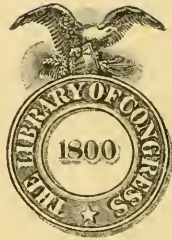


THE BOY'S STORY OF
ZEBULON M. PIKE

EXPLORER OF THE GREAT SOUTHWEST



EDITED BY
M. G. HUMPHREYS



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PREFACE

THIS story of the explorations of Zebulon M. Pike is based upon his diary and reports; the excellent edition of Dr. Elliott Coues has been freely consulted, without, however, accepting either his conclusions or inferences.

Wherever the diary deals merely with the day's routine, this has been condensed into connecting paragraphs with explanatory matter. This method has been preferred to footnotes, which, owing to Pike's brevity in statement, would otherwise have been necessary.

Also, in order to present a consecutive narrative, anecdotes, customs and habits of the peoples which he encountered, interesting details of the country through which he passed have been severed from the appendices, where they were placed by the explorer, and added to the diary, wherever, in point of time, they belong.

In reading this modest record of courage, endurance, and of duty faithfully performed, the character of Pike as soldier and man is unconsciously presented. No more admirable figure in the history of this country could be offered to the boys of America for emulation and inspiration than that of this young soldier, who at the early age of thirty-four at last laid down his life for the country he had loved so dearly and served so well. In preparing the biographical sketch, the biographies by General A. W. Greeley and by General Henry Whiting have been consulted.

MARY GAY HUMPHREYS.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

“First: Preserve your honor free from blemish.

“Second: Be always ready to die for your country.”

These words were found on the blank page of an unfamiliar work, “Dodsley’s Economy of Human Life,” which Pike always carried with him. In a memorandum on the same page he desired that they be kept before his young son as “he rises from youth to manhood.” That these maxims were illustrated in his own life, and were fulfilled in his death this book will show.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike was born of a race of military men, and at a time when the causes that brought about the Revolution still kindled the hearts of men. An earlier Captain John Pike was a famous Indian fighter. Zebulon Pike, his father, was a captain of infantry in the Revolution, and again in the levies of 1791, remaining in the army of the United States until 1815, when as lieutenant-colonel he was honorably discharged.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, was born at Lambertton, New Jersey, a suburb of Trenton, January 5, 1779. While a child his family removed to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, near the Delaware River, and from thence to Easton. Zebulon Pike is described as a boy of slender form, very fair, gentle and retiring in disposition, but of resolute spirit. He had only a common-school education. One of his teachers was a Mr. Wall, with whom he studied latin and mathematics. But as his

diary shows, and as his comrades in arms testify, Pike was a student in camp and on the trail to the end of his days.

At fifteen he entered as a cadet, as it was then termed, his father's regiment, then stationed in the territory of Indiana, and received his first promotion as Ensign, March 3rd, 1799, at the age of twenty. He is described by a brother officer at Camp Allegheny at this time as about five feet, eight inches tall and sturdy and robust for his age. His appearance was military, yet he generally held his head so much on one side that when on parade the tip of his chapeau touched his right shoulder. He was agreeable in manner, even polished, but reserved in conversation, unless on some topic in which he was specially interested. He was a strict disciplinarian, and his rapid decision in emergencies frequently forestalled what otherwise would have resulted in the more tedious process of a court-martial.

It was during this period that as the troops were transferred in flat boats down the Ohio River from Camp Allegheny to Fort Massac, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, he obtained a furlough at Cincinnati. Here on what one of his brother officers termed Pike's "matrimonial expedition" he was married to Clarissa Brown, the daughter of General John Brown, of Kentucky. To the young couple were given three daughters and one son—the latter, to whom the maxims were dedicated, died while a child. Only one of the daughters lived to womanhood, Clarissa Harlowe Pike, who married John Cleve Symmes Harrison, the son of President William Henry Harrison. She died still young, but her mother, Mrs. Pike, is remembered as a tall, dignified, rather austere woman, very accomplished, keeping her diary in French, and always wearing a black Canton crape shawl, and a black crape turban.

It was as first lieutenant of the 1st Infantry that Pike was

detailed for detached service, and reported to the head-quarters of the commanding general at St. Louis, in 1805. This selection of a young man of twenty-six, for the exploration of the Mississippi River is evidence that his qualities must have attracted attention. At this time there was no definite knowledge of the Louisiana territory, in its northwestern part. President Jefferson had asked of Napoleon the city of New Orleans, and he had received an empire. The area of the United States by the stroke of a pen had been doubled. But instead of spending two millions, Jefferson had spent fifteen millions. Having invested the people's money in this vast territory, it now became necessary to find out what sort of bargain he had made with Napoleon. Lewis and Clark were sent to the Far West, and a second expedition was now organized by the commander-in-chief of the army, General Wilkinson, which was to be strictly military in purpose and method, and to assert the authority of the United States, not only over the unknown Indian tribes of that region, but over the adventurous traders of the Hudson Bay and Northwest Companies.

"In the execution of this voyage," he afterward wrote, "I had no gentleman to aid me, and I literally performed the duties (as far as my limited abilities permitted) of astronomer, surveyor, commanding officer, clerk, spy, hunter, and guide; frequently preceding the party for miles, in order to reconnoiter, and returning in the evening, to sit down in the open air, by firelight to copy the notes, and plot the courses of the day." Concerning the details of this expedition and that of the Southwest the diaries tell their own story, and on these we need not dwell.

When Pike returned from his second expedition he found that his relations with General Wilkinson, who had become involved in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, had come unpleasantly before

Congress. Hastening to Washington he addressed an impassioned letter to the Secretary of War, asking for a testimonial "which may shut the mouth of Calumny—and strike dumb the mouth of Slander." General Dearborn responded handsomely, stating that his conduct in both expeditions had the approbation of the President; that his services were held in high esteem, and that the public should be much indebted for the enterprising, persevering, and judicious manner in which they had been performed. This view was also taken by the Congressional Committee of the Exploration of Western Waters, which advised that compensation be made by law to Captain Pike and his companions. Inscrutable are the Acts of Congress. This was never done, although from time to time Pike pleaded for his faithful Baroney and "the poor fellows who have become cripples from their limbs being frozen." He writes to the Secretary of War: "I who was late their Companion in difficulties and dangers, cannot so soon forget our forlorn situation, and the obligations I am under for the promptitude with which they encountered danger, and fortitude they exhibited, and the fidelity and attachment they evinced to their military commander and leader through these scenes, as not to exert myself to call forth the attention of the Government in their favor."

One year after his return from Mexico, Pike was made Major of the 6th Infantry, and occupied himself editing his diary and preparing his reports for publication. This done he was transferred to the camp at Bellefontaine, at St. Louis, and before the year closed was again at Washington. Now he is on military duty at Fort McHenry, Maryland, and shortly after acting as deputy quartermaster-general at New Orleans. On July 6, 1812, he was made colonel of the 15th Infantry, and was busy at Washington, "in drilling the compleatest body of Infan-

try in the U. S.," and begging the Secretary of War to permit him to introduce "Modern Discipline in the Corps." He was permitted to do as he liked, and the Fifteenth was subjected to many innovations and experiments. One was the French method of dividing men into three ranks, the third being armed with short guns to which were fitted long pikes. This enabled the wags of the period to allude to "Pike's regiment of pikes."

During his voyage in the Southwest, Pike's premonition that active service was not long distant was confirmed during his intimacy with the Spanish officers, now restive under the restrictions of the mother country, and prepared for revolt. In that event they would seek the Americans as allies. The British ships, moreover, were hovering about the mouth of the Mississippi, and in the kaleidoscopic changes among nations anything was likely to happen. In his letters both to his commanding officer and to the Secretary of War, Pike expressed his convictions, and urged his knowledge of French and Spanish, and of the topography of the country as part of his equipment for future service.

It was to come, but not in the manner he anticipated. Of him, at this time, General Whiting says: "Probably no officer in the army was held in higher esteem." Pike had never been in the presence of the enemy, but his character and his boldness and resource, as well as his fitness to direct and to control men, had been demonstrated in the West. The complications with England, which resulted in the war of 1812, becoming acute, the 15th Regiment was sent into camp near Plattsburg, during the winter of 1812-13, and Brigadier-General Pike, as he was then styled, although his rank had not yet been confirmed by Congress, was placed in command of the military district of west Lake Chaplain, with 2,500 men.

After various futile efforts on our part, a campaign under General Henry Dearborn was organized for the capture of the British forts on Lake Ontario. The first attack was to be on Fort York, as the present city of Toronto was then called. Before embarking on Commodore Chauncy's Fleet, Pike wrote a military order and a letter, both illustrating his character as an officer and a man. After giving his instructions for the conduct of the troops, he adds:

“Courage and bravery in the field do not more distinguish the soldier than humanity after victory; and whatever examples the savage allies of our enemies may have given us, the general confidently hopes that the blood of an unresisting or yielding enemy will never stain the weapons of the soldiers of his column.

“The unoffending citizens of Canada are many of them our own countrymen, and the poor Canadians have been forced into the war. Their property must therefore be held sacred, and any soldier who shall so far neglect the honor of his profession as to be guilty of plundering the inhabitants, shall, if convicted, be punished with death.”

To his father the son writes:

“I embark to-morrow in the fleet at Sackett's Harbor, at the head of a column of 1,500 choice troops, on a secret expedition. If success attends my steps, honor, and glory await my name—if defeat, still shall it be said we died like brave men, and conferred honor, even in death, on the AMERICAN NAME.

“Should I be the happy mortal destined to turn the scale of war, will you not rejoice, O my father? May Heaven be propitious, and smile on the cause of my country. But if we are destined to fall, may my fall be like Wolfe's—to sleep in the arms of victory.”

Before Fort York, General Dearborn remained on the *Madison*, his flagship, and the command was given to Pike. As the

troops were being transferred to the shore, a wind blew them below the landing-place, to a point where they were under fire.

“My God I can stay here no longer,” Pike cried to his staff. “Come jump into the boat,” and the coxswain steered directly into the path of the bullets, where Pike joined his command. The outer battery was taken by assault, and the guns of the main battery being silenced, Pike sat down on a log to question a British prisoner, while waiting for the surrender. Instead of the white flag the British general, Sheaffe, caused the powder magazine to be blown up while his own troops were in retreat. Fifty-two Americans were killed and one hundred and eighty wounded. A huge stone from the magazine fell on Pike and crushed his back. The dying general was carried to a boat and taken to the flagship. When the hurrahs of the troops were heard, he asked:

“What does it mean?”

“Victory,” was the reply. “The Union Jack is coming down and the Stars and Stripes are going up.”

His face lighted up with joy. At this moment the captured flag was brought on board. He made a sign to place it under his head, and his biographer writes:

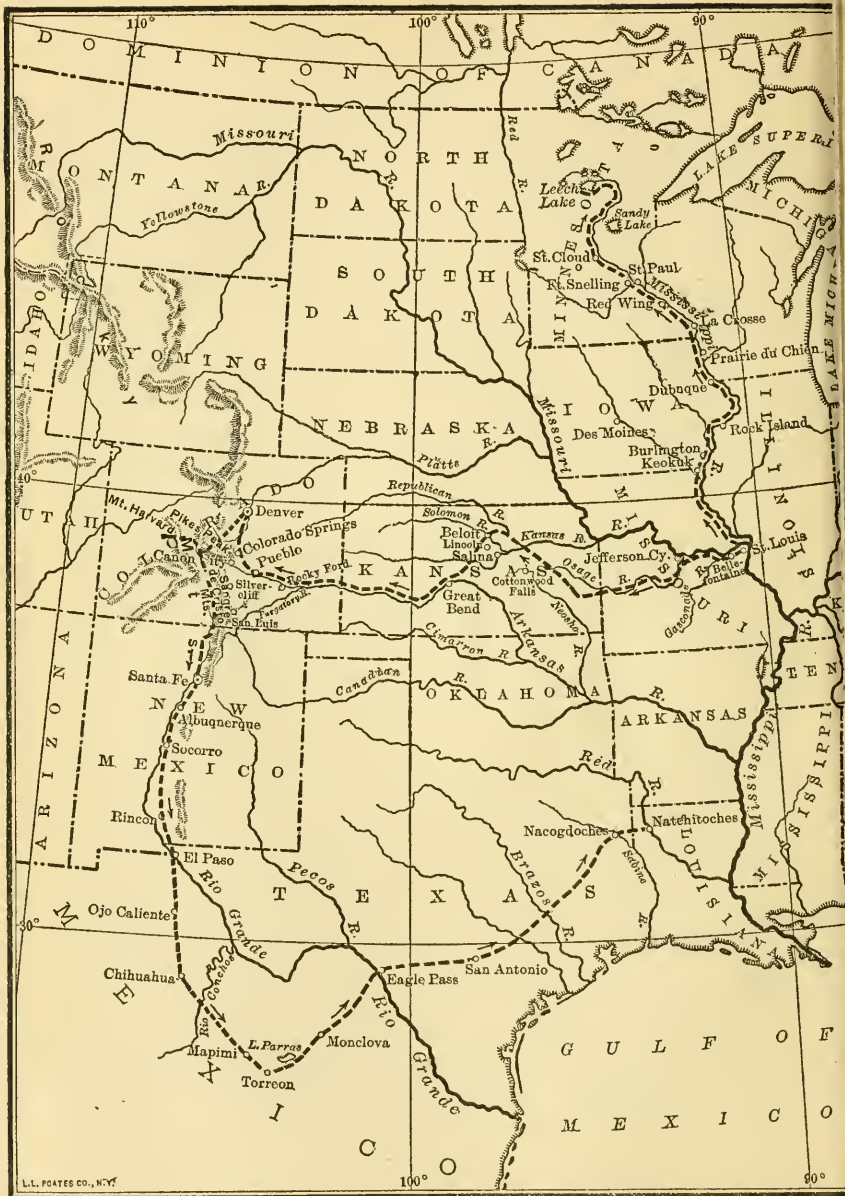
“His aspiration was answered, for he turned the scale of war; his dream of glory came true, for he fell asleep, like Wolfe, in the arms of victory!” and like Wolfe with his head pillowed on the flag of his foe.

The body of Pike was taken to Sackett’s Harbor, and buried at Fort Tomkins with that of his aid-de-camp, Nicholson, who fell at his side. Subsequently it was removed to Madison Barracks in Fort Pike, at Sackett’s Harbor, where a stone seven feet high, topped by an urn, was erected by Colonel Hugh Grady and the officers of the Fort. Beneath this crumbling stone Pike now lies.

The death of Pike was on every tongue, and the manner of his death sent a cry of horror through the country, and tempered the joy of victory. "It was not," says General Whiting, "until after the capture of Fort George that this explosion ceased to haunt, like a dreadful spectre, the American army." That explosions were to be the ordinary means of warfare with the British was the common belief. Public ceremonies were held in church, hall, and theatre. Newspapers vied in eulogy and comment. The 15th Regiment held a solemn celebration, at Burlington, "in honor of the immortal father of our regiment, our beloved Pike," and the 27th of April, the day of his death, was set apart in succeeding years, when the flag was to be draped and the officers wear crape on their arms.

The country was soon to mourn another loss—that of Lawrence, of the frigate *Chesapeake*, whose last words "Don't give up the ship" is the watchword of the American navy. Following this the House of Representatives conferred public honors on the two, and ordered that the children of each should be regarded as wards of the republic. In every part of the country the name of Pike was commemorated and perpetuated. Ten States gave his name to counties. Twenty townships were christened Pike. Forts, ships, villages, creeks are known by his name. Pike's Island, at the mouth of the Minnesota River, is historic, for here the United States first made known its intentions with regard to the Indians of the Northwest. The range of bluffs opposite Prairie du Chien, which he describes in his diary, is known as Pike's Mountain. Greatest of all, enduring while the world revolves, is Pike's Peak, the lofty sentinel of the Rocky Mountains, discovered by him and later named in grateful recollection of his life and death.

THE BOY'S STORY OF
ZEBULON M. PIKE



MAP OF PIKE'S EXPLORATIONS

The dotted lines show the routes followed on the several expeditions

ZEBULON M. PIKE

CHAPTER I

ST. LOUIS TO ST. PAUL

AUGUST 9—SEPTEMBER 21, 1805

[MILITARY ORDER OF GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON]

“HEADQUARTERS, ST. LOUIS, *July 30, 1805.*

“SIR:

“Having completed your equipments, you are to proceed up the Mississippi with all possible diligence, taking the following instructions for your general government, which are to yield to your discretion in all cases of exigency.

“You will please to take the course of the river, and calculate distances by time, noting rivers, creeks, highlands, prairies, islands, rapids, shoals, mines, quarries, timber, water, soil, Indian villages and settlements, in a diary, to comprehend reflections on the winds and weather.

“It is interesting to government to be informed of the population and residence of the several Indian nations, of the quantity and species of skins and furs they barter per annum, and their relative price to goods;

of the tracts of country on which they generally make their hunts, and the people with whom they trade.

“You will be pleased to examine strictly for an intermediate point, between this place and the Prairie des Chiens, suitable for a military post, and also on the Ouiscousing, near its mouth, for a similar establishment; and will obtain the consent of the Indians for their erection, informing them that they are intended to increase their trade and ameliorate their condition.

“You will proceed to ascend the main branch of the river until you reach the source of it, or the season may forbid your further progress without endangering your return before the waters are frozen up.

“You will endeavor to ascertain the latitude of the most remarkable places in your route, with the extent of the navigation and the direction of the different rivers which fall into the Mississippi, and you will not fail to procure specimens of whatever you may find curious, in the mineral, vegetable, or animal kingdoms, to be rendered at this place.

“In your course you are to spare no pains to conciliate the Indians and to attach them to the United States, and you may invite the great chiefs of such distant nations as have not been at this place, to pay me a visit.

“Your own good sense will regulate the consumption of your provisions, and direct the distribution of the trifling presents which you may carry with you, particularly your flags.

“I wish you a speedy, pleasant and safe tour, and am, Sir, with sentiments of respect and esteem,

“Your obedient servant,

“JAMES WILKINSON.

“P. S.—In addition to the preceding orders, you will be pleased to obtain from the Indians who claim the ground, permissions for the erection of military posts and trading houses at the mouth of the river St. Pierre, the falls of St. Anthony, and every other critical point which falls under your observation; these permissions to be granted in formal conferences, and the ground marked off.

J. W.

“LIEUTENANT Z. M. PIKE,

“*1st Regt. Infantry.*

“Sailed from my encampment, near St. Louis, at 4 P. M., the 9th of August, 1805, with one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen privates, in a keel boat seventy feet long, provisioned for four months. Water very rapid. Encamped on the east side of the river at the head of an island.”

Such is the brief record of the beginning of this important work in which Pike responds with the prompt obedience of a military man, and transcribes with the simplicity of a soldier. The roster of his party just as he includes it in his diary may well be given, that their descendants may share in the pride of its accomplishment. “Non-commissioned officers: Sergeant Henry Kennerman, Corporal Henry Bradley, Corporal Wil-

liam E. Meek; Privates: John Boley, Peter Branden, John Brown, Jacob Carter, Thomas Dougherty, William Gorden, Solomon Huddleston, Hugh Menaugh, Theodore Miller, John Mountjoy, David Owings, Alexander Roy, Patrick Smith, Freegift Stoute, David Whelpley."

St. Louis at this time was the principal French trading-post on the Mississippi. The early part of his journey was uneventful beyond the weathering of storms and encounters with sand-bars, which frequently obliged the men to get into the water and haul the boat over and around these obstructions. On the third day the boat reached the Portage des Sioux. This was the crossing place of the Sioux between the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers, where in the early days was an old French settlement. At a cave, just beyond, the party camped in order to dry their baggage, look after their guns, and "scale their blunderbusses," as, in the language of the day, their small cannon were called.

Slowly they made their way among the heavily wooded islands of this part of the river until they reached the "Rivière du Bœuf," or Buffalo River, where Pike notes a "beautiful silver cliff" and four islands which he calls the "Four Brothers." This cliff is now known as Cap au Gres, and the larger of the four islands has been christened "Sarah Ann," its sex being changed, while the others are merely numbered. A week after setting sail, still struggling with wind and weather, they passed several encampments of Indians,

and among these a camp of Sioux who were "spearing a singular fish, about three feet in length, with a long flat snout." This fish is variously known as the paddle-fish, spoon-billed duck, and long-billed duck. Hennepin, who discovered the Illinois River, called it "the long-beaked sturgeon"; but while it resembles a sturgeon it is without scales, like a catfish.

The Indians were friendly and advised them about the channel. In return, Pike gave them a small quantity of whiskey; the Indians responding again by an offering of fish. Fishing, indeed, was almost the only amusement of the soldiers, in the intervals of finding their way among the islands. On one day Pike records catching nearly fourteen hundred small fish. In the meantime he encountered a young man named Robedoux, to whom he gave letters for St. Louis, and again in the neighborhood of Salt River he met Mr. Keteltas, of New York, who gave him a letter to Mr. Baker, of "Prarie des Cheins," as Pike, whose spelling of French names is phonetic rather than correct, invariably gives it.

