felt that certain statements he made in the letters were unreasonable. In this letter he insists that he is the last person in the world fitted for his job. He undertook the labor because no one else would go and it was necessary, and he had always regretted it, although he felt that he was not the right man in the right place. Moreover, he was hanging on merely out of his regard for Brother Hall. Such statements by missionaries need not be taken seriously. Religious men of all churches and all ages have deemed themselves unworthy of their tasks, and often wrote down their feelings in that particular. They show only that the conscience of the writer is tender, that he is solicitous to do good, and is bitter because he does not see that he can do it or that he is doing it. In the same letter there is the same old caution about publication and especially not to print anything which he would write respecting the Catholics. Of course this feeling was because many of those with whom he came in contact, his canoemen and guides, were at least nominal members of that faith. This was the case, as has been pointed out, with many of the lesser traders and most of the engages.

On September 21, 1833, we find Boutwell far in the West at Sandy Lake, which is a body of water within a few miles of the Mississippi, some seventy miles West from Duluth. Ely was with him there, preceding him by a few days. Ely was to remain at Sandy Lake, and as for the gallant Boutwell, it was for him to penetrate further into the wilderness. He was going to Leech Lake, which was only some sixty or seventy miles away as in a straight line, but much more than twice that distance following the circuitous lakes and rivers. Moreover, Leech Lake was the headquarters of the most cruel and blood thirsty band of Chippewas in all the country. None the less, Boutwell was not afraid and there

was not very much reason to be afraid, although there was danger. These Pillager Chippewas even to this day nurse racial antipathy to white people, feelings not felt by any other band. He had a bitter experience at Sandy Lake before leaving. A child of one of the clerks, no doubt by an Indian mother, was in danger of death and this clerk, who was in the employ of Aitkin, asked Boutwell to baptize it. Infant baptism was a rite which the missionary did not believe proper to confer and yet his heart bled for the father. He wished to soothe him and he searched everywhere for light that he might know what to do. These are some of his own expressions:

> "Yesterday morn, one of Mr. Aitkin's clerks requested me to baptize his child. I endeavoured to explain to him the nature of the ordinance and the obligations it imposed upon the parent, and told him plainly that in our church the children of believers, members of the church only were admitted to that ordinance. He listened patiently and attentively till I waived the subject, giving him no direct reply, when, he said, "Then you cannot baptize my child, can you?" I replied, that I would reflect upon the subject and talk with him further. "My child is sick, and I am afraid it will die without baptism," said he. "All that I know of the Roman Catholic church is the Lords prayer which my father taught me. He baptized me and he belongs to that church so I suppose I do.""
>
> "I assured him from our Saviour's conversation with Nicodemus, that baptism of itself could not save him, nor his child. I read to him portions of scripture, the commandments, Lords prayer &c in Indian and gave him one of our small books with which he seemed much pleased -- he wished we could pass the winter together as I could tell him many things that he did not know, as he said. Tell me now did I do right, or wrong? I have not time, nor means here to examine this subject as I wish. Will you, or some one show me, and from scripture the right or wrong. I chose to err, if an error, on the side where I had the example of Brother Ferry, but still my mind is not at rest, and will not be till I know more of my Bible than I do now on this subject."
>
> "I felt deeply interested in the man, being above the ordinary class of men who are born in this country and speaking good English. His father is a Scotchman a man of good education, I am told."

He did not baptize the child, but retained the respect and good will of the father. He asked his superiors at Boston if he had done wrong, and what he should have done under the circumstances. His own mind was in turmoil.

Coming down to December 18, 1833, we find him at Leech Lake and writing a letter on that day to headquarters at Boston. There are two aspects of all his letters, each being very historical. One part relates to business matters, travel, expenses, subsistence, business relations with the traders, contacts with other missionaries, plans and prospects. The other part deals with spiritual matters. Each of these parts lap over on the other somewhat, and in this way this letter of December 18 deals with both subjects. It tells of the expense of transportation, how he lives, the character of the soil. On the spiritual side, he wishes a school established but insists that it would be necessary for the mission to feed the children who are brought to school, otherwise they will not come. Some Indian parents would be glad to leave their children with him, if he would feed and clothe them, but they were not in a position to send them for daily study and take care of them themselves. This letter contains a picture of the vicious life lived by the white men engaged in the fur trade.

Another letter from Boutwell about this time gives a clear insight of the advantages of the fur trade, the relations between the Indians and the traders, and the relations of the traders, especially the rival traders, with one another.

In August, 1834, Boutwell was at La Pointe, apparently on a visit. He had determined to marry. There is no written record of any courtship. That is a subject on which reticence was customary. It had always been his opinion that a missionary should have a wife. Having a wife, there was less chance for scandal. It is evident that he must have known Hester Crooks, his future wife who was herself a half-breed missionary Indian girl, for some time. She was at the Yellow Lake mission with missionary Ayer, his family and associates. This Hester Crooks was the daughter of an Indian mother and her father was that Ramsay Crooks who was controlling manager of the American Fur Company for a

long time, and afterwards became one of the leading pioneers in trade and business in Minnesota. Boutwell sent to his sought-for bride a proposal of marriage, which must have been in August, 1834, and he received an affirmative reply, and the next day after the welcome assent he says:

"I packed up my effects, swung my pack and marched."

He arrived at Hester's home at Yellow Lake on September 1, 1834, then he made his way with her to Fond du Lac, now Duluth, where they were met by missionary Hall, who united the two in matrimony.

The missionary did not ask permission from his Boston advisers as to propriety or wisdom of his marrying. In taking this course he followed his own inclination and did what he thought was right and proper. His conscience did not trouble him, but none the less he was anxious as to the light in which his course would be viewed by those under whose authority he was working, and he writes to them as follows:

> "And now I have done, with this simple request, will tell me what you think of what I have done. It may be you will disapprove of the course I have pursued, if so, I would thank you, and love you the more would you but say so."

Of course there was no disapproval. There could be none. It was purely a private and personal matter. It showed that Boutwell, like the great Schoolcraft and scores of other big men who first penetrated the wilderness, had no trace of racial prejudice. Hester Crooks proved to be a good wife and a good woman, and she lived with her choice for many years, happy and in comfort, until her death.

Boutwell labored on in the Minnesota missions, at Leech Lake and other places, for many years until finally, in a normal and natural way, found himself in a pioneer place in white surroundings, which gradually grew into a city as the years passed. His works should not be forgotten and they will not be. His was a voice crying in the wilderness. He was one of the founders of the state.

Chapter VIII.

Ferry at Mackinac. Denominations of the Missionaries. Fond du Lac Geographical Center. Ely's Coming. Destined for Sandy Lake with Boutwell. Trip to Sandy Lake. Boutwell Goes to Leech Lake. The Indian Trade. Vivid Details of Missionary Life. Fall of Meteors. Boutwell Visits Ely and Goes Back to the West. The Old Voyageur. Indian Profanity.

The Ferry referred to by Boutwell in the preceding chapter was a Presbyterian missionary who had never labored West of Mackinac, but undoubtedly the traders, Aitkin, Warren, and others, had become acquainted with him at that place and had received from him. His work at Mackinac began in 1822, his full name being William Montague Ferry. He labored there for twelve years after that, and established a very important Indian school. In 1834, weary from trials and disappointments, he was released from missionary service and settled at Grand Haven, Michigan, his being the first family at that place. He died in December, 1867. His son, later on, became a United States Senator from the state of Michigan. It was at Ferry's school that Hester Crooks, who became Boutwell's wife, was educated.

There is always a difficulty in determining to what particular form of the Protestant church the missionaries belonged. This is so because the missionaries on the frontier, apparently did not emphasize very strongly any particular Protestant faith. They co-operated very freely and on friendly terms. To be sure, when they organized churches for white men, these were organized specially in the faith to which the minister belonged. Hall was a

Congregationalist and so were Boutwell and Ely. Ferry was a Presbyterian and so was Ayer. There were also Methodist and Baptist missionary laborers. But the pioneer Protestant work in the Lake Superior country West of the Sault, with which this narrative has to do, was under Congregationalist auspices and their labors were under the direction of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston.

It will be noted that Fond du Lac, in a geographical sense, was the center of the operations of these missionaries, while La Pointe, on Madelaine Island, was in general the business and social center. But Fond du Lac was about midway on the water route between Sandy Lake and La Pointe, Leech Lake lying even further to the West. Fond du Lac, from a remote period, had been the name of the Western end of Lake Superior, but in these missionary days the name had become restricted to the place occupied by the trading post, some twenty miles from the mouth of the St. Louis river just below the falls. The name was then localized as now. At this place there was a trading post under the management and control of William Aitkin, acting for the American Fur Company. There was a Fond du Lac band of Indians just as there were Leech Lake Indians, Sandy Lake Indians, and Chequamegon Bay Indians. It was here that Boutwell was married, and in their communications to their chiefs at Boston the missionaries often dwelt upon the importance of occupying Fond du Lac, because of its central location, because of the Indians that made it their center, because of its strategic location in the battle for souls. This is preliminary to some quotations in reference to the Protestant occupancy of Fond du Lac under Ely, which was begun in 1833.

This should lead the reader to reflect that these missionaries were not only teachers of the natives, but they were the founders of what are now great churches, they were the pioneers of eastern culture, they did much towards shaping the thoughts of this generation.

It was sometime in June, 1833, when Edmund Franklin Ely, a very young man not then in very good health, left his home at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and started for the West in the service of the Boston Board of Missions. We find him at Albany, New York, on July 5, 1833. He went by canal boat to Utica and thence by stage to Buffalo. On Friday, July 11, 1833, he embarked on the steamboat Henry Clay for Detroit, where he arrived July 13. Speaking of Detroit he says:

> "The cursing and blasphemies of the frequenters of Grog Shops, have been rolling into my window this evening. God have mercy on this wretched city."

He arrived at Mackinac on July 22, 1833, and was welcomed by the missionary Ferry. He tells an interesting story of his trip to Sault Ste. Marie, where he arrived on July 28, by canoe, and then made his way to La Pointe where Hall was working away. In the meantime he had met the missionaries Ayer and Boutwell, with whom he said he was pleased. He already knew that he was to go to Sandy Lake, beyond Fond du Lac, with Boutwell. He speaks of Miss Hester Crooks, who married Boutwell, as being with the party journeying to La Pointe, and describes her as a half-breed, educated at Mackinac, going out as an infant school teacher. He arrived at La Pointe where Hall was on August 17, 1833, and was agreeably disappointed in the location and appearance of the place. This is his description of the La Pointe mission:

> "This Post is the Residence of Mr Lyman M. Warren, one of the most extensive Traders in the region of Lake Superiour. Rev. S. Hall, Missionary -- lives in the best half of Mr. Warren's house Rent free. Mr. W. has been the most essential help to the Mission. The place consists of 10 or 12 Houses and stores, built in the Canadian manner -- covered sides and Roof with Bark (Cedar is the common kind). The land rises gradually from the water, to the Center of Island, (at Le. Pt). Mr. Warren has a fine farm on the slope, directly in rear of the buildings. He has raised this season, as fine a piece of Wheat as I have seen -- very large straw -- about 40 bushels to the Acre, as good Berry as any I have seen. Has some Stock. Grass is poor for Cows. A Mission farm is in progress -- on which Mr. Hall contemplates building next season. Miss Cook remains to take charge of the School."