The weather was still intolerable and the men had become galled and sore from straining and pulling in their wet clothes, but more misfortunes were to come. On the morning of August 16th, when they had been journeying just a week, the boat got fast on a log which had to be sawed off under the water and cost them some hours of travel. It was afternoon when they arrived at "the houses of a Frenchman situated on the W. side of the river opposite Hurricane Island. His cattle ap-

peared to be in fine order, but his corn in a bad state of cultivation. About one mile above his house on the W. shore is a very handsome hill, which he informed me was level on the top, with a gradual descent on either side, and a fountain of fine water."

This Frenchman's house was the early beginning of what is now Hannibal, Missouri. This classical name was given to the settlement by one Anthony Soulard, Surveyor-General, who called the neighboring river Fabius, after the Roman cunctator, and the Big Bay, now Bay St. Charles, he named Scipio. Hurricane Island has now disappeared. But near here, at the upper end of St. Charles bayou, was later the site of a town on paper, called Marion City, which has the unhappy distinction of being celebrated in Martin Chuzzlewit under the name of "Eden." Following Pike's trail in this manner, one discovers the changes and vicissitudes of the settlements on the Mississippi, now almost lost in the growth and prosperity of the great highway.

For two days the boat made good progress under sail, while the men varied their duties by fishing and exchanging salutes with passing bateaux and Indians until August 19, when the commander writes:

"Embarked early and made fine way; but at nine o'clock, in turning the point of a sand-bar our boat struck a sawyer. At the moment we did not know it had injured her; but, in a short time after, discovered her to be sinking; however, by thrusting oakum into the leak and bailing, we got her to shore on a bar, where,

after entirely unloading, we with great difficulty keeled her sufficiently to cut out the plank and put in a new one. This at the time I conceived to be a great misfortune; but upon examination we discovered that the injury resulting from it was greater than we were at first induced to believe; for upon inspection we found our provisions and clothing considerably damaged. The day was usefully and necessarily employed in assorting, sunning, and airing those articles. One of my hunters, Sparks, having gone on shore to hunt, swam the river about seven miles above and killed a deer; but finding we did not come, he returned down the river, and joined us by swimming. Whilst we were at work at our boat on the sand-beach, three canoes with Indians passed on the opposite shore. They cried, 'How-do-you-do?' wishing us to give them an invitation to come over; but receiving no answer they passed on. We then put our baggage on board and put off, designing to go where the young man had killed the deer; but after dark we became entangled among the sand-bars, and were obliged to stop and encamp on the point of a beach. Caught two fish.

Aug. 20th. Arrived at the foot of the rapids De Moyon at seven o'clock. Although no soul on board had passed them, we commenced ascending them immediately. Our boat being large and moderately loaded, we found great difficulty. The river all the way through is from three-quarters to a mile wide. The rapids are 11 miles long, with successive ridges extending from shore to shore. The first has the

greatest fall and is the most difficult to ascend. The channel on the east side is a bad one in passing the first two bars; then passes under the edge of the third; crosses to the west, and ascends on that side all the way to the Sac village. The shoals continued the whole distance. We had passed the first and most difficult shoal when we were met by Mr. William Ewing, who I understand is an agent appointed by the Government to reside with the Sacs to teach them the science of agriculture, with a French interpreter, four chiefs and fifteen men of the Sac nation, in their canoes, bearing a flag of the United States. They came down to assist me up the rapids; took out fourteen of my heaviest barrels, and put two of their men in the barge to pilot it up. Arrived at the house of Mr. Ewing about dusk. The land on both sides of the rapids is hilly, but a rich soil. Distance 16 miles."

Pike had now reached the present limits of the city of Keokuk, named after the famous Sac chief, at the mouth of the Des Moines River, which Pike elsewhere calls Means River. This house was later known as Fort Madison, doubtless on the recommendation of the explorer, since part of his errand was to select proper sites for forts.

On the next day Pike called all the chief men of the village to his camp and held a parley. He told them:

"That their great father, the president of the United States, wishing to be more intimately acquainted with the situation, wants, &c., of the different nations of

the red people, in our newly acquired territory of Louisiana, had ordered the general to send a number of his young warriors in different directions, to take them by the hand, and make such inquiries as might afford the satisfaction required.

“That I was authorized to choose situations for their trading establishments; and wished them to inform me if that place would be considered by them as central.

“That I was sorry to hear of the murder which had been committed on the river below; but, in consideration of their assurances that it was none of their nation, and the anxiety exhibited by them on the occasion, I had written to the general and informed him of what they had said on the subject.

“That in their treaty they engaged to apprehend all traders who came among them without license; for that time, I could not examine their traders on this subject; but that, on my return, I would make a particular examination.

“That if they thought proper they might send a young man in my boat, to inform the other villages of my mission,” etc.

“I then presented them with some tobacco, knives, and whisky. They replied to the following purport:

“That they thanked me for the good opinion I had of their nation, and for what I had written the general. That themselves, their young warriors, and the whole nation, were glad to see me among them.

“That as for the situation of the trading-houses, they

could not determine, being but a part of the nation. With respect to sending a young man along, that if I would wait until to-morrow, they would choose one out. And finally, that they thanked me for my tobacco, knives, and whisky."

After writing a letter about this interview to the commander-in-chief Pike started, and after two days of wrestling with sand-bars and twisting among islands arrived at what he describes on the west shore as a handsome site for a garrison. This was on top of a hill, which was level on top.

"Four hundred yards in the rear there is a small prairie of 8 or 10 acres, which would be a convenient spot for gardens; and on the east side of the river there is a beautiful prospect over a large prairie, as far as the eye can extend, now and then interrupted by groves of trees. Directly under the rock is a limestone spring, which, after an hour's work, would afford water amply sufficient for the consumption of a regiment. The landing is bold and safe, and at the lower part of the hill a road may be made for a team in half an hour. Black and white oak timber in abundance. The mountain continues about two miles, and has five springs bursting from it in that distance." This handsome site for a fort, which is marked on the explorer's map, is now the city of Burlington, Iowa. There they "met four Indians and two squaws; landed with them; gave them one quart of *made* whisky, a few biscuit, and some salt. I requested some venison of them; they pretended they could not understand me; but after we

had left them they held up two hams, and hallooed and laughed at us in derision. Passed nine horses on shore and saw many signs of Indians. Passed a handsome prairie on the east side, and encamped at its head." Here they were joined by three boats from "Michilmackinac," and learned that this prairie was half way between St. Louis and Prairie du Chien.

"*Aug. 24th.* In the morning passed a number of islands. Before dinner Corporal Bradley and myself took our guns and went on shore; we got behind the savannah, by following the stream we conceived to have been a branch of the river, but which led two leagues from it. My two favorite dogs having gone out with us, gave out on the prairie on account of heat, high grass and want of water; but, thinking they would come on, we continued our march. We heard the report of a gun, and supposing it to be from the boat answered it: shortly after, however, we passed an Indian trail, which appeared as if the persons had been hurried, I presume at the report of the guns; for with these people all strangers are enemies. Shortly after we struck the river, and the boat appeared in view; stayed some time for my dogs; two of my men volunteered to go in search of them. Encamped on the west shore, nearly opposite a chalk bank. My two men had not yet returned, and it was extraordinary, as they knew my boat never waited for any person on shore. They endeavored to strike the Mississippi ahead of us. We fired a blunderbuss three times, to let them know where we lay."

Firing their cannon every hour as a signal for the men, the boat proceeded. Passing the Iowa River, the party camped on Grant's prairie, which must be understood as the lowlands below Muscatine, Iowa. The boat, which had been leaking badly, was mended with oakum and tallow, and owing to hard head-winds had to be towed by the men. They met two canoes of Indians who urged them to land with them, but they refused, the men towing until the hills meeting the water caused them to stop. Here they again hoped to find their missing men. A cold north wind was blowing, the thermometer had dropped to ten degrees, but the men kept at the ropes until they passed the "Rivière de Roche," as Pike calls Rock River. He notes passing a pole on which "five dogs were hanging." Four miles above the mouth of Rock River he struck the camp of Mr. James Aird of Mackinaw, and after breakfasting with him they began the ascent of the rapids, losing their rudder in the first round. Raising sail in the teeth of a hard gale they made a successful ascent of the rapids, arriving at a "Reynard village," as Pike always alludes to the Fox Indians. Here again he expected to find his missing men, who he thought would make a short cut across country. The Fox chief told him the men could reach Prairie du Chien in four days' march and promised to give them moccasins for the journey.

The boat now set sail again, and Pike intended to sail all night, but the wind lulling the party camped on an island near the west shore. Pike had now traversed the distance from Burlington to the head of the rapids,

or what is now the town of Le Claire. His next camp was at the mouth of the Galena River, "Rivière Le Fièvre" as it was not inappropriately known to the French, and so found by Pike.

"*Sunday, Sept. 1st.* Embarked early; wind fair; arrived at the lead mines at twelve o'clock. A dysentery, with which I had been afflicted several days was suddenly checked this morning, which I believe to have been the occasion of a very violent attack of fever about eleven o'clock. Notwithstanding it was very severe, I dressed myself, with an intention to execute the order of the general relative to this place. We were saluted with a field-piece and received with every mark of attention by Monsieur Dubuque, the proprietor. There were no horses at the house, and it was six miles to where the mines were worked; it was therefore impossible for me to make a report by actual inspection. I therefore proposed ten queries, on the answers to which my report was founded.

"Dined with Mr. D. who informed me that the Sioux and the Sauteurs were as warmly engaged in opposition as ever; that not long since the former killed 15 Sauteurs, who on the 10th of August return, killed 10 Sioux, at the entrance of St. Peters; and that a party of Sacs, Reynards, and Puants of 200 warriors, had embarked on an expedition against the Sauteurs; but they had heard that the chief, having had an unfavorable dream, persuaded the party to return, and that I would meet them on their voyage. At this place I was introduced to a chief called Raven, of the Reynards. He made a

very flowery speech, which I answered in a few words, accompanied by a small present.

“I had now given up all hopes of my two men, and was about to embark when a peroque arrived, in which they were, with a Mr. Blondeau, and two Indians whom that gentleman had engaged above the rapids of Stony river. The two soldiers had been six days without anything to eat except muscles when they met Mr. James Aird, by whose humanity and attention their strength and spirits were in a measure restored; and they were enabled to reach the Reynard village, where they met Mr. B. The Indian chief furnished them with corn and shoes, and showed his friendship by every possible attention. I immediately discharged the hire of the Indians, and gave Mr. Blondeau a passage to the Prairie des Cheins. Left the lead mines at four o'clock. Distance 25 miles.

“*Sept. 2d.* After making two short reaches, we commenced one which is 30 miles in length; the wind serving, we just made it, and encamped on the E. side, opposite the mouth of Turkey river. In the course of the day we landed to shoot pigeons. The moment a gun was fired, some Indians, who were on the shore above us, ran down and put off in their peroques with great precipitation; upon which Mr. Blondeau informed me that all the women and children were frightened at the very name of an American boat, and that the men held us in great respect, conceiving us very quarrelsome, much for war, and also very brave. This information I used as prudence suggested. We stopped

at an encampment three miles below the town where they gave us some excellent plums. They despatched a pirogue to the village to give notice, as I suppose, of our arrival. It commenced raining about dusk and rained all night. Distance 40 miles.

“*Sept. 3rd.* Embarked at a pretty early hour. Cloudy. Met two peroques of family Indians; they at first asked Mr. Blondeau if we were for war, or if going to war? I now experienced the good effect of having some person on board who could speak their language; for they presented me with three pair of ducks and a quantity of venison, sufficient for all our crew for one day; in return, I made them some trifling presents. Afterward met two peroques, carrying some of the warriors spoken of on the 2d inst. They kept at a great distance, until spoken to by Mr. B., when they informed him that their party had proceeded up as high as Lake Pekin without effecting anything. It is surprising what a dread the Indians in this quarter have of the Americans. I have often seen them go round islands to avoid meeting my boat. It appears to me evident that the traders have taken great pains to impress upon the minds of the savages the idea of our being a very vindictive, ferocious, and warlike people. This impression was perhaps made with no good intention; but when they find that our conduct toward them is guided by magnanimity and justice, instead of operating in an injurious manner, it will have the effect to make them reverence at the same time they fear us.”

Having breakfasted just below the “Ouisconsing”

River, as Pike gives us the French name of the Wisconsin River in his own spelling, he reached Prairie du Chien at eleven o'clock, where he was entertained by a Captain Fisher, and met Mr. Frazer, who subsequently became his travelling companion. This Mr. Frazer, like the Frazer who was with Lewis and Clark, was a Green Mountain boy. With these two gentlemen Pike started in a "Schenactady boat" to look for a site for a garrison. Crossing the river and ascending a hill he notes in his diary: "Made choice of a spot which I thought most eligible, being level on the top, having a spring in the rear, and commanding a view of the country around. A shower of rain came on which completely wet us, and we returned to the village without having ascended the Ouisconsing as we intended. Marked four trees with A. B. C. D., and squared the sides of one in the center. Wrote to the general."

Prairie du Chien, which Pike spells with his usual indifference, was one of the earliest trading-posts on the river. From the maps of the preceding century it appears to have been the site of Fort St. Nicolas. In 1768 it was a town of three hundred families with houses built Indian fashion, and a great centre of barter. The name is variously attributed to an Indian tribe and to some particular Indian. In the writing of the day it is spoken of as Dog Plain. The hill of which Pike writes is now known as Pike's Mountain. He speaks of it elsewhere as well calculated to command the Mississippi. His party remained at Prairie du Chien five days, the men amusing themselves with jumping and



"SOME OF THEM EVEN TRIED THEIR DEXTERITY, TO SEE HOW NEAR THE BOAT THEY COULD STRIKE."



hopping contests with the villagers. Having engaged two interpreters, Pierre Rosseau and Joseph Reinville, and joined by Mr. Frazer, with two new boats, the party started for the upper river on September 8.

“Mr. Frazer is a young gentleman, clerk to Mr. Blakely of Montreal; he was born in Vermont, but has latterly resided in Montreal, Canada. To the attention of this gentleman I am much indebted; he procured for me everything in his power I stood in need of, dispatched his bark canoes, and remained himself to go with me. His design was to winter with some of the Sioux bands. We sailed well, came 18 miles and encamped on the west bank.

“I must not fail here to bear testimony to the politeness of all the principal inhabitants of the village. There is, however, a material distinction to be made in the nature of those attentions: The kindness of Messrs. Fisher, Frazer, and Woods, all Americans, seemed to be the spontaneous effusions of good will, and partiality to their countrymen; it extended to the accommodation, convenience, exercises, and pastimes of my men; and whenever they proved superior to the French, openly showed their pleasure. But the French Canadians appeared attentive rather from their natural good manners than sincere friendship; however, it produced from them the same effect that natural good will did in the others.”

“*Sept. 10th.* Rain still continuing, we remained in camp. Having shot some pigeons, the report was heard at the Sioux lodges, the same to whom I spoke on the

6th at the Prairie; when La Feuille sent down six of his young men to inform me that he had waited three days with meat, etc., but that last night they had began to drink, and that on the next day he would receive me with his people sober. I returned him for answer that the season was advanced, time was pressing, and if the rain ceased I must go on. Mr. Frazer and the interpreter went home with the Indians. We embarked about one o'clock. Frazer, returning, informed me that the chief acquiesced in my reasons for pressing forward, but that he had prepared a pipe to present to me, to show to all the Sioux above, with a message to inform them that I was a chief of the new father, and that he wished me to be treated with friendship and respect.

“On our arrival opposite the lodges, the men were paraded on the bank with their guns in their hands. They saluted us with ball, with what might be termed three rounds; which I returned with three rounds from my blunderbusses. This salute although nothing to soldiers accustomed to fire, would not be so agreeable to many people; as the Indians had all been drinking and as some of them even tried their dexterity, to see how near the boat they could strike. They may, indeed, be said to have struck on every side of us. When landed, I had my pistols in my belt and sword in hand. I was met on the bank by the chief, and invited to his lodge. As soon as my guards were formed and sentinels posted, I accompanied him. Some of my men who were going up with me I caused to leave their arms behind, as a mark of confidence. At the

chief's lodge I found a clean mat and pillow for me to sit on, and the before-mentioned pipe on a pair of small crutches before me. The chief sat on my right hand, my interpreter and Mr. Frazer on my left. After smoking, the chief spoke to the following purport:

“That, notwithstanding he had seen me at the Prairie he was happy to take me by the hand among his own people, and there show his young men the respect due to their new father. That, when at St. Louis in the spring, his father had told him that if he looked down the river he would see one of his young warriors coming up. He now found it true, and he was happy to see me, who knew the Great Spirit was the father of all, both the white and the red people; and if one died, the other could not live long. That he had never been at war with their new father, and hoped always to preserve the same understanding that now existed. That he now presented me with a pipe, to show to the upper bands as a token of our good understanding, and that they might see his work and imitate his conduct. That he had gone to St. Louis on a shameful visit, to carry a murderer; but that we had given the man his life, and he thanked us for it. That he had provided something to eat, but he supposed I could not eat it; and if not, to give it to my young men.

“I replied: That, although I had told him at the Prairie my business up the Mississippi, I would again relate it to him. I then mentioned the different objects I had in view with regard to the savages who had fallen under our protection by our late purchase from

the Spaniards; the different posts to be established; the objects of these posts as related to them; supplying them with necessaries; having officers and agents of government near them to attend to their business; and above all to endeavor to make peace between the Sioux and Sauteurs. That it was possible on my return I should bring some of the Sauteurs down with me, and take with me some of the Sioux chiefs to St. Louis, there to settle the long and bloody war which had existed between the two nations. That I accepted his pipe with pleasure, as the gift of a great man, the chief of four bands, and a brother; that it should be used as he desired. I then eat of the dinner he had provided, which was very grateful. It was wild rye and venison, of which I sent four bowls to my men.

“I afterward went to a dance, the performance of which was attended with many curious maneuvers. Men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in the gayest manner; each had in the hand a small skin of some description, and would frequently run up, point their skin, and give a puff with their breath; when the person blown at, whether man or woman, would fall, and appear to be almost lifeless, or in great agony; but would recover slowly, rise, and join in the dance. This they called their great medicine; or, as I understood the word, dance of religion, the Indians believing that they actually puffed something into each others' bodies which occasioned the falling, etc. It is not every person who is admitted; persons wishing to join them must first make valuable

presents to the society to the amount of \$40 or \$50, give a feast, and then be admitted with great ceremony. Mr. Frazer informed me that he was once in the lodge with some young men who did not belong to the club; when one of the dancers came in they immediately threw their blankets over him, and forced him out of the lodge; he laughed, but the young Indians called him a fool, and said he did not know what the dancer might blow into his body.

“I returned to my boat; sent for the chief and presented him with two carrots of tobacco, four knives, a half pound of vermillion, and one quart of salt. Mr. Frazer asked the liberty to present them some rum; we made them up a keg between us, of eight gallons—two gallons of whiskey, Mr. Frazer informed the chief that he did not dare give them any without my permission. The chief thanked me for all my presents, and said they must come free as he did not ask for them.

“I replied that to those who did not ask for anything I gave freely; but to those who asked for much I gave little or none.

“We embarked about half past three o'clock; came three miles; encamped on the W. side. Mr. Frazer we left behind, but he came up with his two peroques about dusk. It commenced raining very hard. In the night a peroque arrived from the lodges of his camp. During our stay at their camp, there were soldiers appointed to keep the crowd from my boats, who executed their duty with vigilance and with rigor, driving men, women,

and children back whenever they came near my boats. At my departure the soldiers said, as I had shaken hands with their chief, they must shake hands with my soldiers, in which request I willingly indulged them."

Still twisting among the islands and pelted by rain the expedition proceeded as far as La Crosse, then a prairie taking its name from the game of la crosse, which since that day still gives its name to the town. Mr. Frazer, coming up with his pirogues, or canoes, they went over the prairie and inspected "some holes dug by the Sioux, when in expectation of an attack, into which they first put their women and children, and then crawl themselves. They were generally round and about 10 feet in diameter; but some were half-moons and quite a breastwork. This I understood was the chief work, which was the principal redoubt. Their modes of constructing them are: the moment they apprehend or discover an enemy on the prairie, they commence digging with their knives, tomahawks, and a wooden ladle; and in an incredibly short space of time they have a hole sufficiently deep to cover themselves and their families from the balls or arrows of the enemy. They have no idea of taking those subterraneous redoubts by storm, as they would probably lose a great number of men in the attack; and although they might be successful in any event, it would be considered a very imprudent action."

Something should be said of the men who accompanied Pike in this important passage of the river from Prairie du Chien to La Crosse and in his diplomatic

encounter with the Sioux Indians. Rienville, whose name Pike misspelled Reinalle, was a French half-breed, whose influence with the Indians was so great that in the war of 1812 he was placed in command of the Sioux with the rank and pay of captain and distinguished himself both by his gallantry and humanity. Le Feuille, reconstructing Pike's spelling, was known to the English as Falling Leaf. He was hereditary chief of a band of Sioux; a small man wearing a patch over one eye and was said to resemble the great Condé. He was held in great reverence by his people, and unlike most of the Sioux held that the Indians would prosper only as they kept at peace with the whites.

“*Sept. 14th.* Embarked early; the fog so thick we could not distinguish objects 20 yards. When we breakfasted we saw nothing of Mr. Frazer's canoes. After breakfast, at the head of an island, met Frazer's boats. Wind coming on fair, we hoisted sail, and found that we were more on an equality with our sails than our oars. The birch canoes sailed very well, but we were able to outrow them. Met the remainder of the war-party of the Sacs and Reynards before noted, returning from their expedition against the Sauteurs. I directed my interpreter to ask how many scalps they had taken. They replied ‘None.’ He added ‘for they were all squaws.’ For which I reprimanded him. Passed the mountain which stands in the river; or, as the French say ‘which soaks in the river.’ Came to Prairie Le Aile on the west. Mr. Frazer, Bradley and Sparks, and myself went out to hunt. We crossed

first a dry flat prairie; when we arrived at the hills we ascended them from which we had a most sublime and beautiful prospect. On the right, we saw the mountains which we passed in the morning and the prairie in their rear; like distant clouds, the mountains at the Prairie Le Cross; on our left and under our feet, the valley between the two barren hills through which the Mississippi wound itself by numerous channels, forming many beautiful islands, as far as the eye could embrace the scene; and our four boats under full sail, their flags streaming before the wind. It was altogether a prospect so variegated and romantic that a man may scarcely expect to enjoy such a one but twice or thrice in the course of his life. I proposed keeping the hills until they led to the river, encamping and waiting the next day for our boats; but Mr. Frazer's anxiety to get to the boats induced me to yield. After crossing a very thick bottom, fording and swimming three branches of the river, and crossing several morasses, we at twelve o'clock arrived opposite our boats, which were encamped on the east side. We were brought over. Saw great sign of elk, but had not the good fortune to come across any of them. My men saw three on the shore. Distance 21 miles."

Passing the "Rivière Embarass" and L'Eau Claire the boats arrived at the Le Bœuf, a river known earlier as the "River of Wild Bulls," at whose head-waters the Chippewa Indians lived. Here Mr. Frazer broke one of his canoes, and failed to overtake the party until it had made the "Grand Encampment" below Lake

Pepin, so called because, though a natural formation, it has the effect of a fortification.

“*Sept. 16th.* After supper, the wind being fair, we put off with the intention to sail across; my interpreter, Rosseau, telling me that he had passed the lake twenty times, but never once in the day; giving as a reason that the wind frequently rose and detained them by day in the lake. But I believe the traders’ true reason generally is their fears of the Sauteurs, as these have made several strokes of war at the mouth of this river, never distinguishing between the Sioux and their traders. However, the wind serving, I was induced to go on; and accordingly we sailed, my boat bringing up the rear, for I had put the sail of my big boat on my batteau, and a mast of 22 feet. Mr. Frazer embarked on my boat. At first the breeze was very gentle, and we sailed with our violins and other music playing; but the sky afterward became cloudy and quite a gale arose. My boat plowed the swells, sometimes almost bow under. When we came to the Traverse, which is opposite Point De Sable, we thought it most advisable, the lake being very much disturbed and the gale increasing, to take harbor in a bay on the east. One of the canoes and my boat came in well together; but, having made a fire on the point to give notice to our boats in the rear, they both ran on a bar before they doubled it, and were near foundering; but by jumping in the lake we brought them into safe harbor. Distance 40 miles.

“*Sept. 17th.* Although there was every appearance of a storm, we embarked at half past six o’clock, the

wind fair; but before we had hoisted sail, those in front had struck theirs. The wind came on hard ahead. The sky became enflamed, and the lightening seemed to roll down the sides of the hills which bordered the shores of the lake. The storm in all its grandeur, majesty, and horror burst upon us in the Traverse while making for Point du Sable; and it required no moderate exertion to weather the point and get to the windward side of it. Distance three miles.

“There we found Mr. Cameron, who had sailed from the prairie on the 5th; he had three bark canoes and a wooden one with him. He had been lying here two days, his canoes unloaded and turned up for the habitation of his men, his tents pitched, and himself living in all the ease of an Indian trader. He appeared to be a man of tolerable information, but rather indolent in his habits; a Scotchman by birth, but an Englishman by prejudice. He had with him a very handsome young man, by the name of John Rudsdell, and also his own son, a lad of fifteen.

“The storm continuing, we remained all day. I was shown a point of rocks from which a Sioux maiden cast herself, and was dashed into a thousand pieces on the rocks below. She had been informed that her friends intended matching her to a man she despised; having been refused the man she had chosen, she ascended the hill, singing her death-song; and before they could overtake her and obviate her purpose she took the lover’s leap! Thus ended her troubles with her life. A wonderful display of sentiment in a savage!”

Crossing the lake Pike and Mr. Cameron went up the Canoe River, now corrupted into Cannon River, where they met a small band of Sioux under the command of their second chief, Red Wing, who in our day has given his name to the town of Red Wing. He made a speech and presented the explorer with a pipe, a pouch and a buffalo skin. "He appeared to be a man of sense, and promised to accompany me to St. Peters river. He saluted me, and had it returned. I made him a small present." Thus Pike notes in his diary. Dining at the St. Croix River Pike left Mr. Cameron and young Frazer, who had business with the Indians, and unhappily lost his watch that he had loaned to the guard. The two men not having overtaken them he "fired a blunderbuss at Tattoo to signal them." The traders not having come up, he rested at a prairie where there was "a large painted stone," a site which we now know was near Red Rock. This stone was a fragment of syenite about four and a half feet in diameter, known by the Indians as Red Medicine Stone, and on which the Indians offer presents to the Great Father. Here Pike remained over night, and the men not coming up he crossed to a Sioux village on the east side of which he writes:

"It consists of 11 lodges, and is situated at the head of an island just below a ledge of rocks. The village was evacuated at this time, all the Indians having gone out to the lands to gather fols avoin. About two miles above, saw three bears swimming over the river, but at too great a distance for us to have killed them; they made the shore before I could come up with them.

Passed a camp of Sioux, of four lodges, in which I saw only one man, whose name was Black Soldier. The garrulity of the women astonished me, for at the other camps they never opened their lips; but here they flocked around us with all their tongues going at the same time. The cause of this freedom must have been the absence of their lords and masters. Passed the encampment of Mr. Ferrebault, who had broken his peroque and had encamped on the west side of the river, about three miles below St. Peters. We made our encampment on the N. E. point of the big island opposite St. Peters. Distance 24 miles."

Pike was now camping on what is to-day Fort Snelling. Mr. Ferrebault, to whom he alludes, was a French Canadian engaged in trading with the Indians. He had married a half-breed and the Indian name of Chahpah-sin-tay, meaning "Beaver Tail," was given to him. He attached himself to the American cause during the war of 1812, imperilling both his life and fortune. He was always a friend to the red man, encouraging him in industry and agriculture, and was of valuable service to the United States in arranging treaties with the Indians.

"*Sept. 21st.* The Mississippi became so narrow to-day, that I crossed in my batteau with forty strokes of my oars. The water of the Mississippi since we passed Lake Pepin has been remarkably red; and where it is deep, appears as black as ink. The waters of the St. Croix and St. Peters appear blue and clear, for a considerable distance below their confluence.

"I observed a white flag on shore to-day, and on



SIOUX VILLAGE—ON ST. PETER'S RIVER.

From a painting by Catlin.



landing, discovered it to be white silk; it was suspended over a scaffold, on which were laid four dead bodies, two inclosed in boards, and two in bark. They were wrapped up in blankets, which appeared to be quite new. They were the bodies, I was informed of two Sioux women, one of their children, and some other relative; two of whom had died at St. Peters and two at St. Croix, but were brought here to be deposited on this scaffold together. This is the manner of Sioux burial when persons die a natural death; but when they are killed they suffer them to lie unburied. This circumstance brought to my recollection the bones of a man I found on the hills below the St. Croix; the jaw bone I brought on board. He must have been killed on that spot."

CHAPTER II

ST. PAUL TO LEECH LAKE

SEPTEMBER 22D, 1805—JANUARY 31ST, 1806

“*Sunday, Sept. 22d.* Employed in the morning measuring the river. About three o’clock Mr. Frazer and his peroues arrived; and in three hours after Petit Corbeau, at the head of his band, arrived with 150 warriors.

“They ascended the hill in the point between the Mississippi and St. Peters, and gave us a salute, *a la mode savage*, with balls; after which we settled affairs for the council next day. Mr. Frazer and myself took a bark canoe, and went up to the village, in order to see Mr. Cameron. We ascended the St. Peters to the village, and found his camp. He engaged to be at the council the next day, and promised to let me have his barge. The Sioux had marched on a war excursion; but, hearing by express of my arrival, they returned by land. We were treated very hospitably, and halloed after to go into lodge to eat. Returned to our camp about eleven o’clock, and found the Sioux and my men peaceably encamped. No current in the river.

“*Sept. 23d.* Prepared for the council, which we commenced about twelve o’clock. I had a bower or shade,

made of my sails, on the beach, into which only my gentlemen (the traders) and the chiefs entered. I then addressed them in a speech, which, though long and touching on many points, had for its principal object the granting of land at this place, falls of St. Anthony, and St. Croix, and making peace with the Chipeways. I was replied to by Le Fils de Pinchot, Le Petit Corbeau, and l'Original Leve. They gave me the land required, about 100,000 acres, equal to \$200,000 and promised me a safe passport for myself and any chiefs I might bring down; but spoke doubtfully with respect to the peace. I gave them presents to the amount of about \$200, and as soon as the council was over I allowed the traders to present them with some liquors, which I myself gave, equal to 60 gallons. In one-half hour they were all embarked for their respective villages.

“The chiefs in Council were: Le Petit Corbeau; who signed the grant; Le Fils de Pinchot, who also signed; Le Grand Partisan; L'Original Leve, war chief; gave him my father's tomahawk; Le Demi Douzen, war chief; Le Becasse; Le Boeuf qui Marche.

“It was somewhat difficult to get them to sign the grant, as they conceived their word of honor should be taken for the grant without any mark; but I convinced them it was not on their account, but my own that I wished them to sign it.”

The influence of the French in this part of the country may be noted in the fact that Pike does not use the Indian names of these chiefs. Little Crow was one of

the greatest chiefs of the Sioux, and twenty-six years later was the spokesman of his tribe at the second council held at Fort Snelling. Le Fils de Pinchot was the chief of the Lake tribes. The name signifies "what is he afraid of" and was given to his father. L'Original Leve must be translated Standing Moose. This Indian refused to join the war party against the American in 1812, and went into the service of General Clark at St. Louis. He was known in Minnesota as "Tomahaw," and with his one eye and stove pipe hat was a well known character about St. Paul. A daguerrotype of him is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Le Becasse, a corruption of bras cassé, or broken arm, was a Sac chief. The whiskey that Pike bestowed on these Indians was what was known at the time as "made" whiskey—that is to say two gallons of water to one of whiskey; these were the proportions usually observed in dealing with the Indians.

"*Sept. 24th.* In the morning I discovered that my flag was missing from my boat. Being in doubt whether it had been stolen by the Indians, or had fallen overboard and had floated away, I sent for my friend, Original Leve, and sufficiently evinced to him, by the vehemence of my action, by the immediate punishment of my guard (having afflicted on one of them corporal punishment) and by sending down the shore three miles in search of it, how much displeased I was that such a thing should have occurred. I sent a flag and two carrots of tobacco by Mr. Cameron to the Sioux at the head of the St. Peters; made a small draft of the posi-

tion at this place; sent up the boat I got from Mr. Fisher to the village on the St. Peters, and exchanged her for a barge with Mr. Duncan. My men returned with the barge about sundown. She was a fine light thing; eight men were able to carry her. Employed all day in writing.

Sept. 25th. I was awakened out of my bed by Le Petit Corbeau to see if we were all killed, or if any accident had happened to us. This was in consequence of having found my flag floating three miles below their village, 15 miles hence, from which they concluded some affray had taken place, and that it had been thrown overboard. Although I considered this an unfortunate accident for me, I was exceedingly happy at its effect; for it was the occasion of preventing much bloodshed among the savages. A chief called Outard Blanche had his lip cut off, and had come to Petit Corbeau and told him, that his face was his looking-glass, that it was spoiled, and that he was determined on revenge. The parties were charging their guns and preparing for action, when lo! the flag appeared like a messenger of peace sent to prevent their bloody purposes. They were all astonished to see it. The staff was broken. Then Petit Corbeau arose and spoke to this effect: That a thing so sacred had not been taken from my boat without violence; that it would be proper for them to hush all private animosities, until they had revenged the cause of their eldest brother; that he would immediately go up to St. Peters, to know what dogs had done that thing, in order to take steps to get satisfac-

tion of those who had done the mischief. They all listened to this reasoning; he immediately had the flag put out to dry, and embarked for my camp. I was much concerned to hear of the blood likely to have been shed, and gave him five yards of calico, one handkerchief, one carrot of tobacco, and one knife, in order to make peace among his people. He promised to send my flag by land to the falls, and make peace with Outard Blanche. Mr. Frazer went up to the village. We embarked late, and encamped at the foot of the rapids. In many places I could scarce throw a stone over the river. Distance three miles.

“Sept. 26th. Embarked at the usual hour, and after much labor in passing through the rapids, arrived at the foot of the falls about three or four o'clock; unloaded my boat, and had the principal part of the cargo carried over the portage with the other boat; however, full loaded, they were not able to get over the last shoot; and encamped about 600 yards below. I pitched my tent and encamped above the shoot. The rapids mentioned in this day's march might be called a continuation of the falls of St. Anthony, for they are equally entitled to the appellation with the falls of the Delaware and Susquehanna. Killed one deer. Distance nine miles.

“Sept. 27th. Brought over the residue of my lading this morning. Two men arrived from Mr. Frazer's on St. Peters, for my despatches. This business of closing and sealing appeared like a last adieu to the civilized world. Sent a large packet to the general, and a letter

to Mrs. Pike, with a short note to Mr. Frazer. The young Indians brought my flag across by land; they arrived yesterday just as we came in sight of the falls. I made them a present for their punctuality and expedition, and the danger they were exposed to from the journey. Carried our boats out of the river as far as the bottom of the hill.

“*Sept. 28th.* Brought my barge over, and put her in the river above the falls. While we were engaged with her, three quarters of a mile from camp, seven Indians painted black appeared on the heights. We had left our guns in camp, and were entirely defenceless. It occurred to me that they were a small party of Sioux, who were obstinate, and who would go to war when the other bands came in. These they proved to be. They were better armed than any I had seen, having guns, bows, arrows, clubs, spears, and some of them even a case of pistols. I was at that time giving my men a dram, and giving the cup of liquor to the first he drank it off; but I was more cautious with the remainder. I sent my interpreter to camp with them to wait my coming, wishing to purchase one of their war clubs, which was made of elk horn and decorated with inlaid work. This and a set of bows and arrows I wished to get as a curiosity. But the liquor I had given him beginning to operate, he came back for me; refusing to go until I brought my boat, he returned (and I suppose being offended) borrowed a canoe and crossed the river. In the afternoon we got the other boat to the top of the hill, when the props gave way,

and she slid all the way to the bottom, but fortunately without injuring any person. It raining very hard, we left her. Killed one goose and a raccoon.

“*Sunday, 29th.* I killed a remarkably large raccoon. Got our large boat over the portage, and put her in the river at the upper landing. This night the men gave sufficient proof of their fatigue, by all throwing themselves down to sleep, preferring rest to supper. This day I had but 15 men out of 22; the others were sick.

“This voyage could have been performed with great convenience if we had taken our departure in June. But the proper time would be to leave the Illinois as soon as the ice would permit, when the river would be of a good height.

“*Sept. 30th.* Loaded my boat, moved over and encamped on the island. The large boats loading likewise, we went over and put on board. In the meantime I took a survey of the Falls, Portage, etc. If it be possible to pass the falls at high water, of which I am doubtful, it must be on the east side, about 30 yards from shore, as there are three layers of rocks one below the other. The pitch off each is not more than five feet; but of this I can say more on my return. (It is never possible, as ascertained on my return.)”

The treaty just executed ceded to the Government nine miles square, including the Falls of St. Anthony. A blank space was left for payment. This was subsequently filled in by an act of Congress authorizing the payment of \$2000 for the tract. In the letter written by Pike to General Wilkinson, which he alludes to as

his farewell to civilization, he states that he gave to the two chiefs at the time \$250 in goods and promised that an army post should be maintained at the junction of the St. Croix and the Mississippi Rivers, and the Sioux defended against the Chippewas should they again take up the hatchet. In this letter he also commends to the commanding general, the interpreter, Reinville, and young Mr. Frazer, of whom he writes: "Although not possessing the advantages of a polished education, inherits that without which an education serves but to add to frivolity of character—candor, bravery, and that *amor patria* which distinguishes the good of every nation, from Nova Zembla to the line."

Immediately after he says in less exalted language: "Finding that the traders were playing the devil with their rum, I yesterday in council informed the Indians that their father had prohibited the selling of liquor to them, and that they would oblige him and serve themselves if they would prevent their young men from paying the credits of any trader who sold rum to them, at the same time charging the chiefs to treat them well; as their father, although good, would not again forgive them, but punish with severity any injuries committed on their traders. This, I presume, General, is agreeable to the spirit of the laws. Mr. Frazer immediately set the example, by separating his spirits from the merchandise in his boats, and returning it to the Prairie, although it would materially injure him if the other traders retained and sold theirs. In fact, unless there are some persons at our posts here,

when established, who have authority effectually to stop the evil by confiscating the liquors, etc., it will still be continued by the weak and malevolent."

The business of getting his barges over the portage proved a serious matter. Pike himself worked with blistered hands until on the morning of the 27th when the last load was carried over.

The weather was now very cold, the Mercury at zero. The river was shallow and Pike encountered now islands and now rapids so that, "navigation to persons not determined to proceed would have been impracticable." In order to get the boats over the shoals and rapids the men were obliged to wade almost all day towing them. This work was varied only by shooting geese and swans for food. Pike notes also shooting an unknown animal called a "brelaw," but which we know as the badger. They were soon to encounter numerous elks and an abundance of small game. Observing a "red capot" hung on a tree, which the interpreter said was a sacrifice by the Indian to the "bon dieu," he determined to lie by and hunt for a day. All about them were the evidences of the warfare between the Sioux and Chippewas, whom Pike calls Sauteurs, for by this name, taken from the Sault Sainte Marie on the Superior from whence the tribe came, they were called by the French. Being on dangerous ground, and likely to be taken for Sioux traders, the Commander divided his men less able to do the hard work of towing, into two "flankers on both sides of the river, both as look-outs and as hunters."

“Oct. 4th. Rained in the morning; but the wind serving, we embarked, although it was extremely raw and cold. Opposite the mouth of Crow river we found a bark canoe cut to pieces with tomahawks, and the paddles broken on shore; a short distance higher up we saw five more, and continued to see the wrecks until we found eight. From the form of the canoes my interpreter pronounced them to be Sioux; and some broken arrows to be the Sauteurs. The paddles were also marked with the Indian sign of men and women killed. From all these circumstances we drew this inference, that the canoes had been the vessels of a party of Sioux who had been attacked and all killed or taken by the Sauteurs. Time may develop this transaction. My interpreter was much alarmed, assuring me that it was probable that at our first rencounter with the Chipeways they would take us for Sioux traders, and fire on us before we could come to an explanation; that they had murdered three Frenchmen whom they found on the shore about this time last spring; but notwithstanding his information, I was on shore all the afternoon in pursuit of elk. Caught a curious little animal on the prairie, which my Frenchman termed a prairie mole, but it is very different from the mole of the States. Killed two geese, one pheasant, and a wolf.”

Pike had now reached what we know as Clear Water. Here he found numerous islands occupied by beavers, whose dams and roadways excited his wonder and admiration. The river was becoming so impassable by reason of shoals, rapids, rocks, and islands that it was

necessary to find some "wintering ground," where he might leave his boats and take to canoes for the rest of his journey. He had now arrived at timbered land where he could find material for his canoes, and bears and porcupines were added to the abundant game which engaged his hunters.

"*Oct. 11th.* Both boats passed the worst of the rapids by eleven o'clock, but we were obliged to wade and lift them over rocks where there was not a foot of water, when at times the next step would be in water over our heads. In consequence of this our boats were frequently in imminent danger of being bilged on the rocks. About five miles above the rapids our large boat was discovered to leak so fast as to render it necessary to unload her, which we did. Stopped the leak and reloaded. Near a war-encampment I found a painted buckskin and a piece of scarlet cloth, suspended by the limb of a tree; this I supposed to be a sacrifice to Matcho Manitou, to render their enterprise successful; but I took the liberty of invading the rights of his diabolical majesty, by treating them as the priests of old have often done—that is, converting the sacrifice to my own use. Killed only two ducks. Distance 8 miles.