Then he tells that on Wednesday morning, August 27, he and Boutwell were to make their way deeper into the West, their destination being Sandy Lake. This is what he says about it:

> "Embarked in a Canoe fitted out by Mr. Warren -- under the direction of Mr. Joseph Cadotte -- a Half Breed, and Brother in Law to Mr. W-- assisted by Jacob and Henry two Indian Youths. Henry is the Youngest Son of the Chief of the Le Point Band -- Bi-shi-ki the Ox, or as he is sometimes Called the Buffalo. Am much interested in Henry. He is about 16 years of age -- understands a little English. Has the most interesting countenance that I have seen among the Chippewas. Our course was N.W. A long group of islands extend themselves along the shore. They are high -- mostly perpendicular Rock shores. Timber poor -- A little after noon came in sight of a long Ridge of Mountains, forming the North Shore of the Lac. Was not aware that the Lake was so narrow here. Thursday Evening August 22nd. Came yesterday 13 leagues. Our Canoe leaked some. Encamped Early and Repaired it. Started this morning about 4 o'clk. Lake was smooth. A head wind rose -- swells sometimes large -- yet proceeded -- our shore has been much of the way Rock bound some places very high perpendicular and overhanging and curiously washed into Grotto's and Arches and large Niches."

On August 29, 1833, they entered the mouth of the St. Louis river, which was the extreme Western end of Lake Superior, and Ely talks with much interest of his arrival at the trading post of Fond du Lac, twenty-four miles up the river, where he found Aitkin and his family at home and well. The Indians were dancing in the lodges about, and Aitkin was busy sending his outfits to different stations in the interior. He found the Indians kind and willing to give information about their language and in fact to tell anything they knew.

Ely's diary is very animated, full of description and he always undertakes to give the names of Indians and places in the native tongue. Undoubtedly the spelling is always his own. It had to be. There was no Indian form of spelling, a fact which few people understood.

Ely correctly describes the post at Fond du Lac as in a sort of amphitheatre with hills arising about it. The American Fur Company's post, under Aitkin, was not far from the foot of the rapids, opposite an island and at the base of a steep hill, which Ely calls a mountain. The man in immediate

charge of the post under Aitkin was Cottee, with whom Ely subsequently had intimate relations. The soil was excellent and what was planted looked very thrifty.

Students of Indian life will find Ely's diary a mine of information in relation to the natives. He describes the various dances, and discloses the fact that at this time all of the Indians in the region of Fond du Lac adhered to their pagan beliefs.

On September 13, 1833, Boutwell and Ely with Aitkin and his sons left Fond du Lac for Sandy Lake, where Ely was to be posted and where he was to establish a school. The journey thither was not lengthy, being about fifty miles in a straight line, but perhaps twice that by the travelled way considering the turns that had to be made following the water. The trip was entirely by water, first by way of the St. Louis and then through certain small streams into Sandy Lake.

But the river journey was broken by a number of portages, two of which were extremely hard and difficult; the first being the Grand Portage just above Fond du Lac, and the second difficult one being the portage between the Floodwood country and Sandy Lake. The first was a scramble up and down hill, through swamps in the low places, and sharp rocks on the heights; and the second was a wading affair, through mud and mire to the knee and even the waist for many miles. Ely favors us with a description of this dreaded trip. The journey, now made in little more than an hour in an automobile, occupied six days and a Sunday intervened. Ely makes the following record in reference to that Sunday:

> "Our house of prayer is a Tent, or some secluded spot in the wilderness around. They have been surrounded by kindred spirits, who join in their Songs and respond to their prayers. Here not a voice mingles with ours -- and the only response, that of nature -- the echo of the forest. We see the works of nature in their lovely grandure -- the roaring of the Rapids -- and the occasional rustling of the foliage by the breeze -- is its music. To me who am more unaccustomed to this lonely situation, it is a sweet transiscion of thought."

They entered Sandy Lake on September 19, Thursday evening, and were welcomed by the people in charge of the trading post. Ely makes the following entry in his diary showing that he had already commenced his missionary labors:

> "Saturday Eve. September 20. Much of this day has been spent in arranging our Room, which is as comfortable as could have desired. Spent some time in exercising two Boys in writing letters on the Blackboard. The Father of the Boys ("Brusia") came in and said "he wished to learn to sing." We were invited into Mr. Stilt's lodge this Evening, to sing in Indian -- found 18 or 20 individuals assembled -- & all manifested the deepest interest. They catch the tune very readily. Spent one Hour with them -- accompanied by Br. Boutwell."

> "Monday Eve. Sept. 23rd. This morning about 9 Br. Boutwell left for Leech Lake. May the peace of rest on & go with him! Assembled over 8 Children & began a Course of instruction on the Blackboard, principally. Have very much felt my Ignorance to day -- as I could say very few words to my Pupils. Have been collecting Phrazes this Evening, for my School, with the assistance of Mr. Stilt, who came with me to my room, after singing in his lodge, to receive some instruction in the Indian Orthography -- found he could read a little in English, & gave him an English Spelling Book. Have been making a set of Blocks, on which to put the letters of the Alphabet, for the assistance of my School in composing syllables & words. How little I look to the Saviour! how little I am like Him? I must have more of his spirit, to do good here."

He tells us in his subsequent entries of his lowness of spirit and his troubles with children whom he was trying to teach. He had an excellent school one morning and had provided for an afternoon session, but when the afternoon hour arrived, there were no pupils. They had scattered to the surrounding fields and forests. He had, he says, neither bell nor horn. About 4 o'clock a few of the truants wandered back, but he told them as well as he could to go away and return the next day. He makes this entry on Saturday evening, September 28, 1833:

> "Another week has rolled away. The first week of my labours as Teacher. It has been delightfully spent. I love to see improvement -- & feel encouraged when I see but little --

It distresses me to be -- "dumb" -- my lips can utter very few words intelligible to my scholars -- but am gaining slowly. This Evening again, the dear friends to whom I have promised to concert in prayer -- are fresh in my mind. O how agreeable it would be to meet tonight."

On the departure of Boutwell, who had pushed further into the West, Ely was alone at Sandy Lake in the mission field and was to continue there until the spring of the year following. He was in the center of a far flung wilderness. There was of course the trading post on the lake and he was, in a measure, under its shelter and protection. The chiefs and traders, and their dependants, were quite at much at home in the wilderness as they would be anywhere. These traders were there for business, and the business was a simple one of exchanging firearms, blankets, calicos, utensils, traps, beads, and quite likely intoxicants of different kinds, to the natives in exchange for their furs. The Indians barely lived most of the time. They had,of course, game, beasts, and birds at different times, and fish were quite plentiful. The squaws cultivated small gardens raising turnips, pumpkins, potatoes, and even a little corn. But this garden supply was very limited indeed, and scarcely lasted during the season while it was ripening in the field. Wild rice was a more reliable source of supply. This was a grain which was rooted under the water, the stalk extending into the air above and the grain ripening. It was more like oats than rice, and sometimes it was called wild oats. The Indians gathered it when ripe and packed it away in sacks and bags for the winter. It is a nutritious and not bad tasting food, although the manner of curing adopted by the Indians did not make it attractive.

Ely spent the winter of 1833-1834 at Sandy Lake studying the language and teaching his mission classes of little redskins. Here follows the entry which he made on September 30, Monday, 1833:

"Rose this morning 3¾ °clk -- as soon as it was light -- took a walk up the River towards the Lake, with a Gun on my shoulder. I never before saw such numbers of wild fowl -- Geese -- (Brant) & Ducks. The day has passed pleasantly in school. This

afternoon, it became my duty to correct one of my Boys. It is the first instance -- of consequence -- & this very slight-- but enough to let him & the school know that I am to be obeyed-- detained him after school & talked to him, through Mr A. He promised future obedience & I dismissed him. This evening, commenced transcribing the Ojibue Declensions of Nouns. The word "O-ai-ma" -- (Father) has twelve forms of declension -- sing & plu to each & is very beautiful. The most complicated use of the word is expressed with great brevity & exactness."

It will be noted that he had begun to learn the Indian language.

We find this on the Sabbath evening of October 6:

"The Sun beamed forth with unrivalled Splendour this morning, dissipating the heavy frost & fog of the night. All nature (Verdure) is going to decay around us. The yellow leaf floated down the Mississippi, & the reviving Sap is retiring, exhausted -- into the root -- a picture of human life. Yet, like those on whom the Beams of "The Sun of Righteousness" -- fall, -- decaying Nature seems to sing praises to the "Great giver of all Good." "Peace" was written over the face of Creation -- & now & then -- a distant Shot, or the sound of the Indian Drum -- or the shout of Children -- to break an universal silence. O! how ought the mind to soar, on such Sabbaths! But it has not been so with me. The accursed influence of sinful affections hold me -- too willing -- in its grasp. O! that this Soul might mingle sincere repentance with its mournings."

and this on Monday evening, October 14, 1833:

"Today occupied Mr Aitkins room -- with my School -- as being more convenient. This afternoon, a Cold, tedious rain commenced. Wind blows this evening -- its howling & the pattering of the Rain, makes it very dreary -- but I have enough to occupy my mind -- so that time alone is occupied -- & no room for sadness."

On October 19, 1833, he records as follows:

"This afternoon four Young men -- arrived from Leech Lake & brought a line from Br. Boutwell -- dated Oct 5. They did not come direct -- but it is their custom to Hunt along the rivers. He was on the Voyage 10 days had been there but two days -- since I began to journalize this Evening -- the Young Men came around me & I have been reading to them about two hours. It is now late."