"*Oct. 16th.* When we arose in the morning found that snow had fallen during the night; the ground was covered, and it continued to snow. This indeed was but poor encouragement for attacking the rapids, in which we were certain to wade to our necks. I was determined, however, if possible, to make la riviere de Cor-

beau, the highest point ever made by traders in their bark canoes. We embarked, and after four hours' work became so benumbed with cold that our limbs were perfectly useless. We put to shore on the opposite side of the river, about two-thirds of the way up the rapids. Built a large fire; and then discovered that our boats were nearly half-full of water, both having sprung such large leaks as to oblige me to keep three hands bailing. My Sergeant Kennerman, one of the stoutest men I ever knew, broke a blood-vessel and vomited nearly two quarts of blood. One of my corporals, Bradley, also evacuated nearly a pint of blood. These unhappy circumstances, in addition to the inability of four other men, whom we were obliged to leave on shore, convinced me that if I had no regard for my own health and constitution, I should have some for those poor fellows, who were killing themselves to obey my orders. After we had breakfasted and refreshed ourselves, we went down to our boats on the rocks, where I was obliged to leave them. I then informed my men that we would return to the camp, and there leave some of the party and our large boats. This information was pleasing, and the attempt to reach the camp soon accomplished.

“My reasons for this step have partly been already stated. The necessity of unloading and refitting my boats, the beauty and convenience of the spot for building huts, the fine pine trees for peroques, and the quantity of game, were additional inducements. We immediately unloaded our boats and secured their

cargoes. In the evening I went out upon a small but beautiful creek which empties into the falls for the purpose of selecting pine trees to make canoes. Saw five deer, and killed one buck weighing 137 pounds. By my leaving men at this place, and from the great quantities of game in this vicinity, I was insured plenty of provision for my return voyage. In the party left behind was one hunter, to be continually employed, who would keep our stock of salt provisions good. Distance 233 miles above the falls of St. Anthony.

“Cut 60 logs for huts and worked at the canoes,” Pike writes later on. “This considering we had only two felling axes and three hatchets was pretty good work.” These labors on his part were varied by providing for all contingencies in case he should never return. His instructions to Sergeant Kennerman, who was to be left in charge of the little post he was constructing disclose Pike’s careful and judicious attention to detail.

“PINE CREEK RAPIDS, *Oct. 1st. 1805.*

“You are to remain here with the party under your command, subject to the following instructions: Your guards to consist of one non-commissioned officer and three privates, yourself mounting in regular rotation, making one sentinel by day and by night; until your position is inclosed by pickets, every man is to be employed on that object; after which Sparks is to be employed in hunting; but this will by no means excuse him from his tour of guard at night when in the stock-

ade, but he must be relieved during the day by another man.

“Should any Indians visit you previous to having your works complete, divide your men between the two blockhouses, and on no conditions suffer a savage to enter the one where the stores are, and not more than one or two into the other; but should you be so fortunate as not to be discovered until your works are completed, you may admit three, without arms, and no more, to enter at once, at the same time always treating them with as much friendship as is consistent with your own safety.

“You are furnished with some tobacco to present them with, but on no condition are you ever to give them one drop of liquor; inform them that I have taken it all with me. From the arrangements I have made with the Sioux it is presumable they will treat you with friendship; but the Chipeways may be disposed to hostilities, and, should you be attacked, calculate on surrendering only with your life. Instruct your men not to fire at random, nor ever, unless the enemy is near enough to make him a point-blank shot. This you must particularly attend to, and punish the first man found acting in contradiction thereto. The greatest economy must be used with the ammunition and provisions. Of the latter I shall furnish Sparks with his proportion; and at any time should a man accompany him for a day's hunt, furnish him with four or five balls and extra powder, and on his return take away what is left from him. The provisions must be issued agree-

ably to the following proportion: For four days 80 lbs. of fresh venison, elk, or buffalo, or 60 lbs. fresh bear meat with one quart of salt for that period. The remainder of what is killed keep frozen in the open air as long as possible, or salt and smoke it so as to lay up meat for my party and us all to descend the river with. If you are obliged, through failure of your hunter, to issue out of our reserved provisions, you will deliver for four days, 18 lbs. of bacon or pork, and 18 lbs. of flour only. This will be sufficient and must in no instance be exceeded. No whiskey will be issued after the present barrel is exhausted, at half a gill per man per day.

“Our boats are turned up at your gate. You will make a barrel of pitch, and give them a complete repairing to be ready for us to descend in.

“I have delivered to you my journals and observations to this place, with a letter accompanying them to his Excellency, General James Wilkinson, which should I not return by the time hereafter specified, you will convey to him and deliver personally, requesting him to deliver the others committed to your charge.

“You will observe the greatest discipline and justice in your command. I expect the men will conduct themselves in such manner that there will be no complaints on my return, and that they will be ready to account to a higher tribunal. The date of my return is uncertain; but let no information or reports except from under my own hands, induce you to quit this place until one month after the ice has broken up at the head of the

river; when, if I am not arrived, it will be reasonable to suppose that some disastrous events detain us, and you may repair to St. Louis. You are taught to discriminate between my baggage and the United States property. The latter deliver to the assistant military agent at St. Louis, taking his receipts for the same; the former, if in your power, to Mrs. Pike.

“Your party is regularly supplied with provisions, to include the 8th of December only, from which time you are entitled to draw on the United States.

“Z. M. PIKE, *Lt.*”

Two block-houses were built and two canoes. Pike and his men were now ready to continue their journey up the river, when one of the canoes loaded with provisions and ammunition was sunk through a flaw in the wood, which he speaks of as “wind-shake.” One misfortune followed another. In drying the cartridges he saved only five dozen out of thirty, and in drying the powder it exploded and almost blew up the tent and several of the men. He determined to lay over and build another and larger canoe, and meanwhile place the little garrison in a state of defence. He writes: “Had it not been for various political reasons, I would have laughed at the attack of 800 or 1,000 savages if my party were within. For, except accidents, it would have only afforded amusement, the Indians having no idea of taking a place by storm.”

Here follows the record of an interesting mental experience:

“Found myself powerfully attacked with the fantasies of the brain called ennui, at the mention of which I had hitherto scoffed; but my books being packed up, I was like a person entranced, and could easily conceive why so many persons who had been confined to remote places acquired the habit of drinking to excess and many other vicious practices, which have been adopted merely to pass time.

“*Nov. 2d.* Left the camp with the fullest determination to kill an elk, if it were possible, before my return. I never had killed one of those animals. Took Miller, whose obliging disposition made him agreeable in the woods. I was determined, if we came on the trail of elk, to follow them a day or two in order to kill one. This, to a person acquainted with the nature of those animals, and the extent of the prairies in this country, would appear, what it really was, a very foolish resolution. We soon struck where a herd of 150 had passed. Pursued and came in sight about eight o'clock, when they appeared, at a distance, like an army of Indians moving along in single file; a large buck, of at least four feet between the horns, leading the van, and one of equal magnitude bringing up the rear. We followed until near night, without once being able to get within pointblank shot. I once made Miller fire at them with his musket, at about 400 yards' distance; it had no other effect than to make them leave us about five miles behind on the prairie. Passed several deer in the course of the day, which I think we could have killed, but did not fire for fear of alarming

the elk. Finding that it was no easy matter to kill one, I shot a doe through the body, as I perceived by her blood where she lay down in the snow; yet, not knowing how to track, we lost her. Shortly after saw three elk by themselves near a copse of woods. Approached near them and broke the shoulder of one; but he ran off with the other two just as I was about to follow. Saw a buck deer lying on the grass; shot him between the eyes, when he fell over. I walked up to him, put my foot on his horns, and examined the shot; immediately after which he snorted, bounced up, and fell five steps from me. This I considered his last effort; but soon after, to our utter astonishment, he jumped up and ran off. He stopped frequently; we pursued him, expecting him to fall every minute; by which we were led from the pursuit of the wounded elk. After being wearied out in this unsuccessful chase we returned in pursuit of the wounded elk, and when we came up to the party, found him missing from the flock. Shot another in the body; but my ball being small, he likewise escaped. Wounded another deer; when, hungry, cold, and fatigued, after having wounded three deer and two elk, we were obliged to encamp in a point of hemlock woods, on the head of Clear river. The large herd of elk lay about one mile from us, in the prairie. Our want of success I ascribe to the smallness of our balls, and to our inexperience in following the track after wounding the game, for it is very seldom a deer drops on the spot you shoot it.

“Sunday, Nov. 3d. Rose pretty early and went in

pursuit of the elk. Wounded one buck deer on the way. We made an attempt to drive them into the woods; but their leader broke past us, and it appeared as if the drove would have followed him, though they had been obliged to run over us. We fired at them passing, but without effect. Pursued them through the swamp till about ten o'clock, when I determined to attempt to make the river, and for that purpose took a due south course. Passed many droves of elk and buffalo, but being in the middle of an immense prairie, knew it was folly to attempt to shoot them. Wounded several deer, but got none. In fact, I knew I could shoot as many deer as anybody; but neither myself nor my company could find one in ten, whereas one experienced hunter could get all. Near night struck a lake about five miles long and two miles wide. Saw immense droves of elk on both banks. About sundown saw a herd crossing the prairie towards us. We sat down. Two bucks more curious than the others, came pretty close. I struck one behind the fore shoulder; he did not go more than 20 yards, before he fell and died. This was the cause of much exultation, because it fulfilled my determination; and, as we had been two days and nights without victuals, it was very acceptable. Found some scrub oak. In about one mile we made a fire, and with much labor and pains got our meat to it; the wolves feasting on one half of it while we were carrying away the other. We were now provisioned, but we were in want of water, the snow being melted. Finding the drought very ex-

cessive in the night, I went in search of water, and was much surprised, after having gone about a mile to strike the Mississippi. Filled my hat and returned to my companion.

“*Nov. 4th.* Repaired my mockinsons, using a piece of elk’s bone as an awl. We both went to the Mississippi and found we were a great distance from the camp. I left Miller to guard the meat and marched for camp. Having strained my ankles in the swamp, they were extremely sore, and the strings of my mockinsons made them swell considerably. Before I had gone far I discovered a herd of 10 elk, approached behind them and shot one through; he fell, rose again and ran off. I pursued him at least five miles, expecting every moment to see him drop. I then gave him up. When I arrived at Clear River a deer was standing on the other bank. I killed him on the spot, and when I was taking out the entrails another came up. I shot him also. This was my last ball and then only could I kill. Left part of my clothes at this place to scare the wolves. Arrived at the camp at dark to the great joy of the men who had been to our little garrison to inquire for me, and receiving no intelligence, had concluded I was killed by the Indians, having heard them fire on the opposite bank. The same night we saw fires on the opposite shore in the prairie; this was likewise seen in the fort and the men moved within the works.”

Game being so plentiful the men persuaded Pike to continue the hunting. Miller and Sparks set out to follow a herd of buffalo and deer down the river in a

canoe. The snow now began falling and the river filling with ice. The men not returning Pike went in search of them, but found no trace. They were now among the hostile Chippewas and liable to be mistaken for traders, with whom the Indians were at enmity, before they had a chance of explaining to the Indians who they were and what they represented. The snow was now knee deep, and wood for their fires found only with difficulty.

“*Nov. 8th.* My men not yet arrived. I determined to depart for the garrison, and when the river had frozen, to come down on the ice with a party, or, if the weather became mild, by water, with my other peroques, to search for my poor men. Put up about ten pounds of meat, two blankets, and a bearskin, with my sword and gun, which made for me a very heavy load. Left the meat in as good a situation as possible. wrote on the snow my wishes, and put my handkerchief up as a flag. Departed. My anxiety of mind was so great that, notwithstanding my load and the depth of the snow, I made into the bottom, above our former hunting-camp, a little before night. Passed several deer and one elk, which I might probably have killed; but not knowing whether I should be able to secure the meat if I killed them, and bearing in mind that they were created for the use and not the sport of man, I did not fire at them. While I was endeavoring to strike fire I heard voices, and looking round, observed Corporal Meek and three men passing. Called them to me, and we embarked together. They

were on their march down to see if they could render us any assistance in ascending the river. They were much grieved to hear my report of the other men, Corporal Bradley, Sparks, and Miller.

“*Nov. 9th.* Snowed a little. The men carried my pack. I was so sore that it was with difficulty I carried my gun; fortunately they brought with them a pair of mockinsons, sent me by one of my soldiers, Owings, who had rightly calculated that I was bare-foot; also a phial of whisky, sent by the sergeant; were both very acceptable to me. They brought also some tobacco for my lost men. We experienced difficulty in crossing the river, owing to the ice. Moved into the post my command, who were again encamped out, ready to march up the river. Set all hands to making sleds, in order that the moment the river closed I might descend, with a strong party, in search of my lost men. Issued provisions, and was obliged to use six venison hams, being part of a quantity of elegant hams I had preserved to take down, if possible, to the general and some other friends. Had the two hunters not been found, I must have become a slave to hunting in order to support my party.”

Not only a slavish but precarious life Pike found it, for on one day he might secure 600 pounds of meat, and again for three days not succeed in killing a bird. Miller and Sparks at length arrived, having been lost on the prairie, and not able to find a deer. Hunting camps were now set up in the woods, the men depending on their kill for food. In these the men suffered

greatly from the cold which froze their toes, from terrific storms and from lack of food. Pike determined to return to the stockade, and fortunately fell in with some deer, and discovering signs of buffalo, gave chase. They pursued them until night and succeeded only in wounding one.

“*Nov. 25th.* Commenced again the pursuit of the buffalo, and continued till eleven o’clock, when I gave up the chase. Arrived at the camp about sundown, hungry and weary, having eaten nothing since we left it. My rifle carried too small a ball to kill buffalo; the balls should not be more than 30 to the pound—an ounce ball would be still preferable—and the animal should be hunted on horse-back. I think that in the prairies of this country the bow and arrow could be used to more advantage than the gun; for you might ride immediately alongside, and strike them where you pleased, leaving them to proceed after others. Thawing.

“*Nov. 27th.* Took one man and marched to the post. Found all well. My hunter, Bradley, had killed 11 deer since my departure. Sent all the men down to help the party up. They returned, accompanied by two Indians, who informed me they were two men of a band who resided on Lake Superior, called the Fols Avoins, but spoke the language of the Chipeways. They informed me that Mr. Dickson’s and the other trading-houses were established about 60 miles below, and that there were 70 lodges of Sioux on the Mississippi. All my men arrived at the post. We brought from our camp below the balance of 17 deer and 2 elk.

“*Nov. 28th.* The Indians departed, much pleased with their reception. I dispatched Corporal Meek and one private down to Dickson with a letter, which would at least have the effect of attaching the most powerful tribes in this quarter to my interest.

“*Nov. 29th.* A Sioux, the son of a warrior called the Killeur Rouge, of the Gens des Feuilles, and a Fols Avoïn, came to the post. He said that having struck our trail below and finding some shoe tracks, he conceived it to be the establishment of some traders, took it and came to the post. He informed me that Mr. Dickson told the Sioux that they might now hunt where they pleased, as I had gone ahead and would cause the Chipeways, wherever I met them to treat them with friendship; that I had barred the mouth of the St. Peters, so that no liquor should ascend the river; but that if they came to the Mississippi they could have all they wanted; also that I was on the river and had a great deal of merchandise to give them as presents. This information of Mr. Dickson to the Indians seemed to have self-interest and envy for its motives; for, by the idea of my having prevented liquor from going up the St. Peters he gave the Indians to understand that it was a regulation of my own and not a law of the United States; by assuring them that he would sell to them on the Mississippi, he drew all the Indians from the traders on the St. Peters, who had adhered to the restrictions of not selling liquor; and should any of them be killed the blame would all lie on me, as he had without authority assured them they might hunt in security. I

took care to give the young chief a full explanation of my ideas on this subject. He remained all night. Killed two deer.”

Mr. Robert Dickson was an Englishman who had established a trading-house among the Sioux as early as 1790. Later in the war of 1812 he was instrumental in organizing the Indian tribes against the United States. At the same time we are indebted to him for restraining their barbarities toward their prisoners, and our women and children.

Sparks coming up the river made known to his leader that Dickson was on the way to the post with a young Indian, a “Fols Avoïn,” a Menominee, for, as “Folle Avoïn” this tribe was known by the French, by reason of the wild rice which grew so abundantly in the swampy prairies, and made a large part of their food.

“*Dec. 3rd.* Mr. Dickson with an engagee, and a young Indian, arrived at the fort. I received him with every politeness in my power, and after a serious conversation with him on the subject of the information given me on the 29th ult., was induced to believe it in part incorrect. He assured me that no liquor was sold by him, or by any houses under his direction. He gave me much useful information relative to my future route, which gave me great encouragement as to the certainty of my accomplishing the object of my voyage to the fullest extent. He seemed to be a gentleman of general commercial knowledge, possessing much geographical information of the western country, and of open, frank manners. He gave me many assurances

of his good wishes for the prosperity of my undertaking.

“*Dec. 5th.* Mr. Dickson, with his two men, departed for their station, after having furnished me with a letter for a young man of his house on Lake de Sable, and *carte blanche* as to my commands on him. Weather mild.

“*Dec. 6th.* I dispatched my men down to bring up the other peroque with a strong sled on which it was intended to put the canoe about one-third, and to let the end drag on the ice. Three families of the Fols Avoins arrived and encamped near the fort; also, one Sioux, who pretended to have been sent to me from the Gens des Feuilles, to inform me that the Yanctongs and Sussitongs, two bands of Sioux from the head of the St. Peters and the Missouri, and the most savage of them, had commenced the war-dance and would depart in a few days; in which case he conceived it would be advisable for the Fols Avoins to keep close under my protection; that making a stroke on the Chipeways would tend to injure the grand object of my voyage, etc. Some reasons induced me to believe he was a self-created envoy; however, I offered to pay him, or any young Sioux, who would go to those bands and carry my word. He promised to make known my wishes upon his return. My men returned in the evening without my canoe, having been so unfortunate as to split her in carrying her over the rough hilly ice in the ripples below. So many disappointments almost wearied out my patience; notwithstanding, I intended to embark by land and water in a few days.

Dec. 7th. An Indian by the name of Chien Blanche, of the Fols Avoïn tribe, with his family and connections, arrived and encamped near the stockade. He informed me that he had wintered here for ten years past; that the sugar-camp near the stockade was where he made sugar. He appeared to be an intelligent man. I visited his camp in the afternoon, and found him seated amidst his children and grandchildren, amounting in all to ten. His wife, although of an advanced age, was suckling two children that appeared to be about two years old. I should have taken them to be twins, had not one been much fairer than the other. Upon inquiry, however, I found that the fairest was the daughter of an Englishman, by one of the Indian's daughters, lately deceased; since whose death the grandmother had taken it to the breast. His lodge was made of rushes plaited into mats, after the manner of the Illinois. I was obliged to give some meat to all the Indians who arrived at the stockade, at the same time explaining our situation. The Chien Blanche assured me it should be repaid with interest in the course of the winter, but that at that time he was without anything to eat. In fact, our hunters having killed nothing for several days, we were ourselves on short allowance.

Dec. 8th. An invalid Sioux arrived with the information that the bands of the Sussitongs and Yanctongs had actually determined to make war on the Chipeways, and that they had formed a party of 150 or 160 men; but that part of the Sussitongs had refused to go to war,

and would be here on a visit to me the next day. This occasioned me to delay crossing the river immediately, on my voyage to Lake Lang Sue, as it was possible that by having a conference with them I might still prevent the stroke intended to be made against the Chipewyas.

“*Dec. 9th.* Prepared to embark. Expecting the Sioux I had two large kettles of soup made for them. Had a shooting match for four prizes. The Sioux did not arrive and we ate the soup ourselves. Crossed the river and encamped above the rapids. Wind changed and it grew cold.”

With sleds such as farmers use holding two barrels and two men geared abreast, and with two men towing the canoe through the ice and over the rapids of the river, the party started. The snow having melted in spots the work of the men was very severe, and what seemed more hazardous, game on which they depended for food became scarce. Pike in advance reached Little Elk rapid at ten o'clock at night, made a fire and waited for his men. Tired out they camped until the next afternoon when they heard firing which kept up until dark, and which they thought to be from the warlike Chippewas, and so felt obliged to keep a strict lookout.

“*Dec. 12th.* The snow having almost entirely left the prairie, we were obliged to take on but one sled at a time and treble man it. In the morning my interpreter came to me with quite a martial air, and requested that he might be allowed to go ahead to discover what Indians we heard fire last evening. I gave him permission and away he went. Shortly after, I went

out with Corporal Bradley and a private, and in about an hour overtook my partizan, on a bottom close to the river; he was hunting raccoons, and had caught five. We left him; and after choosing an encampment and sending the private back to conduct the party to it, the corporal and myself marched on, anxious to discover the Indians. We ascended the river about eight miles; saw no Indians, but discovered that the river was frozen over. This pleased me more, for we would now be enabled to walk three times our usual distance in a day.

“I was much surprised that we saw no Indians. After our return to camp I was told that a Fols Avoïn Indian had met my party and informed them that in the rear of the hills that bordered the prairie there were many small lakes which by portages communicated with Lake Superior; that in one day’s march on that course we would find English trading-houses; that the Chipeways were there hunting; that the Sioux who had visited my camp on the 29th ult., on hearing the firing, had prudently returned with his companions to the west side of the Mississippi, agreeably to my advice. How persons unacquainted with the searching spirit of trade and the enterprise of the people of the northwest would be surprised to find people who had penetrated from Lake Superior to lakes little more than marshes! It likewise points out the difficulty of putting a barrier on their trade.

“All my sleds and peroques did not get up until half-past ten o’clock. Saw a very beautiful fox, with red

back, white tail and breast. My interpreter called them reynard d'argent. I had no opportunity of shooting him. Killed six raccoons and one porcupine."

A heavy storm now overtook them and a succession of troubles. The sled holding Pike's baggage and ammunition fell into the river and obliged all the men to jump into the icy water up to their middles recovering the things. The clothes and books were found soaked, and a more important loss was that of all his cartridges and four pounds of "double battle Sussex powder" which the commander had brought for his own use. Happily the kegs of powder and some bottles of powder escaped, and but for this fortunate circumstance, the party would have had to return, for they could not subsist without ammunition. Fortunately two Menominee Indians, one of whom they had seen at the post, came up each with a deer, and relieved their present need. Pike was now obliged to remain in camp and build a couple of sleds, and meanwhile was successful in overtaking a buffalo, and Bradley and the interpreter Rousseau killed a deer. Having more meat than they needed Pike had a *cache* made by digging a hole four feet deep and three feet wide and six feet long into which they put a barrel of pork, and a barrel of flour each wrapped in deerskins to keep them dry. When the hole was covered with dirt they built their fire above and made it further secure.

After four days of hard marching the party reached the Rivière de Corbeau, as Pike calls Crow Wing River, which was the principal means of communication be-

tween the Mississippi and the Red River of the North. Here Pike writes:

“*Dec. 23d.* Never did I undergo more fatigue, performing the duties of hunter, spy, guide, commanding officer, etc., sometimes in front, sometimes in the rear, frequently in advance of my party 10 or 15 miles. At night I was scarcely able to make my notes intelligible. Killed two raccoons. From our sleds breaking down, and having to make so many portages on the road, made but four miles.”

Troubles did not cease. Travelling now on the prairie and now on the frozen river he notes: “Broke four sleds, broke into the river four times, and had four carrying places since we left.” For a week they made slow progress through this dreary lake region, Pike having ceased to follow the course of the Mississippi River.

“*Dec. 31st.* Passed Pine river about eleven o’clock. At its mouth there was a Chipeway’s encampment of 15 lodges; this had been occupied in the summer, but was now vacant. By the significations of their marks we understood that they had marched a party of 50 warriors against the Sioux, and had killed four men and four women, which were represented by images carved out of pine or cedar. The four men were painted and put in the ground to the middle, leaving above ground those parts which are generally concealed; by their sides were four painted poles, sharpened at the end to represent the women. Near this were poles with deerskins, plumes, silk handkerchiefs, etc.; also, a

circular hoop of cedar with something attached, representing a scalp. Near each lodge they had holes dug in the ground, and boughs ready to cover them, as a retreat for their women and children if attacked by the Sioux.

“*Wednesday, Jan. 1st, 1806.* Passed on the bank of the river six very elegant bark canoes, which had been laid up by the Chipeways; also, a camp which we conceived to have been evacuated about ten days. My interpreter came after me in a great hurry, conjuring me not to go so far ahead, and assured me that the Chipeways, encountering me without an interpreter, party, or flag, would certainly kill me. Notwithstanding this I went on several miles further than usual, in order to make any discoveries that were to be made; conceiving the savages not so barbarous or ferocious as to fire on two men (I had one with me) who were apparently coming into their country, trusting to their generosity; and knowing that if we met only two or three we were equal to them, I having my gun and pistols and he his buck-shot. Made some extra presents for New Year’s Day.

“*Jan. 2d.* Fine warm day. Discovered fresh sign of Indians. Just as we were encamping at night, my sentinel informed me that some Indians were coming full speed upon our trail or track. I ordered my men to stand by their guns carefully. They were immediately at my camp, and saluted the flag by a discharge of three pieces; when four Chipeways, one Englishman, and a Frenchman of the N. W. Company, presented

themselves. They informed us that some women, having discovered our trail, gave the alarm, and not knowing but it was their enemies, they had departed to make a discovery. They had heard of us and revered our flag. Mr. Grant, the Englishman, had only arrived the day before from Lake De Sable from which he had marched in one day and a half. I presented the Indians with half a deer, which they received thankfully, for they had discovered our fires some days ago, and believing it to be the Sioux, they dared not leave their camp. They returned, but Mr. Grant remained all night.

“*Jan. 3d.* My party marched early, but I returned with Mr. Grant to his establishment on [Lower] Red Cedar Lake, having one corporal with me. When we came in sight of his house I observed the flag of Great Britain flying. I felt indignant, and cannot say what my feelings would have excited me to do, had he not informed me that it belonged to the Indians. This was not much more agreeable to me. After explaining to a Chipeway warrior called Curly Head the object of my voyage, and receiving his answer that he would remain tranquil, we ate a good breakfast for the country, departed, and overtook my sleds just at dusk. Killed one porcupine. Distance 16 miles.”

Curly Head, the Chippewa warrior, belonged to a family that for many years ruled over the Chippewa tribes. It was written of him: “He was a father to his people; they looked on him as children do to a parent; and his lightest wish was immediately performed. His

lodge was ever full of meat, to which the hungry and destitute were ever welcome. The traders vied with one another who should treat him best, and the presents he received were always distributed to his people without reserve."

"*Jan. 4th.* We made 28 points in the river; broad, good bottom, and of the usual timber. In the night I was awakened by the cry of the sentinel, calling repeatedly to the men; at length he vociferated, 'G—d d—n your souls, will you let the lieutenant be burned to death?' This immediately aroused me. At first I seized my arms, but looking round I saw my tent in flames. The men flew to my assistance and we tore them down, but not until they were entirely ruined. This, with the loss of my leggins, mockinsons, and socks which I had hung up to dry, was no trivial misfortune, in such a country and on such a voyage. But I had reason to thank God that the powder, three small casks, which I had in my tent, did not take fire; if it had I must certainly have lost my life.

"*Sunday, Jan. 5th.* Mr. Grant promised to overtake me yesterday, but has not arrived. I conceived it would be necessary to attend his motions with careful observation. Distance 27 miles.

"*Jan. 6th.* Bradley and myself walked up 31 points, in hopes to discover Lake De Sable, but finding a near cut of 20 yards for 10 miles, and being fearful the sleds would miss it, we returned 23 points before we found our camp. They had made only eight points. Met two Frenchmen of the N. W. Company with about

180 pounds on each of their backs, with rackets on; they informed me that Mr. Grant had gone on with the Frenchman. Snow fell all day and was three feet deep. Spent a miserable night.

“*Jan. 7th.* Made but 11 miles, and then were obliged to send ahead and make fires every three miles; notwithstanding which the cold was so intense that some of the men had their noses, others their fingers, and others their toes frozen, before they felt the cold sensibly.

“*Jan. 8th.* Conceiving I was no great distance from Sandy Lake, I left my sleds, and with Corporal Bradley took my departure for that place, intending to send him back the same evening. We walked on very briskly until near night, when we met a young Indian, one of those who had visited my camp near Red Cedar Lake. I endeavored to explain to him that it was my wish to go to Lake De Sable that evening. He returned with me until we came to a trail that led across the woods; this he signified was a near course. I went this course with him, and shortly afterward found myself at a Chippewa encampment, to which I believe the friendly savage had enticed me with the belief I would tarry all night, knowing that it was too late for us to make the lake in good season. But upon our refusing to stay, he put us in the right road. We arrived at the place where the track left the Mississippi, at dusk, when we traversed about two leagues of a wilderness, without any very great difficulty, and at length struck the shore of Lake De Sable, over a branch of which

our course lay. The snow having covered the trail made by the Frenchmen who had passed before with the rackets, I was fearful of losing ourselves on the lake; the consequence of which can only be conceived by those who have been exposed on a lake, or naked plain, a dreary night of January, in latitude 47° and the thermometer below zero. Thinking that we could observe the bank of the other shore, we kept a straight course, some time after discovered lights, and on our arrival were not a little surprised to find a large stockade. The gate being open, we entered, and proceeded to the quarters of Mr. Grant, where we were treated with the utmost hospitality.

“*Jan. 9th.* Marched the corporal early, in order that our men should receive assurances of our safety and success. He carried with him a small keg of spirits, a present from Mr. Grant. The establishment of this place was formed 12 years since by the N. W. Company, and was formerly under the charge of a Mr. Charles Brusky. It has attained at present such regularity as to permit the superintendent to live tolerably comfortable. They have horses procured from Red river of the Indians; raise plenty of Irish potatoes; catch pike, suckers, pickerel, and white fish in abundance. They also have beaver, deer, and moose; but the provision they chiefly depend on is wild oats, of which they purchase great quantities from the Indians, giving at the rate of about \$1.50 per bushel. But flour, pork, and salt are almost interdicted except to traders. Flour sells at 50 cts.; salt, \$1, pork, 80 cts., sugar, 50 cts.;

coffee and tea, \$4.50 per pound. The sugar is obtained from the Indians, and is made from the maple tree."

Marching on snow shoes Mr. Grant now led the party back to the Mississippi, "in order to mark the place for my boats to leave the river." Pike writes: "It was a march full of difficulty. Mr. Grant himself fell into the river with his snow-shoes and was extricated with difficulty, and a tree fell on one of the men and hurt him badly." At length the party reached the trading-house of the North Western Company on Sandy Lake a little before dark, where everybody was made comfortable, the men receiving a "fille," the term for dram in that part of the country. Meanwhile Pike and Mr. Grant made a tour of the lake, and the men sawed timber for sleds, that were to be built like those in use in that part of the country. These, which Pike calls *traineaux de glace*, were made of a single plank, turned up at one end like a fiddle head, on which the baggage is lashed in bags and sacks. The Indians who had never met any Americans were much interested in the party, believing that owing to our victories over the English and French the Americans were "white Indians." All hands were now busy making ready to return to Leech Lake, Pike in writing his letters and arranging the baggage, and the men in getting ready the sleds. Pike, however, takes time to note that at the post he had "roasted beavers, dressed in every respect as pig is usually dressed with us, and boiled moose's head which he considers as good as beaver's tail; both being excellent."

On January 20th the party started, travelling across country in a snow-storm, intending to follow up the Willow River. But learning from Mr. Grant, who had overtaken them that the water had risen over the ice, Pike sent back to the post all unnecessary articles, including, however, his ink and the salt, and resumed his march. Mr. Grant went with them for three days, nothing delaying them but the fact of the leader hanging his thermometer on a tree and having to send back one of his men for it. Pike also notes that Boley having lost the "Sioux pipe-stem, which I carried along to make peace with the Chipeways I sent him back for it." Mr. Grant had now left him and the Indian guide he had engaged had arrived. Having abandoned the Willow River course, Pike made a detour toward the Northwest and was soon to strike the Mississippi again at what is now Grand Rapids.

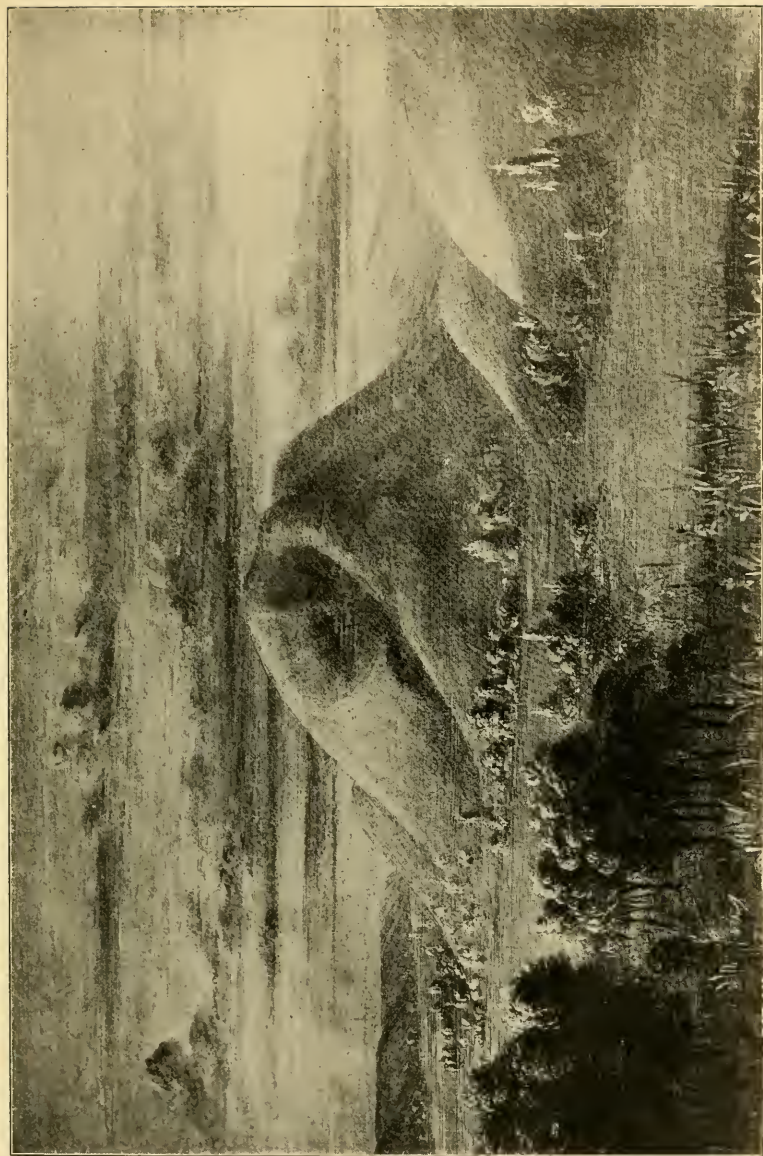
"*Sunday, Jan. 26th.* I left my party in order to proceed to a house or lodge of Mr. Grant's on the Mississippi [opposite Grand Rapids], where he was to tarry until I overtook him. Took with me my Indian, Boley, and some trifling provision; the Indian and myself marched so fast that we left Boley on the route about eight miles from the lodge. Met Mr. Grant's men on their return to Lake De Sable, they having evacuated the house this morning, and Mr. Grant having marched for Leech Lake. The Indian and I arrived before sundown. Passed the night very uncomfortably, having nothing to eat, not much wood, nor any blankets. The Indian slept sound. I cursed his insensibility, being

obliged to content myself over a few coals all night. Boley did not arrive. In the night the Indian mentioned something about his son, etc.

“*Monday, Jan. 27th.* My Indian rose early, mended his mockinsons, then expressed by signs something about his son and the Frenchman we met yesterday. Conceiving that he wished to send some message to his family, I suffered him to depart. After his departure I felt the curse of solitude, although he truly was no company. Boley arrived about ten o'clock. He said that he had followed us until some time in the night; when, believing that he could not overtake us, he stopped and made a fire; but having no ax to cut wood, he was near freezing. He met the Indians, who made him signs to go on. I spent the day in putting my gun in order, mending my mockinsons, etc. Provided plenty of wood; still found it cold, with but one blanket.

“I can only account for the gentlemen of the N. W. Company contenting themselves in this wilderness for 10, 15, and some of them for 20 years, by the attachment they contract for the Indian women. It appears to me that the wealth of nations would not induce me to remain secluded from the society of civilized mankind, surrounded by a savage and unproductive wilderness, without books or other sources of intellectual enjoyment, or being blessed with the cultivated and feeling mind of a civilized fair.

“*Tuesday, Jan. 28th.* My party joined Boley and myself at Grant's house to-day.



CURIOUS GRASSY BLUFFS—ST. PETER'S RIVER.

“*Wednesday, Jan. 29th.* Took Miller and proceeded ahead of my party; reached Pakagama Falls about one o'clock; proceeded to three deserted Chipeway lodges; found a fine parcel of firewood split; cut down three sap pines and wove the branches into one of the lodges to protect ourselves from the storm; had a tolerable night.

“*Thursday, Jan. 30th.* Miller and myself left our encampment at a good hour; unable to find any trail passed through one of the most dismal swamps I ever saw, and struck the Mississippi at a small lake. Observed Mr. Grant's tracks going through it; found his mark of a cut-off, agreed on between us; took it, proceeded very well until we came to a small lake where the trail was entirely hid. But after some search on the other side, found it; when we passed through a dismal swamp, on the other side of which we found a large lake at which I was entirely at a loss; no trail was to be seen. Struck a point about three miles where we found a Chipeway lodge of one man, his wife, and five children, and one old woman. They received us with every mark that distinguished their barbarity such as setting their dogs on ours, trying to thrust their hands into our pockets, &c. But we convinced them that we were not afraid, and let them know we were Chewockomen, (Yankees), when they used us more civilly.

“After we had arranged a camp as well as possible, I went into the lodge; they presented me with a plate of dried meat. I ordered Miller to bring about two gills of liquor, which made us all good friends. The

old squaw gave me more meat, and offered me tobacco which, not using, I did not take. I gave her an order upon my corporal for one knife and half a carrot of tobacco. Heaven clothes the lilies and feeds the ravens, and the same almighty Providence protects and preserves these creatures. After I had gone out to my fire, the old man came out and proposed to trade beaver-skins for whisky; meeting with a refusal, he left me; when presently the old woman came out with a beaver-skin; she also being refused, he returned to the charge with a quantity of dried meat, which, or any other, I should have been glad to have had. I gave him a peremptory refusal; then all further application ceased. It really appeared that with one quart of whisky I might have bought all they possessed. Night remarkably cold; was obliged to sit up nearly the whole of it. Suffered much with cold and from want of sleep.

“Friday, Jan. 31st. Took my clothes into the Indian’s lodge to dress, and was received very coolly; but by giving him a dram unasked, and his wife a little salt, I received from them directions for my route. Passed the lake or morass, and opened on meadows through which the Mississippi winds its course of nearly 15 miles long. Took a straight course through them to the head, when I found we had missed the river; made a turn of about two miles and regained it. Passed a fork which I supposed to be Lake Winipie, making the course N. W. The branch we took was Leech Lake branch, course S. W. and W. Passed a very large meadow or prairie, course W. The Mississippi

is only 15 yards wide. Encamped about one mile below the traverses of the meadow.

“Saw a large animal which, from its leaps, I supposed to have been a panther; but, if so, it was twice as large as those on the lower Mississippi. He evinced some disposition to approach. I lay down (Miller being in the rear) in order to entice him to come near, but he would not. The night was remarkably cold. Some spirits which I had in a small keg congealed to the consistency of honey.”

CHAPTER III

LEECH LAKE TO ST. LOUIS

FEBRUARY 1ST—APRIL 30TH, 1806

“*Saturday, Feb. 1st.* Left our camp pretty early. Passed a continued train of prairie, and arrived at Lake La Sang Sue at half-past two o’clock. I will not attempt to describe my feelings on the accomplishment of my voyage, for this is the main source of the Mississippi. The Lake Winipie branch is navigable thence to Red Cedar lake, for the distance of five leagues, which is the extremity of the navigation. Crossed the lake 12 miles to the establishment of the N. W. Company, where we arrived about three o’clock, found all the gates locked, but upon knocking were admitted, and received with marked attention and hospitality by Mr. Hugh M’Gillis. Had a good dish of coffee, biscuit, butter, and cheese for supper.”

In these brief words which show something of the deeper feelings involved, Pike transcribes what he believed to be the accomplishment of the important work he had set out to do. The journey had been full of discouragements and of perils. These he had met with the same composure and soldier-like simplicity that marks what he thought to be its final triumph.

The fact that he was mistaken in thinking that Leech Lake, or Lang Sue as he calls it, was the source of the Mississippi does not lessen our admiration for the character of the soldier and the explorer.

Lake Itasca, that we now know is the true source of the great river, is twenty-five miles, as the eagle flies, from Leech Lake, and this Pike never saw. Cass Lake, which Pike calls Red Cedar, and Lake Winnebigoishi, set down in his diary as Lake Winipe, were not the end of navigation, as he thought; but this he did not discover. With the hospitable Hugh M'Gillis, Pike remained some time. One part of his mission was to look after and readjust the trading business that had been heretofore conducted under the British flag. Of these traders his host was one of the most important, and negotiations not favorable to his nationality and interests had to be conducted under his roof. Meanwhile, worn out from his journey and with legs so swollen he could not wear his own but was obliged to borrow clothes from his host, Pike remained indoors, reading Volney's "Egypt," and in making himself acquainted with the trading situation through Dickinson's agent, George Anderson, and some young Indians he invited to see him.

Six days later the rest of the party arrived, and Pike records M'Gillis asking permission to hoist the British flag in compliment to the American flag, which they carried. The little incident had its bearing, since the hoisting and lowering of flags was still a diplomatic matter in the disturbed and still uncertain condition of

that part of the country. It is indeed on this same day that Pike wrote a letter to his host explaining the views of the new Republic on the whole matter of the North Western Company and its relation to the Indians, and acquainting its agents with the demands of the United States. It is not necessary to transcribe the letter entire, but it concludes with the following demands:

“*1st.* That you will make representations to your agents at your headquarters on Lake Superior, of the quantity of goods wanted the ensuing spring for your establishments in the territory of the United States, in time sufficient (or as early as possible) for them to enter them at the C. H. of Michilimackinac, and obtain a clearance and license to trade in due form.