Ely was sick at different times during the winter and always bore up bravely. On October 23, he makes the following record:

"Last night was a restless night to me. Pain in my whole frame -- besides the swelling in my mouth under the

operation of a poultice. Slept a few minutes at intervals -- paced my room, wrapped in an Indian Blanket. Can scarce swallow today -- am exercised with much pain in the bones -- no school --"

The weather had been bad during the latter part of October, but on November 1st, we find the following:

"Weather quite warm again. Indian Summer -- I think. For two or three days, I have held but one School a day -- in consequence of my throat -- find little trouble from it -- unless I use it too hard. Walked to the old Fort yesterday -- was much fatigued -- when I returned -- retired with a headache -- rose this morning -- Comfortable. Today for exercise -- went in a canoe nearly up to the Lake -- an abundance of ducks -- tried to Shoot some, but did not succeed. Have some fever this Evening."

On November 13, 1833, there was a great fall of meteors. He thought he observed six or seven thousand in the course of half an hour. The Heavens were streaked with their trails. The Indians were somewhat alarmed but Ely assured them that there was nothing to be afraid of.

On Christmas Day, 1833, we have the following record:

"Today, being Christmas, Mr Aitkin gave an entertainment to Messrs Abbott & Scott. This morning went to Mr Abbott's, & sung with the children -- returned with Mr Aitkin who came across the Lake in his Horse & Cutter. Messrs A. & S. accompanied us home. This Evening have been reading on the same subject as last Evening, after Singing at Mr Davenport's. Russell is now reading at my table, his Evening Lesson as usual."

Monday evening, January 6, 1834:

"Monthly Concert. I have spent considerable time this day in meditation & prayer -- there seems an awful distance between me and God. My Soul does not melt in view of Sin, or realize its turpitude. How then can I pray this Evening "Thy Kingdom Come." I try -- but alas! faith is wanting. This wretched world of men, is surely an object of prayer calculated to excite to fervour, if anything will. My thoughts fix on Br Boutwell, in his lonely situation at Leech Lake -- & on Br Ayer & family at Yellow Lake -- Le Point & Mackinaw. My friends who are engaged in praying this Evening in the States. Christian Sympathy is a blessed affection -- by it, the distant Missionary is cheered -- & encouraged --Knowing that the Churches & his particular friends are pleading for him."

On January 8, he received a letter from Boutwell at Leech Lake, and during the winter there was correspondence with La Pointe and other places.

Such letters were sent out and brought in by casual runners or traders, whenever opportunity offered.

February 2, 1834, was a grand event, because on that day Boutwell was visiting Ely. We have the following record:

> "Br. Boutwell, Mr. Wm. Davenport, Mr. Geo. Bonga, Mr Francois Brunelle, arrived from Leech Lake on Friday noon last. Friday & Sat.Evenings -- The Children & others were assembled in my Room & some time spent in Singing. Today Mr. B. spoke from part of Luke 13th Chap. -- then accompanied me to Mr Abbott's -- afterwards the Indian Meeting."

Boutwell's return to Leech Lake is recorded on Wednesday, February 5:

> "Yesterday morning Brother Boutwell left here, for Leech Lake, in company with Mr. W. Davenport -- and others mentioned -- 2nd inst -- I accompanied them about 7 Miles, for the exercise -- left them near the River O'Seule -- about 11 °Clk. Returning, I met the Indian Cotanse & family on their way to trap Beaver. Cotanse, discovered a Dam -- last fall -- & he now takes them by draining off the water, & breaking into their lodge. Himself had a very large Pack & his little boy top of it. His son (one of my Scholars) drew a Dog train loaded probably with provisions -- on asking the time of day -- he said "Nackue" (noon). His wife, a small woman, I met a little distance behind, -- with their wigwam, on her back -- consisting of "Apōkuai" -- (Coarse Mats) -- "Niguae" -- (Birch Bark) -- & "anakowān" (mats on which they sit --) -- making a load of twice the bulk of herself. The snow was softening under their feet, making it very hard travelling. About Sunset, carried a package of letters to Mr. Abbotts, who left this morning for St Peters -- accompanied by Mr. Scott. Sandy Lake River is so much opened that I crossed in a Canoe, just below the House. Mr. A -- Davenport left this morning, with a Dog train & one Man, for Mille Lake, via Red Cedar lake. The weather is remarkably warm for the Season. It freezes very little in the night -- & the snow is fast melting. The ground begins to show bare spots."

It seems that Ely's work must have been taking root. Early in February, one Saturday at twilight, a group of Indian children gathered about the traders' door and as he walked by they cried out, "Nogomota," which means let us sing. He entered the trading post and began to sing,when all the children flocked in and joined.

There was an old man at the post who was perhaps ninety years of age. He was a French Canadian and had lived among the Indians for forty years. He

had practically become an Indian and had never been back to his native country. He seems to have been a sort of hermit. He spoke the Indian language and they considered him one of themselves. This is the entry of great interest which Ely made in reference to him:

> "Thursday Eve. FebY. 13th, 1834. There is an old man, at this Post, & who has resided here for 40 Years & probably more (in the Country). He is a Canadian -- & called Kennosh -- but his family name is Comptois. He has been & now is a very vicious man -- is continually swearing. Passionate -- thieving -- lying. He is probably near 90 Yrs of age -- & he has been so long in the Custom of fishing & voyaging in a Canoe, that he cannot be happy unless he is engaged -- & whenever there is a prospect of taking any fish, he is seen to sling his net on his back & Creep off toward the lake, to set it under the Ice & in open water as opportunity affords. He now feels that he is gradually sinking with age -- or as he says -- "feels death in him." I can sometimes make myself understood in a few words of Indian -- but he understands no Eng.
>
> "Today -- he came into the shop, where I was at work & through Russell, requested that I would talk to him on the Sabbath. I asked him a few general questions -- but my Interpreter being called away by business -- I promised I would read the Scriptures to him. Have been much perplexed to know what course to pursue with him. He is afraid of death -- but is self righteous, in his Catholic forms of worship, which he daily performs."

Ely's state of mind is illustrated by this quotation from his entry of February 14:

> "This day has been mostly Spent in my room in Reading, meditation & prayer. There is great lifelessness in my devotions. God knows my weakness -- but I will trust in Him -- & cry to Him for help -- & deliverance in the hour of Temptation -- & for faith. My School was visited by two of the largest Girls from Mr. Abbott's Post -- we spent much time in Singing."

Many writers of Indian life have written that the Indians are not profane in their native language, and that there are no words expressing profanity in their tongue. This fact is confirmed by Ely's quotation in his entry of February 27, 1834:

> "I today, for the first time, heard an Indian use profanity. He was endeavouring to repair a trap in the Vice, but not succeeding, he gave vent to his vexation in an imprecation of the most horrid kind -- in English -- that some ungodly man had doubtless learned him. There is nothing in the Indian language capable of Expressing oaths as used in Eng. & French. They sometimes Call each other "Mojianim" -- or -- "Mojianimesto -- a bad Dog -- this is the extent of their profanity."

Chapter IX.

Ely Visits Boutwell at Leech Lake. War News. Prayers in the Wilderness. Narrow Escape from Drowning. Boutwell to St. Peters. Indians go after Liquor. Ely Back at Sandy Lake. Thence to Fond du Lac. Trading Activities. Ely Visits La Pointe. Resume of Conditions. Visit to Ayer at Yellow Lake Near the St. Croix. Goes to Fond du Lac.

On March 4, 1834, it became Ely's duty to visit Boutwell at Leech Lake. He made the journey to that post on foot, a distance of 120 miles, in two and a half days. The lakes and rivers were still frozen. His record of the journey is given in the following entries:

"Riviere O'Soule -- Sunset. Tuesday March 4th. This morning left Sandy Lake, on my way to Leech Lake, accompanied by one man (McDonald) & a Dogtrain to Carry my Baggage. There are also in company, a Son of Mr Du Fault of Red Lake with 2 men & a man of Mr Davenports of Leech Lake -- in all 6 -- & 3 trains -- drawn by 8 dogs. Do not know the distance we have travelled -- probably about 10 Leagues. The travelling has been very bad today -- especially across the Grand Mōshkig, where the snow was nearly all washed away & -- quite wet -- was very hard for the dogs, as it was bareground most of the way. I was quite willing to Camp. My ancles were very weary. It is the greatest day's walk, I ever made -- but hope to go one third farther on the morrow -- felt this morning quite unfit for this journey. Slept very little last night. May my Soul praise God for this much strength. We are encamped in a beautiful grove of pines on the right bank of the River. Felt a good appetite for my supper-- was much refreshed by a draught of a decoct of Nōshkigēbōgon -- or Labrador Tea, which grows in abundance in the Swamps. Afterwards, retired to the end of the grove -- & sought the Lord in prayer -- remembered with much interest, before God, my dear friends at a distance who are enjoying all the Comforts necessary -- & some all that riches can purchase. They know little of this manner of life."

"Saturday Eve. March 8th. Arrived on Thursday 2°Clk P.M., a distance -- Leech Lake -- of at least 116 or 120 Mle in 2 1/2 days. We stopped travelling but twice each day -- about 10 A.M. for Breakfast -- (starting at daylight) -- again at night. Sometimes the men would sit down to Smoke a pipe -- but I generally preferred walking on. We travelled about 1/2 a day on the River. Crossed 8 small lakes. Travelled hard at least -- 3 Hours, on this Lake before arriving here (the Post) Found Mr. Boutwell -- well -- some Indians about. They left for their hunts yesterday."

He was not very happy on the Sabbath of March 9, 1834. He had no meeting, had sung some Indian hymns with the traders at the post, although, as he says, with an effort. On that day an Indian arrived from Red lake far to the West, and said that the Sioux,who lived further West, were provided with ammunition and had declared war upon the Chippewas. This was a sort of continuation of a conflict which had been carried on between the Chippewas and Sioux for generations. During the preceding two centuries the Chippewas had grandually driven the Sioux from the Lake Superior country. War and peace were intermittent, and hostilities were liable to break out at any time, there being hereditary ill-will between the tribes. The Chippewas preferred white men to the Sioux, a feeling the latter reciprocated in kind. Ely feared blood shed was impending. He was feeling better on a Sunday following, when he wrote this:

"Sabbath Eve. March 16th. The sun rose gloriously this morning. After our usual morning worship, & our frugal meal, I sought retirement in the forest. Seated at the foot of a majestic Oak -- full 4 ft in diameter, I read & meditated on the 5th Psalm-- & sought the help of God in prayer. Nothing broke the silence of the wilderness -- save the cry of the Raven, which were very abundant. Accompanied Brother Boutwell across the Bay, to Point Aux Pins, so called from the delightful grove of Pines which covers it, (the Pt extends about 1 mile to the lake) to the Post of Mons. Bruny (a Halfbreed) -- & clk of A. M. f. Here we spent about 2 hours in reading & singing in Ojibue. Besides the halfbreeds, a few Indians were present, one of whom was the present chief of this Band, & who owns the house occupied by M. Bruny. The old Chief in accordance with the custom of many posts -- had hoisted his American flag -- (which every chief possesses) -- showing, at least that he knew it to be the Sabbath."