“*2nd.* That you will give immediate instructions to all the posts in said territory under your direction, at no time and under no pretense whatever to hoist, or suffer to be hoisted, the English flag. If you conceive a flag necessary, you may make use of that of the United States, which is the only one which can be admitted.

“*3rd.* That you will on no further occasion present a flag or medal to an Indian, or hold councils with any of them on political subjects, or others foreign from that of trade; but that, on being applied to on those heads, you will refer them to the American agents, informing them that these are the only persons authorized to hold councils of a political nature with them.

“There are many other subjects, such as the distribution of liquor, etc., which would be too lengthy to be treated of in detail. But the company will do

well to furnish themselves with our laws regulating commerce with the savages, and regulate themselves in our territories accordingly.

“I embrace this opportunity to acknowledge myself and command under singular obligations to yourself and agents for the assistance which you have rendered us, and the polite treatment with which we have been honored. With sentiments of high respect for the establishment and yourself,

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“Z. M. PIKE.

“HUGH M’GILLIS, Esq.,”

Mr. M. Gillis did not answer this letter for two weeks. When he did so it was to comply in handsome, courteous fashion, as this extract from his letter discloses:

“We were not conscious, Sir, of the error I acknowledge we have been guilty of committing, by exhibiting to view on your territory any standard of Great Britain. I will pledge myself to your government, that I will use my utmost endeavors, as soon as possible, to prevent the future display of the British flag, or the presenting of medals, or the exhibiting to public view any other mark of European power, throughout the extent of territory known to belong to the dominion of the United States. The custom has long been established and we innocently and inoffensively, as we imagined, have conformed to it till the present day.

“Be persuaded that on no consideration shall any

Indian be entertained on political subjects, or on any affairs foreign to our trade; and that reference shall be made to the American agents, should any application be made worthy such reference. Be also assured that we, as a commercial company, must find it ever our interests to interfere as little as possible with affairs of government in the course of trade, ignorant as we are in this rude and distant country of the political views of nations.

“We are convinced that the inestimable advantages arising from the endeavors of your government to establish a more peaceful course of trade in this part of the territory belonging to the United States are not acquired through the mere liberality of a nation, and we are ready to contribute to the expense necessarily attending them. We are not averse to paying the common duties established by law, and will ever be ready to conform ourselves to all rules and regulations of trade that may be established according to common justice.”

The letter concludes with the following personal appreciation:

“It is to you, Sir, we feel ourselves most greatly indebted, whose claim to honor, esteem, and respect will ever be held in high estimation by myself and associates. The danger and hardships, by your fortitude vanquished and by your perseverance overcome, are signal, and will ever be preserved in the annals of the N. W. Company.”

While these important matters were engaging the minds of these two men, as soon as Pike was able, they

were off on hunting excursions, and making various expeditions in the surrounding country. One of these was to Dickson's agent George Anderson, whose trading-house was at the West end of Leech Lake. Pike writes:

"I find him eligibly situated as to trade, but his houses bad. I rode in a cariole for one person, constructed in the following manner: Boards planed smooth, turned up in front about two feet, coming to a point, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide behind; on which is fixed a box covered with dressed skins painted; this box is open at the top, but covered in front about two-thirds of the length. The horse is fastened between the shafts. The rider wraps himself up in a buffalo-robe and sits flat down, having a cushion to lean his back against. Thus accoutered, with a fur cap, etc., he may bid defiance to the wind and weather. Upon our return we found that some of the Indians had already returned from the hunting-camps; also, Monsieur Roussand, the gentleman supposed to have been killed by the Indians. His arrival with Mr. Grant diffused a general satisfaction through the fort.

"*Feb. 10th.* Hoisted the American flag in the fort. The English yacht still flying at the top of the flag-staff, I directed the Indians and my riflemen to shoot at it. They soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground. Reading Shenstone, etc.

"*Feb. 11th.* The Sweet, Buck, Burnt, etc., arrived, all chiefs of note, but the former in particular, a ven-

erable old man. From him I learned that the Sioux occupied this ground when, to use his own phrase, he was a made man and began to hunt; that they occupied it the year that the French missionaries were killed at the river Pacagama. The Indians flocked in."

One of the objects of the journey was to make peace between those hereditary enemies, the Sioux and the Chippewas, for the latter refused to allow the traders to deal with the Sioux, and had for that reason murdered several white men. Accordingly Pike and Bradley, accompanied by M'Gillis and two men marched thirty miles through the swampy country to Red Cedar Lake, where the Chippewas were in camp. In this journey he passed over the ground previously traversed by the noted English surveyor and explorer, David Thompson, in 1798, who just failed, as Pike was now failing, to discover the true source of the Mississippi, although it was so very near. The march was difficult, and only varied by one of the men losing the pipe stem of the Indian, Sweet, which he was taking to the conference, and which "was of more consequence in his affairs with the Sioux than the diploma of many an ambassador." The diary notes:

"We feasted on whitefish, roasted on two iron grates fixed horizontally in the back of the chimney; the entrails left in the fish.

"*Feb. 14th.* Left the house at nine o'clock. It becomes me here to do justice to the hospitality of our hosts; one Roy, a Canadian, and his wife, a Chipeway squaw. They relinquished for our use the only thing

in the house that could be called a bed, attended us like servants, nor could either of them be persuaded to touch a mouthful until we had finished our repasts. We made the garrison about sundown, having been drawn at least 10 miles in a sleigh by two small dogs. They were loaded with 200 pounds, and went so fast as to render it difficult for the men with snowshoes to keep up with them. The chiefs asked my permission to dance the calumet-dance, which I granted.

Feb. 15th. The Flat Mouth, chief of the Leech Lake village, and many other Indians arrived. Received a letter from Mr. M'Gillis. Noted down the heads of my speech, and had it translated into French, in order that the interpreter should be perfectly master of his subject.

Sunday, Feb. 16th. Held a council with the chiefs and warriors of this place and of Red Lake; but it required much patience, coolness, and management to obtain the objects I desired, viz.: That they should make peace with the Sioux; deliver up their medals and flags; and that some of their chiefs should follow me to St. Louis. As a proof of their agreeing to the peace, I directed that they should smoke out of the Wabasha's pipe, which lay on the table; they all smoked, from the head chief to the youngest soldier. They generally delivered up their flags with a good grace, except Flat Mouth, who said he had left both at his camp, three days' march, and promised to deliver them up to Mr. M'Gillis to be forwarded. With respect to their returning with me, old Sweet thought it most proper to return to

the Indians of Red Lake, Red river, and Rainy Lake river. Flat Mouth said it was necessary for him to restrain his young warriors, etc. The other chiefs did not think themselves of sufficient consequence to offer any reason for not following me to St. Louis, a journey of between 2,000 and 3,000 miles through a hostile tribe of Indians. I then told them that I was sorry to find that the hearts of the Sauteurs of this quarter were so weak; and that other nations would say: 'What, were there no soldiers at Leech, Red, and Rainy Lakes who had the heart to carry the calumet of their chiefs to their father?' This had the desired effect. The Buck and Beau, two of their most celebrated warriors, rose and offered themselves to me for the embassy; they were accepted and adopted as my children, and I was installed as their father. Their example animated the others, and it would have been no difficult matter to have taken a company; two, however, were sufficient. I determined that it should be my care never to make them regret the noble confidence placed in me; for I would have protected their lives with my own. Beau is a brother to Flat Mouth. Gave my new soldiers a dance and a small dram. They attempted to get more liquor, but a firm and peremptory denial convinced them I was not to be trifled with.

"Feb. 17th. The chief of the land brought in his flag and delivered it up. Made arrangements to march my party the next day. Instructed Sweet how to send parole to the Indians of Red river, etc. Put my men

through the manual, and fired three blank rounds, all of which not a little astonished the Indians. I was obliged to give my two new soldiers each a blanket, pair of leggins, scissors, and looking-glass."

Notwithstanding these naïve details, Pike gives in too few words the conduct of this first and important meeting of the authority of the United States with its new wards in this part of the country. As he notes, he had written his speech, and this is preserved in the War Department. From it we may get a glimpse of the dignity and importance with which the affair was conducted. Pike began by explaining to the Indians how the United States had come into possession of the Mississippi River, and why the great father, President Jefferson, had directed his great war-chief, General Wilkinson, to send young warriors to learn about his red children. One may imagine that this young warrior felt some satisfaction in falling so handsomely into the oratorical style of the red man, as the following paragraphs from his speech show:

"Brothers: I was chosen to ascend the Mississippi, to bear to his red children the words of their father; and the Great Spirit has opened the eyes and ears of all the nations that I have passed to listen to my words. The Sauks and Reynards are planting corn and raising cattle. The Winnebagos continue peaceable, as usual, and even the Sioux have laid by the hatchet at my request. Yes, my brothers, the Sioux, who have so long and so obstinately waged war against the Chipeways, have agreed to lay by the hatchet, smoke the calumet,

and become again your brothers, as they were wont to be.

“Brothers: I have therefore come to fetch some of your approved chiefs with me to St. Louis.

“Brothers: In speaking to you I speak to brave warriors. It is therefore not my intention to deceive you. Possibly we may meet with some bad people who may wish to do us ill; but if so, we will die together, certain that our fathers, the Americans, will settle with them for our blood.

“Brothers: I find you have received from your traders English medals and flags. These you must deliver up, and your chiefs who go with me shall receive others from the American government, in their room.

“Brothers: Traders have no authority to make chiefs: and in doing this they have done what is not right. It is only great chiefs, appointed by your fathers, who have that authority. But at the same time you are under considerable obligations to your traders, who come over large waters, high mountains, and up swift falls, to supply you with clothing for your women and children, and ammunition for your hunters, to feed you, and keep you from perishing with cold.

“Brothers: Your chiefs should see your traders done justice, oblige your young men to pay their credits, and protect them from insults; and your traders, on their part, must not cheat the Indians, but give them the value of their skins.

“Brothers: Your father is going to appoint chiefs of his own to reside among you, to see justice done to

his white and red children, who will punish those who deserve punishment, without reference to the color of their skin.

“Brothers: I understand that one of your young men killed an American at Red Lake last year, but the murderer is far off. Let him keep so—send him where we may never hear of him more; for were he here I would be obliged to demand him of you, and make my young men shoot him. My hands on this journey are yet clear of blood—may the Great Spirit keep them so!

“Brothers: We expect, in the summer, soldiers to come to the St. Peters. Your chiefs who go with me may either come up with them, or some traders who return sooner. They may make their selection.

“Brothers: Your father finds that the rum with which you are supplied by the traders is the occasion of quarrels, murders, and bloodshed; and that, instead of buying clothing for your women and children, you spend your skins in liquor, etc. He has determined to direct his young warriors and chiefs to prohibit it, and keep it from among you. But I have found the traders here with a great deal of rum on hand. I have therefore given them permission to sell what they have, that you may forget it by degrees, against next year, when none will be suffered to come in the country.”

This address was answered by three Chippewa chiefs for their tribes. These were Sucre, whose pipe stem we read one of the men had almost lost, Chief de la Terre, and Flat Mouth. Sucre was the first to speak:

“My Father: I have heard and understood the words of our great father. It overjoys me to see you make peace among us. I should have accompanied you had my family been present, and would have gone to see my father, the great war-chief.

“My Father: This medal I hold in my hands I received from the English chiefs. I willingly deliver it to you. Wabasha’s calumet with which I am presented, I receive with all my heart. Be assured that I will use my best endeavors to keep my young men quiet. There is my calumet. I send it to my father the great war-chief. What does it signify that I go to see him? Will not my pipe answer the same purpose?

“My Father: You will meet the Sioux on your return. You will make them smoke my pipe, and tell them that I have let fall the hatchet.

“My Father: Tell the Sioux on the upper part of the river St. Peters to mark the trees with the figure of a calumet, that we of Red Lake who may go that way, should see them, may make peace with them, being assured of their pacific disposition when we see the calumet marked on the trees.”

Chief de la Terre had but little to say. He too declined going to St. Louis, because he was going to Mackinaw in the spring to meet his brothers, the Americans. Flat Mouth, the most distinguished of the Chipewa chiefs was the third speaker. The medal to which he alludes, he subsequently gave up as he promised, and was afterward awarded another medal by act of Congress.

“My Father: My heart beat high with joy when I heard that you had arrived, and that all the nations through which you passed had received and made peace among them.

“My Father: You ask me to accompany you to meet our father, the great war-chief. This I would willingly do, but certain considerations prevent me. I have sent my calumet to all the Sauteaux who hunt round about, to assemble to form a war-party; should I be absent, they, when assembled, might strike those with whom we have made peace, and thus kill our brothers. I must therefore remain here to prevent them from assembling, as I fear that there are many who have begun already to prepare to meet me. I present you with the medal of my uncle here present. He received it from the English chiefs as a recompense for his good hunts. As for me, I have no medal here; it is at my tent, and I will cheerfully deliver it up. That medal was given me by the English traders, in consideration of something that I had done; and I can say that three-fourths of those here present belong to me.

“My Father: I promise you, and you may confide in my word, that I will preserve peace; that I bury my hatchet; and that even should the Sioux come and strike me, for the first time, I would not take up my hatchet; but should they come and strike me a second time, I would dig up my hatchet and revenge myself.”

Pike's mission to Red Cedar Lake concluded with this conference. While making arrangements for the return trip he indicates his lofty view of the duty of a

public official in a letter to Robert Dickson. Grant, Dickson's agent, was proposing to start on a trading trip among the Folle Avoins with goods that had not yet paid duty. This Pike forbids. "What," he writes, "Lt. Pike not content with suffering the laws to slumber when it was his duty to have them executed, has now suffered the N. W. Company to violate them, and injure the citizen of the United States—certainly he must be corrupt to admit this. This, Sir, would be the natural conclusion of all persons."

With Buck and Beau, the two young warriors, who had volunteered to accompany Pike back to St. Louis, Pike and his party started back to Lower Red Cedar Lake. The hospitable M'Gillis had provided not only a guide, L'Roné, but all the party with snow-shoes, and they marched off amid the shouts and hurrahs of the Indians who had remained to see them off. It was hard marching through a country of innumerable lakes, and at length the trading-house of M'Gillis, from whence they had started, was reached. Here M'Gillis added to his many kindnesses by giving his own cariole and dogs to Pike for his journey. Pike's object was to strike the Mississippi at the point where he had left his canoes, journeying almost directly South.

"*Feb. 21st.* Traveled this day generally S. Passed but two lakes; Sandy Lake, which is of an oblong form, N. and S. four miles, and one other small one. The Indians, at the instigation of Mr. L'Roné, applied for him to accompany us. I consented that he should go as far as Red Cedar Lake. I then wrote a note to

M'Gillis upon the occasion. After Reale had departed with it, L'Roné disclosed to me that it was his wish to desert the N. W. Company entirely, and accompany me. To have countenanced for a moment anything of this kind, I conceived would have been inconsistent with every principle of honor; I therefore obliged him to return immediately. We then had no guide, our Indians not knowing the road. Our course was through woods and bad brush, 15 miles.

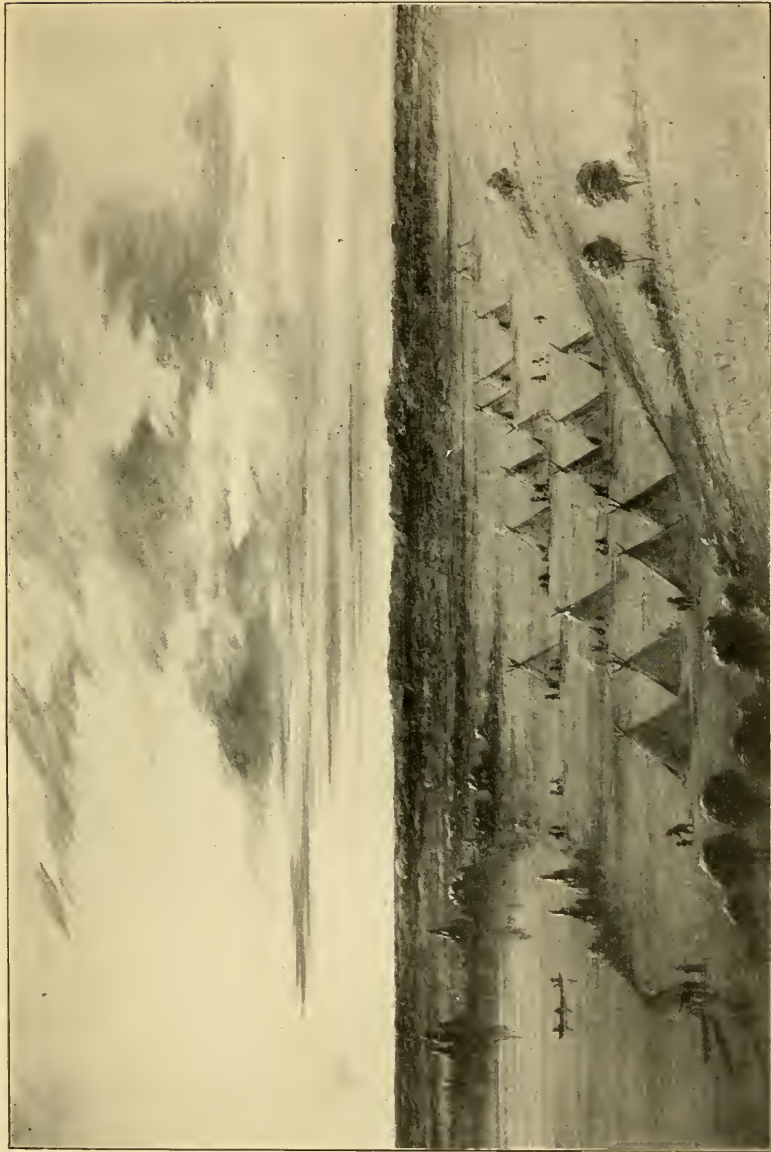
“*Sunday, Feb. 23d.* My two Indians, Boley, and myself, with my sleigh and dogs, left the party under an idea that we should make Red Cedar lake. We marched hard all day, without arriving at the Mississippi. Our course was nearly due east until near night, when we changed more south. Took no provision or bedding. My Indians killed 15 partridges, some nearly black, with a red mark over their eyes, called the savanna partridge. Overtaken about noon by two of Mr. Anderson's men, named Brurie and [Blank], Mr. Anderson himself not being able to come.

“*Feb. 24th.* We started early, and after passing over one of the worst roads in the world, found ourselves on a lake about three o'clock; took its outlet and struck the Mississippi about one mile below the canoes mentioned on Jan. 1st, by which I knew where we were. Ascended the Mississippi about four miles, and encamped on the west side. Our general course this day was nearly S., when it should have been S. E. My young warriors were still in good heart, singing and showing every wish to keep me so. The pressure of

my racket strings brought the blood through my socks and mockinsons, from which the pain may be imagined."

The party arrived at Lower Red Cedar Lake on February 25th and there found Dickson's agent, Grant, whom Pike regarded highly and a Chippewa chief, De Breche, or Broken Tooth of whom Pike writes: "Is reputed to be a man of better information than any of the Sauteurs." A piece of intelligence that the chief confided to him was that a string of wampum had been sent among the Chippewas by, he thought, the British commanding officer at St. Joseph. This he seemed to think important, but its signification he does not indicate. De Breche agreed to go to Sandy Lake and meet Pike again at his own post the middle of March bringing with him his British flag and medals, and Buck and Beau remained behind to accompany him, as they said. Meanwhile, visited by chief White Fisher, and other Indians, Pike remained at Lower Red Cedar Lake until the first of March, when all his party had arrived, and they started back for the post, where on ascending they had left Kennerman, as Sergeant in command. As nearly as possible Pike struck his old camps and notes sending Bradley ahead to thaw out the ground and get the barrel of flour he had cached coming up.

"*March 3rd.* Marched early; passed our Christmas encampment at sunrise. I was ahead of my party in my carriole. Soon afterward I observed a smoke on the W. shore. I halloed and some Indians ap-



SIOUX VILLAGE—ON SWAN LAKE,
From a painting by Catlin.

peared on the bank. I waited until the interpreter came up; we then went into camp. They proved to be a party of Chipeways, who had left the encampment the same day we had left it. They presented me with some meat, which I gave my sleigh dogs. They then left their camp and accompanied us down the river. We passed our encampment of Dec. 24th at nine o'clock, of the 23d at ten o'clock, and of the 22d at eleven o'clock; here the Indians crossed over to the W. shore; arrived at the encampment of Dec. 21st at twelve o'clock, where we had a barrel of flour.

“I here found Corporal Meek and another man from the post from whom I heard that the men were all well; they confirmed the account of a Sioux having fired on a sentinel; and added that the sentinel had first made him drunk and then turned him out of the tent; upon which he fired on the sentinel and ran off, but promised to deliver himself up in the spring. The corporal informed me that the sergeant had used all the elegant hams and saddles of venison which I had preserved to present to the commander-in-chief and other friends; that he had made away with all the whisky, including a keg I had for my own use, having publicly sold it to the men, and a barrel of pork; that he had broken open my trunk and sold some things out of it, traded with the Indians, gave them liquor, etc.; and this, too, contrary to my most pointed and particular directions. Thus, after I had used in going up the river with my party the strictest economy, living upon two pounds of frozen venison a day, in order that we might have

provision to carry us down in the spring, this fellow was squandering the flour, pork, and liquor during the winter, while we were starving with hunger and cold. I had saved all our corn, bacon, and the meat of six deer, and left it at Sandy Lake, with some tents, my mess-boxes, salt, tobacco, etc., all of which we were obliged to sacrifice by not returning the same route we went; we had consoled ourselves at this loss by the flattering idea that we should find at our little post a handsome stock preserved—how mortifying the disappointment!

“We raised our barrel of flour and came down to the mouth of the little river, on the E., which we had passed on Dec. 21st. The ice covered with water.

“*Mar. 4th.* Proceeded early. Passed our encampment of Dec. 20th at sunrise. Arrived at that of the 19th at nine o'clock; here we buried two barrels. Made a large fire to thaw the ground. We went on the prairie and found Sparks, one of my hunters, and brought him to the river at Pine Camp. Passed on opposite our camp of Dec. 13th, and encamped where Sparks and some men had an old hunting camp, and where Fresaie, a Chipeway chief surrounded them.

“*March, 5th.* Passed all the encampments between Pine Creek and the post, at which we arrived about ten o'clock. I sent a man on ahead to prevent the salute I had before ordered by letter; this I had done from the idea that the Sioux chiefs would accompany me. Found all well. Confined my sergeant. About one o'clock Mr. Dickinson arrived, with Killeur Rouge,

his son, and two other Sioux men, with two women who had come up to be introduced to the Sauteurs they expected to find with me. Received a letter from Reinville.

“Mar. 6th. Thomas, the Fols Avoïn’s first chief, arrived with ten others of his nation. I made a serious and authoritative expostulative representation to him of my opinion of the conduct of Shawonoe, another chief of his nation, who had behaved ill. Had also a conference with Killeur Rouge and his people. At night wrote to Messrs. Grant, M’Gillis, and Anderson.

“Mar. 7th. Held conversations with the Indians. Thomas, the Fols Avoïn chief, assured me that he would interest himself in obliging the Puants to deliver up the men who had recently committed murders on the Ouiscousing and Rock rivers; and if necessary he would make it a national quarrel, on the side of the Americans. This Thomas is a fine fellow, of a very masculine figure, noble and animated delivery, and appears to be very much attached to the Americans. The Sioux informed me that they would wait until I had determined my affairs in this country, and then bear my words to the St. Peters.

“Mar. 8th. The Fols Avoïn chief presented me with his pipe to give to the Sauteurs on their arrival, with assurances of their safety on their voyage, and his wish for them to descend the river. The Fils de Killeur Rouge also presented me with his pipe to present to the Sauteur Indians on their arrival, to make them smoke, and assure them of his friendly disposition, and that he

would wait to see them at Mr. Dickson's. Thomas made a formal complaint against a Frenchman, by name Greignor, who resided in Green bay, and who he said abused the Indians, beat them, etc., without provocation. I promised to write to the commanding officer or Indian agent at Michilimackinac upon the occasion. The Indians with Mr. Dickson all took their departure. Hitched my dogs in the sleigh, which drew one of the Indian women down the ice, to the no little amusement of the others. Went some distance down the river in order to cut a mast. Cut a pine mast 35 feet long for my big boat at the prairie. This day my little boy broke the cock of my gun; few trifling misfortunes could have happened which I should have regretted more, as the wild fowl just began to return on the approach of spring.

"*Sunday, Mar. 9th.* I examined into the conduct of my sergeant, and found that he was guilty; punished him by reduction, etc. Visited the Fols Avoin lodges and received a present of some tallow. One of my men arrived from the hunting-camp with two deer.

"*Mar. 10th.* Was visited by the Fols Avoin chief and several others of his nation. This chief was an extraordinary hunter; to instance his power, he killed 40 elk and a bear in one day, chasing the former from dawn to eve. We were all busied in preparing oars, guns, mast, etc., by the time the ice broke up, which was opening fast.

"*Mar. 11th.* In a long conversation with a Reynard, he professed not to believe in an hereafter; but he be-

lieved that the world would all be drowned by water at some future period; he asked how it was to be re-peopled. In justice to his nation, however, I must observe his opinion was singular.

“*Mar. 14th.* Took the latitude by an artificial horizon.

“*March 15th.* Received two deer from my hunting camp. Went out with my gun on the opposite side of the river. Ascended the mountain which borders the prairie. On the point of it I found a stone on which the Indians had sharpened their knives, and a war-club half finished. From this spot you may extend the eye over vast prairies with scarcely any interruption but clumps of trees, which at a distance appeared like mountains, from two or three of which the smoke rising in the air denoted the habitation of the wandering savage, and too often marked them out as victims to their enemies; from whose cruelty I have had the pleasure in the course of the winter and through a wilderness of immense extent to relieve them, as peace has reigned through my mediation from the prairie Des Cheins to the lower Red river. If a subaltern with but 20 men, at so great a distance from the seat of his government, could effect so important a change in the minds of those savages, what might not a great and independent power effect, if, instead of blowing up the flames of discord, they exerted their influence in the sacred cause of peace?

“When I returned to the fort, I found the Fols Avoin chief, who intended to remain all night. He told me

that near the conclusion of the Revolutionary War his nation began to look upon him as a warrior; that they received a parole from Michilimackinac, on which he was dispatched with 40 warriors; and that on his arrival he was requested to lead them against the Americans. To which he replied: 'We have considered you and the Americans as one people. You are now at war; how are we to decide who has justice on their side? Besides, you white people are like the leaves on the trees for numbers. Should I march with my 40 warriors to the field of battle, they with their chief would be unnoticed in the multitude, and would be swallowed up as the big water embosoms the small rivulets which discharge themselves into it. No, I will return to my nation, where my countrymen may be of service against our red enemies, and their actions renowned in the dance of our nation.' "

Pike expected to remain at the post some time. For one thing to place the Sioux and the Chippewas on a secure peace footing, it was necessary for the young warriors, Buck and Beau, to accompany him down the river, and they had not yet arrived. He comments on the fact that while the Sioux were candid and brave in their dealings, the Chippewas were suspicious and consequently treacherous and cowardly.

While he waited he determined to visit Thomas, a Menominee chief who was in camp with six lodges about twenty miles away. It was snowing hard, but he set out with an interpreter and Private Roy, camping out without shelter and having only a blanket

apiece. But what was worse luck, after wandering up and down both sides of the Skunk River they missed the Indians altogether. Pike, however, was not discouraged, and the next entry in his diary says:

“Mar. 18th. We marched, determined to find the lodges. Met an Indian whose track we pursued through almost impenetrable woods for about 2 miles to the camp. Here there was one of the finest sugar camps I almost ever saw, the whole of the timber being sugar-tree. We were conducted to the chief’s lodge, who received us in almost patriarchal style. He pulled off my leggings and mockinsons, put me in the best place in his lodge, and offered me dry clothes. He then presented us with syrup of the maple to drink, and asked whether I preferred eating beaver, swan, elk, or deer; upon my giving the preference to the first, a large kettle was filled by his wife, in which soup was made; this being thickened with flour, we had what I then thought a delicious repast. After we had refreshed ourselves, he asked whether we would visit his people at the other lodges, which we did, and in each were presented with something to eat; by some, with a bowl of sugar; by others, a beaver’s tail, etc. After making this tour we returned to the chief’s lodge, and found a berth provided for each of us, of good soft bearskins nicely spread, and on mine there was a large feather pillow.

“I must not here omit to mention an anecdote which serves to characterize more particularly their manners. This in the eyes of the contracted moralist would deform my hospitable host into a monster of libertinism; but

by a liberal mind would be considered as arising from the hearty generosity of the wild savage. In the course of the day, observing a ring on one of my fingers, he inquired if it was gold; he was told it was the gift of one with whom I should be happy to be at that time; he seemed to think seriously, and at length asked the interpreter if his father would not like an Indian wife. But the interpreter assured the chief that all great men in the United States had only one wife. The chief accepted this statement but remarked that he liked to have as many as he pleased."

The next morning buying two baskets of sugar from the Indians, and feasting on a swan for breakfast, the party started back to the post, Pike arriving before sundown and sending back snow shoes for private Roy who got in a couple of hours later. The hunting camp Pike set up while building the post, or as he calls it "my fort," was now kept busy supplying the party with fresh meat, while the leader was occupied with hospitalities toward the neighboring Indians.

"*Mar. 21st.* Received a visit from the Fols Avoin chief called the Shawonoe, and six young men. I informed him without reserve of the news I had heard of him at Red Cedar Lake, and the letter I wrote to Mr. Dickson. He denied it in toto, and on the contrary said that he presented his flag and two medals to the Chipeways, as an inducement for them to descend in the spring; and gave them all the encouragement in his power. His party was much astonished at the language I held with him. But from his firm protestations we

finally parted friends. He informed me that a camp of Sauteurs were on the river, waiting for the chiefs to come down; from which it appeared they were still expected. At night, after the others had gone, Thomas arrived and stayed all night. We agreed upon a hunting-party; also promised to pay old Shawonoe a visit. He informed me that he set out the other day to follow me, but finding the storm so very bad returned to his wigwam. The thermometer lower than it has been at any time since I commenced my voyage.

“*Sunday, Mar. 23d.* Agreeably to promise, after breakfast I departed with Miller and my interpreter to pay a visit to the old chief Shawonoe. We arrived at his camp in about two hours. On our way we met the Fols Avoïn called Chein Blanche who had visited my post previously to my starting up the river, and at whose house we stopped when passing. We were received by old Shawonoe at his lodge with the usual Indian hospitality, but very different from the polite reception given us by Thomas.

“Charlevoix and others have all borne testimony to the beauty of this nation. From my own observation, I had sufficient reason to confirm their information as respected the males; for they were all straight and well-made, about the middle size; their complexions generally fair for savages, their teeth good, their eyes large and rather languishing; they have a mild but independent expression of countenance, that charms at first sight; in short, they would be considered anywhere as handsome men. But their account of the women I never

before believed to be correct. In this lodge there were five very handsome women when we arrived; and about sundown a married pair arrived, whom my interpreter observed were the handsomest couple he knew; and in truth they were, the man being about 5 feet 11 inches, and possessing in an eminent manner all the beauties of countenance, which distinguish his nation. His companion was 22 years old, having dark brown eyes, jet hair, an elegantly proportioned neck, and her figure by no means inclined to corpulency, as they generally are after marriage. He appeared to attach himself particularly to me, and informed me his wife was the daughter of an American; but his name he was unacquainted with. I had brought six biscuits with me, which I presented her on the score of her being my country woman, and she was called 'the Bostonian' during the rest of my stay.

"I found them extremely hard to deal with. My provision being only venison, I wished to procure some bear's oil, for a few gallons of which I was obliged to pay \$1 per gallon, and then they wished to mix tallow with the oil. They also demanded \$10 for a bear-skin, the most beautiful I ever saw, which I wanted to mount a saddle. Indeed I was informed that traders in this country sometimes give as much as \$16 for bear-skins, for they are eminently superior to anything of the kind on the lower Mississippi, and sell in Europe for double the price. In the evening we were entertained with the calumet and the dog dance; also the dance of the——. Some of the men struck the post and told some of their

war exploits; but as they spoke in Menominee, my interpreter could not explain it. After the dance, we had the feast of the dead, as it is called, at which each two or three were served with a pan or vessel full of meat, and when all were ready there was a prayer, after which the eating commenced. Then it was expected we should eat up our portion entirely, being careful not to drop a bone, but to gather all up and put them in the dish. We were then treated with soup. After the eating was finished the chief again gave an exhortation, which finished the ceremony. I am told they then gather up all the fragments, and throw them in the water, lest the dogs should get them. Burning them is considered as sacrilegious. In this lodge were collected at one time 41 persons, great and small, 17 of whom were capable of bearing arms, besides dogs without number.

“Mar. 24th. Rose early and with my dog-sled arrived at the fort before ten o'clock. In the afternoon Mr. Grant arrived with De Breche and some of his young men. Saluted him with 14 rounds. Found my two young warriors of Leech Lake were brave enough to return to their homes. Mr. Grant and myself sat up late talking.

“Mar. 26th. Thomas, the Fols Avoïn chief, arrived with seven of his men, and old Shawonoe and six of his party. I had them all to feed as well as my own men. At night I gave them leave to dance in the garrison, which they did until ten o'clock; but once or twice told me that if I was tired of them the dance should cease.

Old Shawonoe and White Dog of the Fols Avoins told their exploits, which we could not understand; but De Breche arose and said, 'I once killed a Sioux and cut off his head with such a spear as I now present to this Winebago'—at the same time presenting one to a Winebago present, with whom the Chipeways were at war; this was considered by the former as a great honor. My hunters went out but killed nothing.

“*Mar. 27th.* In the morning the Chipeway chief made a speech and presented his peace pipe to me to bear to the Sioux, on which were seven strings of wampum, as authority from seven bands of the Chipeways either to conclude peace or to make war. As he had chosen the former, he sent his pipe to the Sioux and requested me to inform them that he and his people would encamp at the mouth of the Rivière de corbeau the ensuing summer, where he would see the United States flag flying. As a proof of his pacific disposition, the Fols Avoin chief then spoke and said: His nation was rendered small by its enemies; only a remnant was left, but they could boast of not being slaves; for that always in preference to their women and children being taken they themselves killed them. But that their father (as they called me) had traveled far, and had taken much pains to prevent the Sioux and Chipeways from killing one another; that he thought no one could be so ungenerous as to neglect listening to the words of their father; that he would report to the Sioux the pacific disposition of the Sauteurs, and hoped the peace would be firm and lasting. I then in a few words in-

formed De Breche that I would report to the Sioux all he had said, and that I should ever feel pleased and grateful that the two nations had laid aside the tomahawk at my request. That I thanked the Fols Avoin chief for his good wishes and parole which he had given the Sauteurs. After all this, each chief was furnished with a kettle of liquor, to drink each other's health; and De Breche's flag which I presented him was displayed in the fort. The Fols Avoin then departed, at which I was by no means displeased; for they had already consumed all the dry meat I had laid aside for my voyage, and I was apprehensive that my hunters would not be able to lay aside another supply.

“Mar. 28th. Late in the afternoon Mr. Grant and the Sauteurs took their departure, calculating that the Sioux had left the country. Took with me one of my soldiers and accompanied them to the Fols Avoin's lodge, called the Shawonese, where we ten stayed all night. The Fols Avoin's and Sauteurs had a dance, at which I left them and went to sleep. Feasted on elk, sugar, and syrup. Previously to the Indians' departing from my post, I demanded the chief's medal and flags; the former he delivered, but with a bad grace; the latter he said were in the lands when I left Lake De Sable (as instructed by the traders I suppose), and that he could not obtain them. It thundered and lightened.

“Mar. 29th. We all marched in the morning, Mr. Grant and party for Sandy Lake, and I for my hunting-camp. I gave him my spaniel dog. He joined me again after we had separated about five miles. Arrived

at my hunting-camp about eight o'clock in the morning, and was informed that my hunters had gone to bring in a deer; they arrived with it, and about eleven o'clock we all went out hunting. Saw but few deer, out of which I had the good fortune to kill two. On our arrival at camp found one of my men at the garrison with a letter from Mr. Dickson. The soldier informed me that one Sioux had arrived with Mr. Dickson's men. Although much fatigued, as soon as I had eaten something I took one of my men and departed for the garrison one hour before sundown. The distance was 21 miles, and the ice very dangerous, being rotten, with water over it nearly a foot deep; we had sticks in our hands, and in many places ran them through the ice. It thundered and lightened, with rain. The Sioux, not finding the Sauteurs, had returned immediately.

"Sunday, Mar. 30th. Wrote to Mr. Dickson, and dispatched his man. Considerably stiff from my yesterday's march. Calked our boats, as the ice had every appearance of breaking up in a few days. Thus while on the wing of eager expectation, every day seemed an age. Received $2\frac{1}{2}$ deer from our hunting-camp.

"Mar. 31st. Finished calking my boats; the difficulty then was with me, what I should get to pitch the seams. We were all this day and next as anxiously watching the ice as a lover would the arrival of the priest who was to unite him to his beloved. Sometimes it moved a little, but soon closed. An Indian and his woman crossed it when the poles which they held in their hands were forced through in many places. The provision to

which I was obliged to restrict myself and men, viz., two pounds of fresh venison daily, was scarcely sufficient to keep us alive. Though I had not an extraordinary appetite, yet I was continually hungry."

The waiting time was now spent in hunting. A half dozen bears came in from the hunting-camp, and Pike himself with a couple of men crossing to the hills on the other side succeeded in killing a swan and a goose, and would have got elk, but four swimming directly toward them were turned away by the sleigh dogs, which jumped into the water after them. The party camped out in the cold, and the next day managed to get a buck, which they greatly needed, arriving at the post in the afternoon.

"*April 5th.* In the morning despatched two men down the river in order to see if it was open. My hunters arrived from the camps. Tallowed my boats with our candles and launched them; they made considerable water. The young Shawonoe arrived in my canoe from above, with about 1,000 lbs. of fur, which he deposited in the fort. The men returned and informed me that the river was still shut about 10 miles below.

"*Sunday, Apr. 6th.* Sailed my peroque with Sergeant Bradley and two men, to descend the river and see if it was yet open below. They returned in the afternoon and reported all clear. I had previously determined to load and embark the next day, and hoped to find it free by the time I arrived. The Fols Avoin called the Shawonoe arrived and encamped near the stockade. He informed me that his nation had de-

terminated to send his son down in his place, as he declined the voyage to St. Louis. All hearts and hands were employed in preparing for our departure. In the evening the men cleared out their room, danced to the violin, and sang songs until eleven o'clock, so rejoiced was every heart at leaving this savage wilderness.

“*Apr. 7th.* Loaded our boats and departed at 40 minutes past ten o'clock. At one o'clock arrived at Clear river, where we found my canoe and men. Although I had partly promised the Fols Avoin chief to remain one night, yet time was too precious, and we put off; passed the Grand Rapids, and arrived at Mr. Dickson's just before sun-down. We were saluted with three rounds. At night he treated all my men with a supper and a dram. Mr. Dickson, Mr. Paulier and myself sat up until four o'clock in the morning.”

Pike remained here a day, writing up his notes on the Sioux, charting the St. Peters river, and settling Indian affairs with his host and Mr. Paulier. He expected to have started early the next morning, but seeing two drunken Indians, he waited to find out how they got their liquor. He discovered it had been sold them by a trader, La Jeunesse, whose license was nothing more than a general liberty to trade. Part of Pike's mission was to investigate the conditions of the Indian trade, and his course is marked by the temperance lectures he addressed the Indians, and his determination to hold the traders in check. He now addressed a letter to La Jeunesse, who demanded instructions in writing, threatening prosecution in the name of the United States

if he persisted. The apparent inconsistency of Pike's instructions to the traders, and his own repeated proffer of drams to the Indians can only be explained by the established etiquette of the country, and that the liquor was two thirds water. These matters being adjusted the party started, and by four o'clock had reached Mr. Paulier's house below, to whose brother he had a letter, where they stopped a short time.

“After having left this place some time, we discovered a bark canoe ahead; we gained on it for some time, when it turned a point about 300 yards before, and on turning it also, it had entirely disappeared. This excited my curiosity; I stood up in the barge, and at last discovered it turned up in the grass of the prairie; but after we had passed a good gunshot, three savages made their appearance from under it, launched it in the river, and followed, not knowing of my other boats, which had just turned the point immediately upon them. They then came on, and on my stopping for the night at a vacant trading-post, they also stopped and addressed me. ‘Saggo, Commandant’ or ‘by your servant, Captain.’ I directed my interpreter to inquire their motives for concealing themselves. They replied that their canoe leaked, and they had turned her up to discharge water. This I did not believe; and as their conduct was rather equivocal I received them rather sternly; I gave them, however, a dram and a piece of bread. Then they re-embarked and continued down the river. Their conduct brought to mind the visit of Fils de Pinchot to Mr. Dickson during the

winter; one principal cause of which was that he wished to inform me that seven men, whom I mentioned to have met (Sept. 28th) when crossing the portage of St. Anthony, had since declared they would kill him for agreeing to the peace between the Sioux and Sauteurs; me for being instrumental in preventing them from taking revenge for relations killed by the Sauteurs in August, 1805; and Thomas, the Fols Avoin chief for the support he seemed to give me. This information had not made the impression it ought to have made, coming from so respectable a source, as the first chief of the village; but the conduct of those fellows put me to the consideration of it. And I appeal to God and my country if self preservation would not have justified me in cutting those scoundrels to pieces wherever I found them. This my men would have done if so ordered, amid a thousand of them, and I should have been supported by the chiefs of St. Peters, at the mouth of which were 800 warriors, attending my arrival; also I should have been justified in cutting to pieces the rascal who fired on my sentinel last winter. I dreaded the consequences of the meeting, not for the present, but for fear the impetuosity of my conduct might not have been approved by the government, which did not know intimately the nature of those savages. This day for the first time we saw the commencement of vegetation; yet the snow was a foot deep in some places.