During the last days of March the Indians were starving. Food was practically exhausted, even at the trading post. Nothing was left but a little

corn and that of poor quality. Fish could not be taken because the rivers were as yet frozen over, except a very few by the spear. Very few were taken that way. However, it was expected that the ice would disappear within ten or twelve days and then the fish would be plentiful. As usual that took place, because on April 6 the ice began to disappear and, in the language of the region, "the fish begin to give."

This is the interesting entry of Monday evening, April 14, 1834:

> "This morning, about sunrise, Brother Boutwell & myself went to the Camp of the "Butterfly's "wife (the Mother of the little Boy who has been under Br. B's charge the past winter--) to bring home a Keg of Sugar, whh She had made for him -- as a present in consideration. We Started to carry it home with a Portage Collar. After getting on to the Lake we lashed it to two poles -- & lest one should break, took one in the hand. About 9°Clk, as we were crossing the Bay & within 1/2 a Mile of the House we came on to a field of ice so weak that it was literally cracking under our feet. It was in fact, a mere Honeycomb. I was drawing the train -- & Br. B. had the extra Pole in his hand. We began to make for Shore (about 1/4 Mile off) -- stepping with all the care possible. Soon Br. B. fell through -- but by means of his pole got out & crawled on all fours -- a little distance & regained his foet -- but in a few Moments -- he went in again -- & got out same as before -- as he fell his pole flew from his hand. I had hardly cried to him to seize it -- when my footing gave way & down I sunk -- but holding the train poles in my hands, I sunk no lower than my hips. The men at the house saw us crossing the traverse & feared for us. When they saw us go down, they ran with -- such things as they could lay their hands on, for our relief -- but by the aid of our poles we succeeded in getting out & crawling to the shore with our load -- (but a momentary expectation of falling through again) -- before the men arrived."

On that occasion, as at other times, Ely narrowly escaped death by drowning in the lakes or torrential river, when making necessary journeys.

On April 23, Boutwell left Leech Lake to go to St. Peters. This was the name of the United States post on the Mississippi, which is now well known as Fort Snelling, a suburb of the city of St. Paul. The name St. Peters or St. Peter, given to the place by the French, was changed by American authorities to Snelling, in honor of a distinguished officer. Later on Ely returned to Sandy Lake, his own station. He found that some of the Indians at Leech Lake

were planning to take their furs to Fort Frances, a Hudson's Bay Post, some hundred miles North, on the border, where they could obtain liquors in exchange. The American traders usually refused to give the Indians intoxicants, under the law of Congress, which forbid the taking of intoxicants into the Indian country or supplying spirituous liquors to the natives. But there was no such prohibition attached to the dealings of the Hudson's Bay post.

Ely remained at Leech Lake, taking the place of Boutwell who had gone to St. Peters. The school at Sandy Lake, during his absence, was closed. His work at Leech Lake was not different from that which occupied him at his own special mission. He became lonely and, in his diary record of May 4, allows himself to lament as follows:

> "I never so much saw my deficiencies as at this time. I seem to lack the important requisites of a Successful Missionary -- Spirituality -- meekness -- love -- Humility -- & I know that Christ can alone deliver. I believe, that Satan tried to throw discouragement before my mind yesterday. Mr. D. began to tell us of the remarks & laughings of the Indians with regard to our coming here -- & added that until civilization took place among them, our labours were in vain & offered to lay a bet with me that one convert would not be added to us in ten Years to come. As fast as he brought up difficulties, I, repeated, "thus & thus saith the Lord" -- & quoted Gods works in other lands & among other Indians of our Country -- particularly Brainard."

This quotation indicates that, according to the trader, the natives did not take missionary work very seriously. This condition was not unusual at all the missions, as most of the Indians were satisfied with their own culture and proud of it. When some of them accepted Christianity, it was accepted as a part of civilization. Some converts were devout and earnest, and in all ways the effect of the efforts of these missionaries was inspiring and uplifting. They aided all and injured none. On May 10, we find the following entry:

> "Today, I have rec^{d} a letter from dear Br Boutwell dated at Sandy Lake 29th ult -- was to leave next morning for St. Peters. Also several Papers from the states, via St. Peters, by Alfred Aitkins. The Kijiosaie has returned & was the bearer --

of my package. The Indians say -- that the Indian Agent informed Alfred, that the Country would be supplied with Spirits -- another year. This is to us, melancholy news. If so -- terrible will be the state of things, for they are mad to get possession of this bane of life. May the Lord have mercy on them. My health yesterday & today has been poor -- quite an ill term. I am better today than yesterday. Some fever."

Fishing had become very bad in May, and the missionary and Indians were obliged to fish with torches at night, spearing the fish, in order to live. About May 21, he started back for Sandy Lake, his own mission. He was at Sandy Lake on June 2, and found letters there from his brother missionaries. He was to leave at once for Fond du Lac. No doubt this was under orders from Hall and Boutwell who were instructed from Boston. This entry appears in his diary showing the habits of the country:

"I expect to leave tomorrow for Fondulac -- am informed that there are letters at F. for us. Yesterday morning one of Mr. Davenport's men, laid a wager with another that he would eat at once a pan of Sugar -- (nearly 4 Qts -- I should think) If he Succeeded he was to have the Sugar free -- if not -- he staked a Shirt worth in this country $4. The fellow soon gave up the attempt -- this is an example of the beastly Sensuality of many of these Canadians. Another, called Morrin, noted for his eating -- has been the Sport of all the others, during the voyage -- & especially -- for two days past. Some, kept in countenance by others -- & delighting in making Sport for others to laugh at -- have abused him Shamefully. Thus it is that some Stronger delight to domineer over others whom they know are in their power."

He describes in detail his journey to Fond du Lac, which is now in the city of Duluth. There was much danger on the way, arising from rapids in the St. Louis river, which the canoe had to approach in places and sometimes pass through instead of portaging. On June 7, he was at Fond du Lac, and on June 8, we find this entry in his diary:

"Sabbath, June 8th This morning Mr. Cottee -- read Catholic prayers -- but I was ignorant of it. Why he did not invite me to be present, I know not. There has been Considerable Show of business here today. Le Pointe with his own & A. Davenports family, arrived from the Portage. Messrs Johnson & Scott passed here in a light Canoe, well manned, are making their way to the Sault with all possible despatch, to procure provisions for Mr. Abbott's Brigade, Who are even now, I am informed, on Short allowance -- & the necessary Relief is 600 Miles from them. Mr. Scott,

is to return with the Provisions, to meet Mr. A's Brigade who will be on the Lake in a few days. I suppose the Brigade which I left, is already in the Portage. Mr. Johnson informed me at Savannah Portage that the Indians who went to Rainy Lake after Liquor -- returned with 3 Kegs -- before he left Leech Lake. That he was invited to a council -- whh he attended -- & saw & tasted the Spirits. That they told him, if the Traders did not bring in Spirits they would get it -- from Rainy Lake -- as they had now been long enough without it. They had already had a drunken frolic. Mr. Cottee's men brought in 45 sturgeon this morning."

The following is found on the 13th:

"Sung last evening in Le Pointe's lodge. Messrs Stilt, W. Davenport, & G. Bonga, were present. Mr. Cottee came in, & Several of those who sing with him. Two Indians, of his Catechmens, -- Mr. Cottee soon went out, & shortly after, I heard a call without -- whh I thought to be Mr. C. -- & instantly the two young men went out. Whether he called them out -- & that for fear of contamination -- I know not. On Wednesday eve he had a meeting for singing -- but I heard nothing of it until afterwards. I think it best to continue singing with my scholars, whh will be agreeable to them every evening. The first Brigade arrived yesterday, from the Portage."

On June 22, 1834, he records a visit to La Pointe as follows:

"Sabbath, June 22^{d} Left Fondulac, Tuesday morning Camped, at the River Brule. Wednesday Evening arrived here (La Pointe) found our Dear Br^{s} & Sisters in the Mission well. Here found a letter from Rev. L. Hull, dated at Watertown. It announced to me the death of my beloved friend Franklin S. Whiting at New Haven, Coun. He was the Eldest Son of Mr. Julius Whiting of Guilford, Chenango -- Co. N. Y. & was an Organ Builder by trade, established himself at N. H. last year with fair prospects -- was to have been married to a dear Sister in the Church, of my acquaintance -- in a few weeks. The stroke is severe to the family. May God support them under it. I came on in Mr. Aitkins boat. Messrs Stilt & Wm. Davenport were on board. In the evening, Mr. D. spent a little time in Singing in the family. Yesterday P. M. The Fondulac Brigade arrived, -- in the Evening, our room was filled, with Men, women, & children, who came in to Sing with us. Most of Mr. A's clerks attended & all the Children of the Brigade, who had sung with me previously -- & many others. The Brigade Sailed this morning. Attended Service in Indian this Morning. Spoke about 1/2 hour, from the Lords Prayer. Mrs. Campbell -- a Sister of the Messrs Davenport -- is interpreter for the Mission."

As appears, June 23, 1834, found Ely at the La Pointe mission. Boutwell was there also, and so was Hall. That place had become Hall's home. Ayer was at Yellow Lake which, in a straight line, was about one hundred miles to the Southwest. Yellow Lake is an expansion of the Yellow river, which is a tributary flowing into

the turbulent St. Croix on the Eastern side.

At this time Ely planned to start his mission at Fond du Lac, following his experience at Sandy Lake and Leech Lake. Boutwell was to continue at Leech Lake, and Hall at La Pointe. There were no white men's improvements in the country excepting the trading posts. The Indians were scattered here and there in small groups, living off the country. The land and the water was a sort of father and mother to the natives. They ate fish and game when they could get it.

They had none of the prejudice or antipathy, common with white men, against any kind of food. They would eat snakes, turtles, turtles' eggs, owls, ravens, anything that had lived, and they were not very particular how anything had lived and met its death, or how long it had been dead. When there was no animal food of any kind to be had, not even snails nor bugs, the native could extract some sort of subsistence from vines and roots and bark of the trees, this of course being the last resource. There were some wholesome roots and grain, like wild rice and certain roots, sometimes available, these two latter not being unwelcome nor unpalatable to white men.

The fur trade was going on in its slow and careful way, and the only other civilizing agency was the labors of the missionaries. Their thought was to evangelize the natives and they probably did not think that they were a sort of advance guard of vast armies of civilized people just behind them. They wished to train the Indian in the ways of white men and permit him to possess his own country after so being trained. That was their dream, and for it they labored.

During this June, 1834, the mission band in the Western end of Lake Superior apparently had decided to pray together and make joint reports, after mutual consultation, to their Boston superiors. Preliminary to that, Ely and Boutwell started from La Pointe on June 23, 1834, to visit Ayer at Yellow Lake.

They had for a guide an Indian with his family. It took a week to make the journey, and it was not until Monday, the 30th of June, that they arrived at Ayer's station. At night they slept out, making a tepee each night in which to sleep, of brush and bark. Ely suffered from pains on the journey and sometimes Boutwell had to carry his pack. But no one dreamed of giving up, and soon Ely was better. For food they had the little which they carried and such fish and game as might be found on the way. But there was nothing but a little fish and often they were in straits for food, but that did not matter. When within two days of Yellow Lake, the guide considered that he had gone far enough and, Indian like, left them. But by this time another Indian had come along who aided them on their way. It is difficult for the Indians to understand how a white man could get lost in the woods, which seems to be impossible to an Indian.

They were welcomed at Yellow Lake by Ayer, and there were greetings, prayers and congratulations. They visited and rested several weeks at Ayer's Yellow Lake mission, but July 29, 1834, found them on their way back to La Pointe. Ayer was along, returning with them for the ministerial congregation of missionaries. He was footsore and lame, and suffered much, but none the less they kept going and on August 2, they saw the welcome waters of Chequamegon Bay in Lake Superior. They found their canoe on the South extremity of the bay where they had hidden it on the outward journey, and in the face of turbulent seas, which they risked on account of their impatience, they made their way in safety to Hall's mission house at La Pointe on Madelaine Island. This was on August 2, 1834, Saturday. This is Ely's entry in his diary in reference to the end of the journey:

> "I rose at break of day, Cooked some Pork. Woke my fellow Voyageurs -- & started soon after it was light -- enough to see the path. Came on about a mile this side of our second nights encampment -- and cooked our rice for breakfast. Poor Br. A. suffered severely. At 12° clk we reached the Bay,

(Shagawamigor) found our Canoe. A strong head wind was blowing -- yet we embarked. Swells were very high. We were met with the spray. When we got to the Bluff point, the wind fell & without any delay we were enabled to make the traverse. Arrived safe at the Mission house about 5° clk -- having travelled 35 or 40 miles -- to day -- found all well."

On August 3, 1834, Ely was twenty-five years of age. He was ill with a severe cold, the result of hardship on the return journey from Yellow Lake. The next few weeks were spent in consultation with his brethren and in studies of the Indian tongue. Then on August 26, 1834, we find him making his way along the South shore of the lake with trader Warren, on his way to his future headquarters at Fond du Lac, where he had already attained the good will of the Fond du Lac band and a friendly acquaintance with the local trader Cottee.

Ely was a welcome visitor. They called him the "Little Minister." He was jovial and friendly in all contacts with the wild Indians and the taciturn whites. They loved him and were always glad to make him comfortable. As in the case of most other missionaries and as is usual with nearly all of those who came into the West from the East, he had come to love the West. It was now his home. The East, yet beloved, was a dimming memory. He might travel later on, but if he did, it would be still further towards the setting sun.

Chapter X.

Duluth Outer Harbor in 1834. Building the School. Ely to Live with Aitkin. Ely Teaches Mrs. Cottee to Make Bread. Mission School Opened. Lessons in Astronomy. Isabella Cottee's Experience. Sabbath Breaking Opposed by Ely. School Progressing. How the Missions Led the Way. How they Opened up the New Country in a Spiritual Sense. Ely the Path Finder.

On the 27th of August, 1834, Ely and Warren entered the mouth of the St. Louis river. Where they entered was opposite to where the old city of Superior was afterwards built. The future city of Superior was to be built, in years to come, further up the bay on the left, and beyond that on the heights on the further shore, the city of Duluth was to appear. Superior Bay into which they entered was fringed and intersected with rushes, with boggy islands here and there, some of them afloat. These islands, at this writing in 1926, have been removed and a great bay more than a mile wide and a dozen miles long spreads out.

The mission party canoed along the bay well towards its Northern end, where they entered the river, on their way to the trading post at Fond du Lac. But they lost their way among the islands and channels and found themselves unable to advance. They camped for the night within a few miles of their destination and in the morning, finding their way out to the main stream, reached the trading post at ten o'clock. There Ely found a letter from the trader Aitkin, in which he urged that Ely go no further West, but remain at Fond du Lac. He

said that provisions were scarce in the West, that high water had killed the wild rice. Aitkin's suggestion was in agreement with Ely's plan to start a mission school at Fond du Lac. This is Ely's entry on August 29th:

> "Much better this morning. Wrote to Rob^{t} Stewart Esq -- & Mr. Aitkins. The boat left about noon. I had hardly been here 1/2 an hour yesterday, before Mr Cottee inquired if I would stay here -- he speaks frequently. What his object is -- I know not. It appears rather strange to me that so strict & zealous a Catholic as he is should all at once, so ardently desire that a Protestant teacher locate among them."

For the next few days Ely was at work aiding a party of Aitkin's to cross the big portage lying just beyond the trading post. It is not clear whether he went as far as Sandy Lake, but he did render assistance to Boutwell on his journey thither. We find him at Fond du Lac on Monday, September 15. In the following entries he tells of his difficulties, his labors, and his pleasures:

> "Sept. 15. Arrived at the Post about 3^{o} clk quite wet from Rain & wet Bushes. Had a Conversation with Mr. Cottee. He would not board me for what Br. B. & myself thought to be right. I shall stay in Mr. Aitkins family. Cottee is to erect a school house -- & furnish my wood. Seems indeed very friendly. Mrs Aitkin & her Children -- (except Alfred) left in a Small Canoe for the Brule River, this afternoon -- on a visit to her Brother.
>
> "Sept. 16th To day have been engaged in making Yeast & baking Bread. The People of this Country know nothing of making fermented Bread, & consequently waste flour. Mr. Cottee commenced laying the foundation of my School House -- this morning -- but a severe Rain commencing, he was obliged to desist. It is a cold fall rain. The wind whistles mournfully around the house. My beloved Br. & Sister Boutwell are I suppose near the head of Grand Rapids -- but making the best of their small Tent. Perhaps they feel a little "Gōshkendōrn." It would rejoice me to be with them this evening -- & cheer them. All the family Except Alfred -- are gone -- & I am Cook.
>
> "Wednesday, Sept. 17th. This morning was -- engaged in making Butter. Also in instructing Mrs. Cotte in making Bread. She has succeeded admirably. Spent some time in Reading the Ojibue Testament, to her & an old woman -- while the Bread was baking. This P.M. -- Have also been engaged in constructing a Work Bench. This Eve -- Mr Cotte called me in to his house -- saying Several Indians were there -- to hear the Scriptures in Ojibue. He took his French Test (not a Catholic version)-- & Compared as I read the Indian. We read the 6th & 7th Chapters of Matthew -- to our

mutual edification. When we closed, he requested that this be a regular Evening Exercise to which I most heartily conceeded. O! may God give a hearing ear & understanding heart."

It begins to be evident that Cottee, the trader, was something of a frontier theologian. He questioned Ely on different points in reference to the Bible and sought Ely's theological opinions. The two seemed, generally, to work together very well and Ely records here and there kindnesses at the hands of Cottee, who had an Indian wife and children as Aitkin had. These traders' wives had,no doubt,some French blood. It was this mixed blood, Mrs. Cottee whom Ely taught to make bread with yeast.

Ely's school, which was built by Cottee, no doubt at the request of Aitkin, was made of logs and on Monday, September 9, he began to teach. We find the following entries late in September:

" September 26, 1834. This eve Mrs Aitkins & family are present at our reading. The 18 & 19 Chap^{s} of Matt. were Read. I suppose that Mrs A. never before heard the Word of God on the Subject of divorcement. May her heart understand. I have been informed that Mr. A. had offered her a form of divorce -- but she refused it. He himself told me when last here, that he had determined to throw her away. He can prove nothing against her (-- so I have been informed --) in fact Mr. A. does not now pretend to prove her guilty & consequently unworthy of His marriage oaths.

"September 27. This morning at breakfast, Mr. Cotte called in -- among other things, he asked me if I kept Christmas? When answered in the negative, he said I sinned if I did not -- because it was "Kiji anōmiezishik" -- "the great Sabbath." Without openly combating the Catholic belief on this point, I defended myself from the imputation. He confessed that there was neither Precept nor Example for it in Scripture -- but based it upon Respect to Christianity. To the propriety of this, I agreed. Claimed exhonoration from his charge -- & told him I was willing to conform to the customs of the people in that respect -- & -- that on the coming Christmas, God willing -- I would close my School -- & spend the day with him in the worship of God -- most heartily. The conversation was perfectly friendly -- & offorded an opportunity for a few practical remarks."

"Monday, Sept. 29. Commenced my School as my house is not finished. Mr. Cotte opened his house -- & was himself as much interested as any Scholar. There are only 6 Scholars at the Post, 5 are at the Fishing Ground -- on the Lake -- & will return in a few weeks."

"Oct. 2nd, 1834. A few days since, Several Indians arrived, -- for ammunition. One of them an old man -- was very urgent that none become praying Indians. He was very much disturbed to hear us pray. Entreated the Indians not to pray. He said that "last fall, the Stars fell -- so the Indians would eventually fall before the Americans if they became praying Indians."

"Oct 8th. The first Case of discipline in my School, occurred this P.M. The Subject was Mrs. A's 2nd daughter Matilda. She was determined to have her way -- & I felt that general good required that I have mine. The punishment was, detention after School. Her stubbornness sustained her for 1 1/2 hours before she would make any Concession. I assured her that she should remain, be it however late -- until she should concede -- when she did so, I dismissed her."

Ely's pupils, who were at first from six to ten in number, were Indian and half-breed children of Aitkin and Cottee and such natives as could be induced to attend. On October 15, Wednesday, we find the following:

"This Evening Mons. Cottee requested me to desist praying in their meetings & after reading. For himself -- he said my prayers were very good -- but I did not make the cross -- did not love it -- & the Catholic Indians would not stay in the room when I prayed, (this I have observed -- one or twice) but did not know the Cause). They did not wish to learn any other prayers. He wished that the exercises might be as usual, except, that when It was time for my accustomed prayer, that I would retire & offer it somewhere else. He reminded me that all the Children were Catholic Children, & did not wish I should teach them otherwise -- as also the Praying Indians -- did not wish me to mention the subject to them.

I Enquired -- Do you mean all Ind's?

Ans -- No. You may speak to others, but they will not hear you.

Ques. -- Do you object to my praying or talking with any Indian, if so requested by him?

Ans. -- No.

Ques. -- Do you mean that I should not pray in my School?

Ans. -- No.

I then briefly stated, that I attended their meetings -- read, sung -- & prayed by invitation that I had not forced myself upon them -- that I did not feel at liberty in their meetings to do what was unedifying to them. It was a rule with me to pray in my school -- whh I could not relinquish -- that I did not deter the Scholars from making the Cross -- that while they performed that Ceremony at Commencement & close of my prayer, I waited -- giving them opportunity. That I came here to teach & do good -- and not to make war on the worship & opinions of others.

"He then said it was time to read -- at the Close -- he said -- "Make your prayer." I declined, telling him I did not wish to do it from mere Complaisance -- that it was not best as there were Indians present -- & then left them to make Catholic prayers. I have been particular to avoid all exceptionable prayers &c -- when in their presence."

The following entry is found on Tuesday evening, October 28th:

"This Eve read as usual. After reading -- with the Help of Isabella -- wrote a Hymn into our orthography. She is to assist me a short time every Evening. As I came home, the air resounded with the Songs of two Lodges of Catholic Indians. It was delightful to hear their Voices attuned to the music of civilized life. God Knows the nature of their worship. May he lead them into all truth."

The girl Isabella referred to was Henry Cottee's wife, a half-breed. She had been educated at Mackinac, at the Ferry school, where she learned English.

It will be noted from the preceding that Aitkin had some domestic difficulty with his Indian spouse and desired to divorce her, to which she would not consent. Evidently the trouble was adjusted. The Alfred Aitkin spoken of was a handsome boy, who later in December, 1837, was murdered by an Indian further West, at Cass Lake at a small post. Young Aitkin was trying to restrain the native who was disorderly.

This entry, found on Sunday, November 16, 1834, gives an excellent picture of conditions at the time of this missionary outpost:

"Found myself much exhausted by the labours of the morning & afternoon. Evening -- better. Commenced the Epistle to the Romans -- this Eve.

This P.M. Two Indians, after the meeting (Singing) was through asked me some Geographical questions -- (Mr. C. being here --) -- & finally wanted to know the Causes of day & night -- & why the Sun ran high in Summer, & low in winter. I told them, if they would come in the Evening I would illustrate these things to them.

This evening -- not only the men but all the Settlement -- Indians & others (about 30) -- came & filled my little room. With the help of a large Ball -- whh I had made for the use of my School -- & my Candle, for the Sun -- I illustrated the annual & diurnal motions. The elevation & depression of the Poles -- &c &c. -- & told them enough of Gravitation &

attraction to answer the Indian query why the Lake was not upset &c &c. Proved the convexity of the earth. They asked questions about Ursa Major-- why -- that constellation appeared high in Summer & low in winter. Of Clouds &c -- whh I answered. They spent about 2 hours here.

I suppose this is the first Astronomical Lecture ever delivered in this Region. Isabella was my interpreter."

It seems that the natives were students of natural conditions. They were concerned in the movement of the planets and the sun, and they found in Ely, the young missionary teacher, an agreeable and kindly instructor. One can imagine him in his log cabin at Fond du Lac, which is now a part of Duluth, surrounded by half-breeds and Indians, men, women, and children, who understood no English, as he understood little or no Indian and no French, trying to instruct them through a half-breed girl who talked a little English, the secrets of the solar system.

Through the winter Ely continued to preach, pray and teach. There were a number of singular religious meetings in which Cottee, the trader who was a Catholic, participated with Ely. It is manifest from this that much courtesy and forbearance was shown by each for the other, yet there was a continuous by-play for advantage. Cottee seemed to be anxious to catch Ely in some plain violation of Scriptural injunction. The girl Isabella, who was the wife of Henry Cottee, was a Presbyterian mission convert who had been, as noted above, educated at Mackinac. She was inclined to adhere to her new faith but much pressure was brought to bear upon her, probably by her husband and his parents, to induce her to go with them. But she was quite firm, although extremely tolerant. She sided with Ely in whatever controversies there were and listened to him with great attention. It was a great point with Ely and the other missionaries that Sunday should be a day of rest. In this attitude he was on solid ground, for there was the fourth commandment which was binding upon all Christians. But the French and the half-breeds on the upper lakes in those days paid little attention to Sunday observance. Still when confronted

with this particular, they had to admit their error, which Ely was not backward in pointing out. But another method of defense which Cottee had was to evade responsibility for any work, and particularly to point out that the missionaries Boutwell and Ayer were breakers of the Sabbath because they had travelled on Sunday, which was of course a fact. In his entry of Thursday, November 20, 1834, the missionary tells some of his troubles with Cottee in this language:

> "Last evening Alfred Aitkins informed me that Cotte has reported, that I had directed the Children not to make the Cross. This Morning I called in at M. Cotte's. Mr. C. & wife -- Henry & wife were present. I asked Isabella (Henry's wife) to interpret for me. I then asked Mr. C. who told him that I had told the child[n] not to make the Cross? He answered -- no one. I then said, I had been informed that He himself was circulating the story. This he denied. I said -- that it was an understanding between us that I should not interfere with the Catholic Children's prayers or Religion -- & this Story charged me with falsifying my word -- & this was the reason why I took notice of it & told him. It was not true. At Breakfast I told Alfred of my interview -- & that C. denied having heard or said so. During the day A. has Charged it upon Cottee -- who did not deny it to him -- thus acknowledging himself in an open falsehood -- withour foundation. Thus he was caught in his own snare. I hardly know Whom to believe, in this Country -- or when to believe. Every man condemns his neighbor as being a great Liar, & a great Story Teller -- especially, of things whh he himself has achieved. School averages about 16 Scholars."

Too much attention need not be paid to these collisions because on November 22, we find the trader Cottee aiding the missionary in relaying the floor of Ely's school, which had become loose by shrinking. The following appears in the entry of December 15, in relation to the girl Isabella, who was married to young Cottee:

> "After the Children retired, I had some conversation with Isabella, on the topic before mentioned. Last Friday eve. under a pressure of Mind on the Subject, I unburdened myself by letter setting forth her danger & duty -- & proposed some means whh would tend to strengthen ourselves -- & Honor God. To this I recd no -- answer -- not even an allusion -- & this evening, I determined to ascertain if possible. The interview was not very satisfactory -- as to the firmness in her profession. Should not be surprised if she should join the Catholics -- but

if she pursues the plan I proposed to her, she will not -- cannot. She has pledged herself to become a Catholic if the Bible teaches that they are right -- & God should seem to lead her that way. I laid before her, the opportunity she had of making the truth born on their consciences, in defending herself -- & a few ideas concerning interpretation, whh she seemed to receive favourably. I pledged myself to sustain her if she wished -- if she found herself unable to defend herself -- let what would come of it -- & as God should give me wisdom & strength, -- to lay open the treasures of Truth, till their eyes could not look -- or, till they shut us out.

Her Situation in the family, would make it exceedingly favourable to her, to renounce Protestantism -- & I fear that all that holds her back is conscience -- & that -- much blunted. Read this Evening in 2d Peter."

This very interesting entry is made on December 21:

"Sabbath. Some time after I rose, I heard the axes of the Frenchmen very briskly plied -- a short distance from the house. At Breakfast, Alfred told me that Cotte had hired the (His) men to work for him to day for a Hog's Head. The men Have plenty to eat -- but a Hog's-head -- was a dainty not to be lost. At Supper -- Cotte Came in. I asked him how much wood the men had chopped for him to-day? He snaw^{d} -- 2 Cords. I laid open before him the 4th Commandment -- told him he had taken it upon himself to teach righteousness. To cause his men or hire others to work was a plain breach of a plain Command but it appeared that he had paid them beforehand -- & they had taken their own time to pay him. Yet He must know that they had no other time except Sabbaths. He thought to retort upon me by Saying that they were not chopping for him -- but for me. I told him I had not given any warrant for a breach of Sabbath & if he urged that argument, he need not draw the wood to my door -- as I would not burn it, with that consideration upon it. The conversation did not pass without a reference to Bro Ayer & Boutwell's breach of Sabbath -- before mentioned -- Sept. 22d)."

It appears that Cottee had butchered a hog and the head was to be given to the two Indians, provided they would cut some fuel for Ely, which Cottee was under obligation to provide. The half-breeds came on Sunday, December 21, and soon Ely, inside of his cottage, heard the sounds of the axes chopping the wood. When evening came, Ely asked Cottee how much wood the Indians had cut for him, Cottee, and reminded Cottee of the fourth Commandment.

But Cottee was not exactly without defense. He answered that the wood was cut for Ely, to which Ely replied that he had not ordered it cut on

the Sabbath and furthermore that he would not burn it, if it was so claimed. But Cottee assumed responsibility of the cutting of the wood and the difficulty was bridged over, although Cottee could not refrain from telling Ely that he had known of many missionaries who had themselves broken the Sabbath by travelling and otherwise.

And so the winter wore away. One day was much the same as the other. Ely was trying to lay a foundation for his church and school under adverse circumstances, but the wild Indians were pagans, who had a philosophy of their own which they loved, and the French half-breeds were at least nominal members of an adverse faith. There were a few sincere but misguided believers among them, according to Ely, such as Cottee. The idea of the missionary was to scatter the seed, to preach and to pray and to hope for good results. He did get good results, although, to be sure, not so soon nor exactly in the way he expected. His own fine personality made a deep impression, friendly to his work, on all with whom he came in contact. He won some adherents. He uplifted and cheered the white pioneers, and above all, laid a foundation on which coming civilization would find a resting place. It would find that religion had led the way to the West. Ely has a right to be deemed the first apostle of all Protestant churches which are now so numerous at the head of the lakes.

Chapter XI.

New Year's Day, 1835. Winter Sports. Ely Disciplines the Pupils. Paternal Objections. He Visits Ayer at Yellow Lake. Aitkin Militant for his Protestant Faith. Ely's Tooth Ache. 1834-35 a Hungry Winter. Feeding the Hungry. Burial of the Indian Child. Indian Prodigality. Ely Marries Catharine Bissell. Resume of His Career. Carries Light Across the Continent. Catherine Ely's Diary. Husband and Wife Die in California.

On New Year's Day, 1835, Ely entered in his diary:

"Nothing particular to day. People principally occupied in eating and sleigh riding. Some Indians arrived in the afternoon, and among them Sarah Hull, one of my scholars last fall."

It will be noted from this and other notations that the time was not passed at the trading post without diversion. There were frequent sleigh rides on the ice. The sleighs were usually drawn by dogs, but sometimes a horse or two were available. Aside from these innocent and healthy pleasures breaking the monotony of the winter, there were the Indian dances and feasts by the pagans.

Early in January there was a little rebellion in Ely's mission school over corporal punishment. The missionary was a believer in the theory that sparing the rod spoiled the child and, while he was far from cruel, he at times disciplined pupils who were refractory. This practice was universal at that time and followed in all white communities. This, however, was something quite unbearable to Indians or to those with much Indian blood. There is authority for this statement that Indians never beat their children whatever

they might do, although, manifestly, they would have been perhaps better for it.

When, therefore, Ely attempted to introduce disciplinary methods in his log cabin school, some of the pupils ceased to attend and on seeking out a reason he found out that it was because he had punished them. However, the difficulty was smoothed over and after a little while the absent children returned and all was well. The Indians would not expect a child to submit to any punishment which could not be properly inflicted on one of mature age.

The entry of Saturday, January 17, and the entry of Sunday, January 18, follow:

> "Saturday, Jan. 17th. At Tea, this eve, I was first apprized of the fact that Mr. Cotte was in the practice of Receiving Confessions of the Men & Indians. Have written Br. Boutwell this Eve.
>
> (May 31. Suspect this is a mistake)
>
> "Sabbath, January 18, 1835. The order of the day at the Post has been -- in the morning Public Worship -- immediately succeeding a Sleigh Ride!!! Evening -- Public Service 2 Sleighs & a Dogtrain were out -- & Cottee led the van. This evening was called to explain the parable -- of seed among thorns -- & seed in good ground. Laid Stress on this point, that the evidence of the Seeds taking root in good ground -- was -- the fruits produced. Read 3 & 4 Ch. of Mark."

It will be noted that on May 31, 1835, Ely interpolated in his diary, notation of January 17 preceding, the words "Suspect this is a mistake." It is evident that after he had made entries in his diary, he was in the habit of checking them up later on to verify them, which surely was an excellent practice. This is clear evidence of his reliability and also of his unwillingness to be unjust even in his personal writings.

January 20, found Ely making a winter trip on snowshoes with a guide to visit Ayer at Yellow Lake. In this way the missionaries sought to beguile the tedium of their labors. Thus it is that Ely, without knowing it, was copying the manners of the Indians who were inveterate visitors in the quiet season.

This is the entry of Friday, January 30, 1835, indicating his return to Fond du Lac:

> "It snowed powerfully all night. There is no pleasure in sleeping in a storm of snow. In the morning our leggins & moccasins were scarcely dry. Blankets wet & covered with snow. Started at 7 1/4 °Clk -- reached Nōmōnjitiguaia site at 10°Clk -- & Fondulac a little before sunset. Snow deep -- was nearly exhausted -- & wet -- through. Found letters here from Brs. B. & Hall -- & Miss Cook -- notwithstanding my excessive fatigue was obliged to spend part of the evening -- writing to Br B. -- as men were to leave, both for Sandy Lake -- & La Pointe in the morning."

February 14, Saturday, William Aitkin, the head trader, came to his home at the post. While Fond du Lac was his principal residence, he was usually on the road between his far flung stations to keep them in order and in action. Aitkin was a Presbyterian. He was, of course, like most men on the frontier, more or less inclined to do what he pleased, when it pleased him and as it pleased him. However, he was quite firm in his views respecting religion, as the following entries show. He desired his family to hold with him on religious subjects. His half-breed Indian children and perhaps their mother had, it seems, been leaning towards Roman Catholic ways and he would have none of it.

> "Feb^{y}. 14, 1835, Saturday. This morning Alfred left for Sandy Lake before light. At the Pine Rapids -- met his Father, Mr. Scott -- & Teams. They arrived here about 3°Clk. P.M. No news from Leech Lake. Some time after his (Mr.Aitkins--) arrival, I found him alone with his Girls. He said that he had been telling them, if they worshipped the Pope & Virgin-Mary -- he would burn their house over their heads. Seemed violently, Angry. The Children had evidently been in tears. He said that he had seen at Mille Lac -- a Pope posted side by side -- with J.C. by direction of Mr. Cottee-- & uttered some harsh things against Mr. Cottee. This was in presence of the Girls."

About this time Ely suffered from tooth aches, an affliction quite common among missionaries. He tried "the pipe," which relieved the pain but made him sick.

> "For 11 days I have been afflicted with a severe tooth ache. After Supper, I tried the pipe. It relieved the teeth --

but made me very sick for one or two hours. Last evening & this -- read at Mr. Cottee's house."

"Sabbath Feb^{y} 15, 1835. Service as usual. In consequence of the prevailing illness did not call my School together to Sing. Most all have Coughs & hoarseness. Peter is very sick. Mr. Aitkins Calls it Pleurisy.

Mr. A. intimated to me this P.M. that M. Cotte might not remain here another Year, -- as his term of contract expires this coming Spring -- & expressed a doubt whether he Mr. A. should be willing to contract further -- but sustain the trade of the post himself. Mr. C. has for a few years past, purchased goods of the Company, & traded on his own responsibility. If this arrangement takes place, it may have a very important bearing on the prospects of our Mission here. The Pillar of Catholicism will be removed. Let me See & acknowledge the Hand of God in it, if it takes place -- if not -- let me not be discouraged."

This winter of 1834 and 1835 was very hard on the natives. Food was scarce, perhaps on account of the depth of the snow and, of course, also on account of their utter improvidence. The outlying families, by degrees, began to camp on the island in the river opposite the post. There were sick children in many of the tepees and there was much hunger. Had it not been for the post many of them would have perished. Cottee and Ely shared with the Indians all the food they could get, until they themselves were on the verge of starvation. This is a part of the entry of March 2, showing how Ely labored to save the lives of the natives, how he never spared himself, how he carried pittances of food to them from his own too meagre stock:

"After School, this P.M. I visited the encampment of the Indians on the Island opposite the Post. The first Lodge I entered -- was occupied by 8 or more. A sweet intelligent looking Girl of 15 or 16 was preparing a Partridge whh was to serve as a supper for the whole. An Infant lay bound in its Tikonagŏn, which is suffering from an Inflamatory disease in every Joint. Some parts were very much swollen. I had no relief to administer, & knew nothing about it. The next Lodge I entered -- they were boiling a kind of Vine whh, as a "dernier Resort" -- is eaten by the Indians & is in flavour, somewhat like the Sweet Potatoes. It contains scarce enough of nourishment to sustain life. This was their supper, & but little of that. In the 3^{d} lodge I entered, I found an Old man & his wife -- the wife was very sick -- had been starving for 3 days -- & much distress -- not a mouthful of food in the lodge. I immediately returned home to procure some Medicine -- & also carried about a pint of Corn Meal for some Gruel. Intend to

visit the Remaining tomorrow.

10°Clk P.M. Have just visited the old woman & found her suffering much pain -- though no worse. O! for the pittance of food which is thrown to the dogs or otherwise wasted in our favoured Land! But I think their sufferings will abate, as the lake has frozen so much that a few Trout are Killed -- an Indian brought to his hungry family today 10 Trout. If the Lake should break up & not take again affectually -- How they can subsist, till the opening of the River, I know not. Mr. Cotte cannot sustain them. He has at times dealt out at the rate of a Barrel of Food per day -- & he begins to be afraid for himself."

Ely was not a doctor and his medical knowledge was not extensive. At the same time most missionaries knew more of medical treatment than those around them. They usually had a medicine chest from headquarters and some Indians were insistent for something to relieve their pain or cure their ills. But many of them gave themselves up entirely to the incantations of the medicine man. Night and day during this spring the pagan's drum was heard along the river and through the forest. What follows is a story of the burial of a child. The rites were compromised between Cottee and Ely. Ely was the leader in singing and praying, while Cottee insisted upon the candle.

"The Family, mentioned 2d inst, arrived day before yesterday. Their Infant had died. This morning, the man arrived again with the Corpse. Mr. Cotte prepared a Goods Box of suitable size for a Coffin. At noon Mr. C. called in to my house & said that the Indian wished his Child buried according to the Custom of the Whites -- & Mr. C. requested me to conduct a funeral service -- to whh I assented. Mr. C. enquired if I wished a Candle (according to Cath. Custom) I left that to his own pleasure entirely -- & appointed 3°clk as the hour. Called my School together -- & proceeded with them to Mr. Cottes. The Corpse was laid on a table in the midst of the room -- in its Indian wrappings -- & its Coffin by its Side, and a Candle burning at its head. I commenced by Singing the 7th Hymn. Read part of "Job. 14, Ch --" & spoke say 15 or 20 Minutes -- told them that the dead were out of our reach & our business was with the living -- urged life as the day of Salvation. Addressed a few words to the parents. Prayed -- & Sung Hy.13th. The Corpse was then placed in its coffin the parents took their last look. We then proceeded to the Grave in the following order -- Mr. Cottee -- the Corpse borne by an Indian -- Mourners -- Mrs. C. & A. My school, & myself at their head -- then followed several men -- 25 or more in all. After depositing the Coffin in the grave we lifted up our Voices in the Hymn "Nibo au Shaneninajin"-- I followed the Hymn with a Short Supplication & we returned. Have read the Scriptures this Eve at M. Cottes. Luke, 15 & 16 Chaps. A violent wind & Snow this evening."

On March 7, 1835, we find this entry:

"As an example of Indian providence -- I will note a statement just made me by Osanā Amik. Two or three lodges hunted -- together. There were 5 Men -- 6 Women & 6 Children (mostly small). Between the 15th Nov. & 15th Jany, they have Killed 13 Moose 9 Bears & 2 Deer -- not Counting Hedge Hogs -- Rabbits & pheasants & furred Game.

13 Moose -- Equal to 13 Common horses
9 Bears " " 9 Small-Hogs
2 Deers " " 1 large do

When I passed them (to Yellow Lake) I bought some meat at one lodge -- but at another of the lodges found them hungry & gave them part of my Meat, & other things -- on my return I bought more meat. They came in from their hunt hungry & are now at the Lake depending on the fishing."

It will be noted that this small group of Indian families killed enough game to last them, properly cured, far beyond the winter ahead, but certainly nine tenths of the meat was not consumed but wasted. They kept nothing and preserved nothing, and now in the spring time, in March, most of these natives were on the verge of starvation and begging for scraps of skins to eat to keep them alive. Here is a statement by Ely, showing the lack of skill of the Indians in medical observation and surgery:

"Monday, Mar. 9, 1835. I observed two or three days since, a bunch like the point of a Bone in the right arm of my little Patient -- about half way from Elbow to Shoulder -- whh from the Swollen state of the limb, could not satisfy myself as to the Cause. This morning the swellings were much diminished-- while renewing the applications I discovered that Arm to be broken. On enquiry, I concluded it took place near 20 days ago!!! No wonder it is a bag of corruption -- why has it not died before this? The mother says that it had no fall. What account she gives, I know not. I am halting as to my duty, in leaving it, in other hands, to go to Le Pointe. Whether others will take care of it? & how long? Whether its Parents will carry it to the Camp, where it must suffer from inattention -- & whether it will then be within my reach. I have done all I can for it -- & these remedies may as well be applied by others, as me. These are queries whh it is important to settle. If I can save its life & no others can -- I must stay. May God direct me."

But this child, however, died and Ely tells about it in his entry of March 10, 1835. He tells how he sat by the side of the infant in its death agonies and watched its pulse. He tells how Mrs. Cottee, the Indian wife of

the trader, "took a cup of water and baptized the child, making the cross on its forehead." Ely did not remain to see this child buried, but hastened away on a visit to La Pointe, leaving on March 11, 1835. This was the maple sugar time, but on account of the cold weather the sap was late and slow. He reached La Pointe after an arduous journey. He did not go down by water in a canoe as the lake was frozen over in its Westerly end, but went down on the South shore on foot. On April 6, at La Pointe, it was decided, at a missionary conference with Hall, that Ely should not attempt to make the return journey on foot, but would wait for the ice to go out, which would happen within a few weeks. He did not leave La Pointe until May 12. He arrived at his post on Friday, May 15, 1835, where he met a hearty welcome from old and young. He had been absent for two months and some of his friends had feared that he had perished during the stormy weather through which he must have passed on his way. School opened on May 19, 1835. It seems that at this time Baraga, who afterwards attained distinction, had a mission at La Pointe, at the same place where Hall's mission was. Ely tells us that he brought a letter from this mission and a packet of crosses from this missionary to Cottee, and Cottee informed Ely that the missionary was to make a visit to Fond du Lac the coming summer. This is his entry about his own relations with the Indians, and how he carried himself:

> "I suppose that many of them think that I am of the same faith of the Catholics. I have never attempted to tell them to the Contrary -- nor have I had the means of speaking to them. I have also feared that to do it in an imperfect way -- or perhaps, to do it <u>at all</u>, would be shaking their Confidence in all revelation -- but that the way was to preach J.&& him Crucified -- & a Godly life &c. -- without any other Course -- was best calculated to do them good. I now have access to the Cath. Indians -- but when the Priest arrives, I expect an explosion -- a denunciation -- as a "<u>Wolf in Sheeps Clothing.</u>" May God direct me -- that I may not act indiscreetly -- but, be faithful. "That I may not tremble <u>before Sanballet.</u> Alfred left for the Brule River -- this Morning in a Light Canoe -- for Potatoes."

The following appears on May 26, 1835:

"Have been honoured with a Great Dance this P. M. After Dancing at M. Cottes -- where they were served to Sugar & Tobacco -- they came & Planted their Flag at my door. There were 2 Singers (& Drummers) accompanied by two young Women -- (Singers). The Kijanishinabeg -- came in & smoked the pipe -- with me, while the young men Danced at the Door. They were naked -- except Azions & Mitassons -- painted in the most hideous manner from head to foot, in such colors as best suited their several tastes. Each one carried some weapon -- one a Gun, another -- a Lance -- a Lance head -- Knife -- Pokomagon, &c &c. I acknowledged the honour -- told them, I had not a Plug of tobacco left. After a visit of about 1/2 an hour -- they took their leave. It is a gloomy Evening. A strong East wind & some Rain.

In May, Ely contemplated the erection of a larger school building and residence, and it was estimated that it could be built of logs for $100.

There is a story about that Isabella, the wife of Henry Cottee, which is noted on June 9, 1835:

"Near Midnight last night, -- Mr. Cottee waked me saying that Isabella was very sick & wished me to go & see her. I found her in much pain -- the Abdomen swollen -- & evidently labouring under a suppression of the Lochia. We immediately bled her -- fomented the parts with flannels wrung out of Warm water -- & gave milk & water injections. These means were continued nearly all day. She was attacked with a severe pain in the side for whh was applied a Blister plaster-- Was more comfortable at night -- but the usual discharges were not produced. Her breasts began to swell -- frequent drawings & the use of Opodeldoc relieved this."

On June 25th he had a large meeting. The time was spent in song and prayer. It appears that Boutwell had arrived from his Western post at Leech Lake at this time, and it was decided that Ely would go to La Pointe with him. He went to La Pointe and we note with interest this entry on June 30:

"Tuesday, June 30, 1835. Le Pointe. A fine days Sail. Started a little before Sunrise -- arrived at Le Pointe about 5°clk -- P.M. Found Br. Ayer & Wife at Mission. Br.Hall & fam. comfortably well. Henry Blatchford & Catharine Bissell, from the Mackinac Mission School, had recently arrived, to labour as assistants -- at such places as most expedient. They were hopefully Converted the last winter. Speak Chippeway."

The preceding entry refers to Catharine Bissell, Ely's bride in the very near future.

He was back at Fond du Lac on July 11, and resumed his missionary work and teachings among the Indians. This is his entry for Sunday, July 12, 1835:

"The Heavens have declared God's Glory today. A cheering sun & delightful atmosphere have enlivened the face of Nature. I have been somewhat oppressed in Spirits -- last Evening & to-day. After such a friendly interview as I have enjoyed at Lapointe -- to find myself alone -- (for those around me are little better to me as Companions than if they were not) is somewhat Heart-sickening. But I have endeavoured to lay my case before God, & seek his direction, and strength from on High. By the help of Isabella I endeavoured to preach the truth to the Children & others who came in -- at the usual meeting of the School. May God sanctify the truth -- to the Salvation of some. Shingup's Son visited me afterwards -- told me he should bye & bye -- learn Prayers of Cotte -- that he was listening. His heart (he said) was glad. It loved the prayers. I endeavoured to open to him the Spirituality of worship by reading a few passages on the subject -- & in my poor way to enlarge. God sees my want of a Mouth to speak to this people & in his own time he will doubtless send us an interpreter -- if so be -- he continues me here. This day, I suppose, the dear Brethren & Sisters have met around the board of the risen Saviour. The Church were expecting to receive to their Communion -- Henry Blatchford & Catharine Bissell -- from the Mission School at Mackinaw -- & Uabishkeguonebi & wife -- Indians -- who have been indulging hope in ℭ. about 2 Years. I trust it has been a precious season to them. Have endeavoured to pray for them. O! that light might arise on our darkness, & that God would visit his people. For there are some, even in "Sardis" -- who love him."

Summer was passed in this way, and on August 20th a great event occurred when the pioneer sailing vessel from the Sault anchored in the harbor and all hearts were glad. The vessel sailed on the 23rd for the Sault, and Ely embarked on her for La Pointe, where he landed the same day, after a fine day's sailing. This is the important entry on the Sabbath, August 30, 1835:

"This P.M. I was married to Miss Catharine Bissell,
of the Mackinaw Mission. Ceremonies in Church, by Br. Boutwell."

Not long after, Ely with his young wife, went back to Fond du Lac and the young couple taught and labored there until May, 1839, when their school was removed to Pokegama, seventy-five miles to the South. For fifteen

years he labored on, sometimes at Pokegama and sometimes at La Pointe. It was a tedious journey between these places, but the distance was not great.

About 1853 Ely's connection with the Mission Board at Boston was terminated by himself and the next year he plunged into the pioneer life at Superior and Duluth. In the very beginning of the starting of both these cities he was prominent and active, but fortune did not favor his business operations. He was involved in the general financial collapse of that place and period from which few, if any, emerged with any assets of value. He was one of the founders of the townsite and village of Oneota, now in the city of Duluth, and was postmaster there for six years. He surveyed the site of the city of Superior. The year 1862 found him at St. Paul, where he had been before and where he remained until 1870, when once again he tried Oneota for three years, and then with his wife moved to California, where he died at Santa Rosa on August 29, 1882.

A large family of children was born to this good missionary. The first two children were girls and were born at Fond du Lac. The oldest, Mary Wright Ely, was born on May 29, 1836, and the second, Delia Cook Ely, was born on January 28, 1838. A boy, Franklin Whiting, was born at Pokegama Mission, which may reasonably be said to be in the Lake Superior country, on April 16, 1840, and others of his children were born at La Pointe. This union, always a happy one, was blessed with thirteen children. Some of Ely's descendants now live in the region in which he preached and prayed, honored for their own merits, and honored too as the descendants of the pioneer missionary.

Ely's wife was a woman of much refinement and more than ordinary ability. This will be seen from the following entries selected from the diary

made by her at old Fond du Lac, after the birth of her first child:

"July 16, 1836. Mary Wright Ely, born Sabbath May 29th, 1836. We think her on the whole a pretty good baby. She does not seem to complain without some reason. She begins to notice those around her & appears pleased when noticed. She is now seven weeks old.

"July 18, Monday. Usually wairysome at Evening for a little while -- last evening particularly so. This morning oppressed by heat, her father spoke to her & she instantly began to cry & struggle, in order to see if it came from peevishness, he spoke to her again -- with the same result --- but she soon belched wind -- unable to decide the cause of her apparently repulsive conduct.

"A little disquieted in the cradle Miss Cook soothed her a little & she became passive.

"July 21. She has been very quiet to day -- disposed to sleep more than we would wish her to.

"22. She has not been very well today, sick at the stomach. Sometimes it seems as if she was pleading to be taken up when she catches an eye fixed upon her, her whole body, eyes, arm, are all in motion pleading.

"July 24. Sabbath. She has been very quiet, quite playful today. Shows at times quite a disposition to be sociable. Seems to be able to distinguish language from other sounds. She has several times entered into conversation -- if we may be allowed the expression -- while laying in her cradle-- probably wishing to be taken up. Her eyes directed into the face of the individual with whom she would seem to Converse wide open -- glistening with energy -- a curious & musical articulation of sounds not of a complaining tone -- attended with all the variety of Grimaces, whh one would imagine a child would use in such a frame of mind -- the limbs put in most active requisition. Occasionally she would break into a laugh (silent, for she yet does not laugh audibly). Her whole appearance was interesting in the extreme & altogether irresistible. It would hardly be supposed a Child of her age to be capable of such expression -- she is 8 weeks old To-day."

When Catharine Bissell became Ely's wife, she was seventeen years and nine months of age, and when she penned the entries above quoted, she was five months less than nineteen years old. In the printed genealogy of the Ely family she is named as Catherine Goulais, the daughter of Joseph and Josette (Grant) Goulais, born in Canada en route. Why Ely called her Catharine Bissell