“*April 10th.* Sailed at half past five o’clock; about seven passed Rum river, and at eight were saluted by six or seven lodges of Fols Avoins, among whom was a

clerk of Mr. Dixon's. Those people had wintered on Rum river, and were waiting for their chiefs and traders to descend in order to accompany them to the Prairie Des Chiens. Arrived at the falls of St. Anthony at ten o'clock. Carried over all our lading and the canoe to the lower end of the portage, and hauled our boats up on the bank. I pitched my tents at the lower end of the encampment, where all the men encamped, except the guard, whose quarters were above.

“The appearance of the falls was much more tremendous than when we ascended; the increase of water occasioned the spray to rise much higher, and the mist appeared like clouds. How different my sensations now from what they were when at this place before! At that time, not having accomplished more than half my route, winter fast approaching, war existing between the most savage nations in the course of my route, my provisions greatly diminished and but a poor prospect of an additional supply, many of my men sick and the others not a little disheartened, our success in this arduous undertaking very doubtful, just upon the borders of the haunts of civilized men, about to launch into an unknown wilderness—for ours was the first canoe that had ever crossed this portage—were reasons sufficient to dispossess my breast of contentment and ease. But now we have accomplished every wish, peace reigns throughout the vast extent, we have returned thus far on our voyage without the loss of a single man, and hope soon to be blessed with the society of our relations and friends.

“The river this morning was covered with ice, which continued floating all day; the shores were still barricaded with it.

“*Apr. 11th.* Although it snowed very hard, we brought over both boats and descended the river to the island at the entrance of the St. Peters. I sent to the chiefs and informed them I had something to communicate to them. Fils de Pinchot immediately waited on me, and informed me that he would provide a place for the purpose. About sundown I was sent for and introduced into the council-house, where I found a great many chiefs of the Sussitongs, Gens des Feuilles, and Gens du Lac. The Yanctongs had not yet come down. They were all waiting for my arrival. There were about 100 lodges, or 600 people; we were saluted on our crossing the river with ball, as usual. The council-house was two large lodges, capable of containing 300 men. In the upper were 40 chiefs, and as many pipes set against the poles, alongside of which I had the Sauteur’s pipes arranged. I then informed them in short detail of my transactions with the Sauteurs; but my interpreters were not capable of making themselves understood. I was therefore obliged to omit mentioning every particular relative to the rascal who fired on my sentinel, and to the scoundrel who broke the Fols Avoins’ canoes and threatened my life. The interpreters informed them that I wanted some of their principal chiefs to go to St. Louis; and that those who thought proper might descend to the prairie, where we would give them more explicit information. They all



FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY—UPPER MISSISSIPPI.

From a painting by Catlin.

smoked out of the Sauteurs pipes, excepting three, who were painted black, and who were some of them who lost their relations last winter. I invited Fils de Pinchot and the son of Killeur Rouge to come over and sup with me; when Mr. Dickson and myself endeavored to explain what I intended to have said to them, could I have made myself understood; that at the prairie we could have all things explained; that I was desirous of making a better report of them than Captain Lewis could do from their treatment of him. The former of those savages was the person who remained around my post all winter, and treated my men so well. They endeavored to excuse their people etc.

Apr. 12th. Embarked early. Although my interpreter had been there frequently, he could not tell me where the cave spoken of by Carver could be found; we carefully sought for it, but in vain. At the Indian village a few miles above St. Peters we were about to pass a few lodges, but on receiving a very particular invitation to come on shore, we landed and were received in the lodge kindly; they presented us with sugar etc. I gave the proprietor a dram, and was about to depart when he demanded a kettle of liquor; on being refused, and after I had left the shore, he told me that he did not like the arrangements and that he would go to war this summer. I directed the interpreter to tell him that if I returned to St. Peters with the troops I would settle the affair with him. On our arrival at the St. Croix I found Petit Corbeau with his people and Messrs. Frazer and Wood. We had a conference when

Petit Corbeau made many apologies for the misconduct of his people; he represented to us the different manners in which his young warriors had been inducing him to go to war; that he had been much blamed for dismissing his party last fall, but that he was determined to adhere as far as lay in his power to our instructions; that he thought it most prudent to remain here and restrain the warriors. He then presented me with a beaver robe and pipe, and his message to the general, that he was determined to preserve peace, and make the road clear; also, a remembrance of his promised medal. I made him a reply calculated to confirm him in his good intentions, and assured him that he should not be the less remembered by his father, although not present.

“I was informed that notwithstanding the instruction of his license and my particular request, Murdoch Cameron had taken liquor and sold it to the Indians on the river St. Peters, and that his partner below had been equally imprudent. I pledged myself to prosecute them according to law; for they have been the occasion of great confusion and of much injury to the other traders.

“This day we met a canoe of Mr. Dickson’s loaded with provision, under the charge of Mr. Anderson, brother of Mr. Anderson at Leech Lake. He politely offered me any provision he had on board, for which Mr. Dickson had given me an order; but not now being in want I did not accept of any. This day, for the first time, I observed the trees beginning to bud, and indeed

the climate seemed to have changed very materially since we passed the Falls of St. Anthony.

“*Sunday, Apr. 13th.* We embarked after breakfast. Messrs. Frazer and Wood accompanied me. Wind strong ahead. They outrowed us—the first boat or canoe we met with on the voyage able to do it; but then they were double-manned and light. Arrived at the band of Aile Rouge at two o’clock, where we were saluted as usual.

“We had a council, when he spoke with more detestation of the conduct of the rascals at the mouth of the St. Peters than any man I had yet heard. He assured me, speaking of the fellow who had fired on my sentinel and threatened to kill me, that if I thought it requisite, he should be killed; but as there were many chiefs above with whom he wished to speak, he hoped I would remain one day, when all the Sioux would be down, and I might have the command of a thousand men of them; that I would probably think it no honor, but that the British used to flatter them they were proud of having them for soldiers. I replied in general terms, and assured him it was not for the conduct of two or three rascals that I meant to pass over all the good treatment I had received from the Sioux nation; but that in general council I would explain myself. That as to the scoundrel who fired at my sentinel, had I been at home the Sioux nation would never have been troubled with him, for I would have killed him on the spot; but that my young men did not do it, apprehensive that I would be displeased. I then gave him the news of

the Sauteurs, etc.; that as to remaining one day, it would be of no service; that I was much pressed to arrive below, as my general expected me, my duty called me, and the state of my provision demanded the utmost expedition; that I would be happy to oblige him, but my men must eat. He replied that, Lake Pepin being yet shut with ice, if I went on and encamped on the ice it would not get me provision; that he would send out all his young men the next day; and that if the other bands did not arrive he would depart the day after with me. In short, after much talk, I agreed to remain one day, knowing that the lake was closed and that we could proceed only nine miles if we went.

“This appeared to give general satisfaction. I was invited to different feasts, and entertained at one by a person whose father had been enacted a chief by the Spaniards. At this feast I saw a man called by the French Roman Nose, and by the Indians Wind that Walks, who was formerly the second chief of the Sioux; but being the cause of the death of one of the traders, seven years since, he voluntarily relinquished that dignity, and has frequently asked to be given up to the whites. But he was now determined to go to St. Louis and deliver himself up, where he said they might put him to death. His long repentance and the great confidence of the nation in him would perhaps protect him from a punishment which the crime merited. But as the crime was committed long before the United States assumed authority, and as no law of theirs could affect it, unless it were *ex post facto* and had a retrospective effect, I con-

ceived it would certainly be dispunishable now. I did not, however, think proper to so inform him. I here received a letter from Mr. Rollett, partner of Mr. Cameron with a present of some brandy, coffee and sugar. I hesitated about receiving those articles from the partner of the man I intended to prosecute; their amount being trifling, I accepted of them, offering to pay. I assured him that the prosecution arose from a sense of duty, and not from personal prejudice.

“The canoe did not come up, in consequence of the head wind. Sent out two men in a canoe to set fishing-lines; the canoe overset, and had it not been for the timely assistance of the savages, who carried them into their lodges, undressed them, and treated them with the greatest humanity and kindness, they must inevitably have perished. At this place I was informed that the rascal spoken of as having threatened my life had actually cocked his gun to shoot me from behind the hills, but was prevented by the others.

“*Apr. 14th.* Was invited to a feast by Roman Nose. His conversation was interesting, and shall be detailed hereafter. The other Indians had not yet arrived. Messrs. Wood, Frazer, and myself ascended a high hill called the Barn, from which we had a view of Lake Pepin, of the valley through which the Mississippi by numerous channels wound itself to the St. Croix, the Cannon river, and the lofty hills on each side.

“*Apr. 15th.* Arose very early and embarked about sunrise, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who were entirely prepared for the council when they heard

I had put off. However, after some conversation with Mr. Frazer, they acknowledged that it was agreeably to what I had said, that I would sail early, and that they could not blame me. I was very positive in my word, for I found it by far the best way to treat the Indians. Aile Rouge had a beaver robe and pipe prepared to present, but was obliged for the present to retain it. Passed through Lake Pepin with my barges; the canoe being obliged to lie by, did not come on. Stopped at a prairie on the right bank, descending about nine miles below Lake Pepin. Went out to view some hills which had the appearance of the old fortifications spoken of, but I will speak more fully of them hereafter. In these hollows I discovered a flock of elk; took out 15 men, but we were not able to kill any. Mr. Frazer came up and passed on about two miles. We encamped together."

Pike is now going over familiar ground. He notes passing Aile prairie, Winona, Trempeleau, and La Crosse, camping at what is now Brownsville, where he stopped to shoot pigeons, and notes the trees in bloom. He paid a visit to Wabashaw, who was out hunting and left him a present of powder and tobacco, and received in turn from his band a kettle of hot soup and a deer. The party breakfasted at Painted Rock and arrived at Prairie du Chien at two o'clock where it was welcomed by crowds on the bank.

Here Pike was to break his journey in order to hold conferences with the Indians concerning recent murders of white men. He took up his quarters again with

Mr. Fisher, and his men were hospitably received with gifts of food from the different white traders. What was also, doubtless, most pleasing was the news, "civil and military," from the outside world which he received for the first time in many months. Immediately on his arrival he took occasion to write the following letter to his chief, General Wilkinson.

"PRAIRIE DE CHIEN, *Apr.* 18th, 1806.

"DEAR GENERAL:

"I arrived here within the hour, and as Mr. Jarreau, of Cahokia, embarks for St. Louis early to-morrow morning, I embrace this opportunity to give a slight sketch of the events of my expedition. Being obliged to steal the hours from my repose, I hope the General will pardon the conciseness of my epistle.

"I pushed forward last October with all eagerness, in hopes to make Lake Sable, and return to St. Louis in the Autumn. The weather was mild and promising until the middle of the month, when a sudden change took place and the ice immediately commenced running. I was then conscious of my inability to return, as the falls and other obstacles would detain me until the river would close. I then concluded it best to station part of my men, and push my discovery with the remainder on foot. I marched with 11 soldiers and my interpreter 700 miles to the source of the Mississippi, through (I may without vanity say) as many hardships as almost any party of Americans ever experienced by cold and hunger. I was on the communication of the Red

River and the Mississippi, the former being a water of Hudson's bay. The British flag, which was expanded on some very respectable positions, has given place to that of the United States wherever we passed; likewise we have the faith and honor of the N. W. Company for about \$13,000 duties this year; and by the voyage peace is established between the Sioux and Sauteurs. These objects I have been happy to accomplish without the loss of one man, although once fired on. I expect hourly the Sussitongs, Yanctongs, Wachpecoutes, and three other bands of Sioux; some are from the head of the St. Peters, and some from the plains west of that river. From here I bring with me a few of the principal men only, agreeably to your orders; also, some chiefs of the Fols Avoins or Menomones, and Winebagos, the latter of whom have murdered three men since my passing here last autumn. The murderers I shall demand, and am in expectation of obtaining two, for whom I now have irons making, and expect to have them with me on my arrival. Indeed, Sir, the insolence of the savages in this quarter is unbounded; and unless an immediate example is made, we shall certainly be obliged to enter into a general war with them.

"My party has been some small check to them this winter, as I determined to preserve the dignity of our flag, or die in the attempt.

"I presume, General, that my voyage will be productive of much new, useful, and interesting information for our government, although detailed in the unpolished diction of a soldier of fortune.

“The river broke up at my stockade, 600 miles above here, on the 7th inst., and Lake Pepin was passable for boats only on the 14th. Thus you may perceive, Sir, I have not been slow in my descent, leaving all the traders behind me. From the time it will take to make my arrangements, and the state of the water, I calculate on arriving at the cantonment on the 4th of May; and hope my General will be assured that nothing but the most insurmountable obstacles shall detain me one moment.

“N. B. I beg leave to caution the General against attending to the reports of any individuals relating to this country, as the most unbounded prejudices and party rancor pervade almost generally.

“I am, dear Sir,

“With great consideration,

“Your obedient servant,

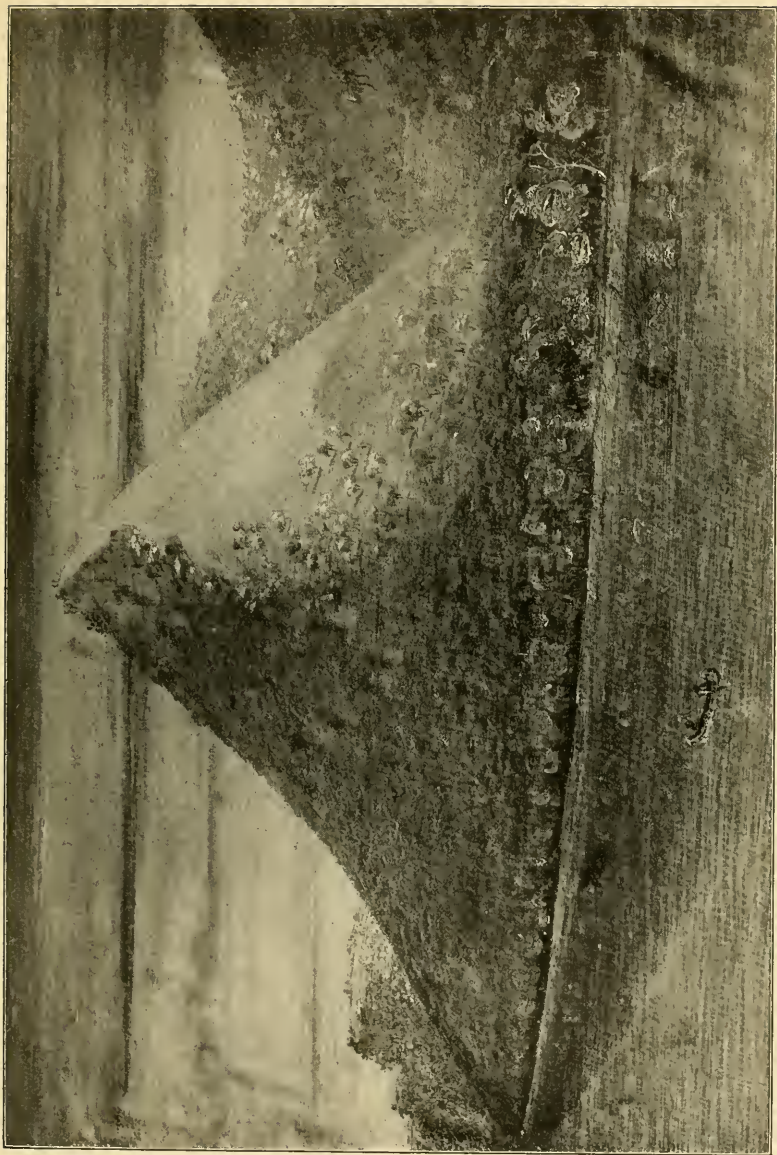
[Signed] “Z. M. PIKE, *Lt.*”

Pike found awaiting him at Prairie du Chien a number of chiefs, Fox, Sioux from the Des Moines River, and soon after came six canoes of Yanktons from St. Peters, which he considered more nearly resembled savages than any Indians he had met, and chief Wabashaw, whom he had missed up the river, and with whom he had a private conference. His chief business, however, was with the Winnebagos, “Puants,” as he calls them.

“*Sunday, Apr. 20th.* Held a council with the Puant chiefs, and demanded of them the murderers of their nation; they required till to-morrow to consider it.

I made a written demand of the magistrates to take depositions concerning the late murders. Had a private conversation with Wabasha.

“This afternoon they had a great game of the cross on the prairie, between the Sioux on the one side, and the Puants and Reynards on the other. The ball is made of some hard substance and covered with leather; the cross-sticks are round and net-work, with handles of three feet long. The parties being ready, and bets agreed upon, sometimes to the amount of some thousand dollars, the goals are set up on the prairie at the distance of half a mile. The ball is thrown up in the middle, and each party strives to drive it to the opposite goal; when either party gains the first rubber, which is driving it quick round the post, the ball is again taken to the center, the ground changed, and the contest renewed; and this is continued until one side gains four times, which decides the bet. It is an interesting sight to see two or three hundred naked savages contending on the plain who shall bear off the palm of victory; as he who drives the ball round the goal is much shouted at by his companions. It sometimes happens that one catches the ball in his racket, and depending on his speed endeavors to carry it to the goal; when he finds himself too closely pursued he hurls it with great force and dexterity to an amazing distance, where there are always flankers of both parties ready to receive it; it seldom touches the ground, but is sometimes kept in the air for hours before either party can gain the victory. In the game which I witnessed the Sioux were victorious



PIKE'S TENT, THE MOST ELEVATED BLUFF ON THE MISSISSIPPI—OPPOSITE PRAIRIE
DU CHIEN.

From a painting by Catlin.

—more, I believe, from the superiority of their skill in throwing the ball than by their swiftness, for I thought the Puants and Reynards the swiftest runners.

“*April 21st.* Was sent for by Le Feuille, and had a long and interesting conversation with him, in which he spoke of the general jealousy of his nation toward their chiefs; and said that although it might cause some of the Sioux displeasure, he did not hesitate to declare that he looked on Nez Corbeau as the man of most sense in the nation, and he believed it would be generally acceptable if he was reinstated in his rank. Upon my return I was sent for by Red Thunder, chief of the Yanctongs, the most savage band of the Sioux. He was prepared with the most elegant pipe and robes I ever saw, and shortly declared, that white blood had never been shed in the village of the Yanctongs, even when rum was permitted; that Mr. Murdoch Cameron arrived at his village last Autumn; that he invited him to eat, gave him corn and a bird; that Cameron informed him of the prohibition of rum, and was the only person who afterward sold it in the village. After this I had a council with the Puants. Spent the evening with Mr. Wilmot, one of the best informed men in the place.

“*April 22nd.* Held a council with the Sioux and Puants, the latter of whom delivered up their medals and flags. Prepared to depart to-morrow.”

This council was neither so brief nor so unimportant as this entry in the diary might suggest. In the archives of the War Department Pike's speech is preserved and may be given here to show the wisdom and moderation,

not only of the young leader, but of the government he represented:

“Brothers: When I passed here last summer I requested to see you on my return. I am pleased to see you have listened to my words. It pleased the Great Spirit to open the ears of all the nations through which I passed, to hear and attend to the words of their father. Peace has been established between two of the most powerful nations in this quarter.

“Notwithstanding all this, some of your nation have been bold enough to kill some of the white people. Not content with firing on the canoes descending the Ouiscousing last autumn, they have killed a man on Rock river, when sitting peaceably in his tent. They have also recently murdered a young man near this place, without any provocation whatever. As an officer of the United States, it is my duty to demand the murderers; and I do now demand them.

“Brothers: In this action I am not influenced or urged by any individual of this place, or the people generally; no more than as it is my duty to give all our citizens all the protection in my power. I will not deceive you. If the prisoners are delivered to me, I shall put them in irons, under my guards, and in all instances treat them as men guilty of a capital crime; on their arrival below, they will be tried for their lives; and if it be proved they have killed these people without provocation, in all probability they will be put to death. If, on the contrary, it is proved that the whites were the aggressors, and it was only self-defence, it will be deemed

justifiable, and they will be sent back to their nation.

“It becomes you well to consider whether in case of refusal you are sufficiently powerful to protect these men against the power of the United States, which have always, since the treaty of 1795, treated all the savages as their children; but if they are obliged to march troops to punish the many murders committed on their citizens, then the innocent will suffer with the guilty.

“My demand will be reported in candor and truth below; when the general will take such steps as he may deem proper. But I hope for the sake of your innocent women and children, you will do us and yourselves justice. I was directed to invite a few chiefs down with me to St. Louis. Many of the different bands are about to descend with me. I now give an invitation to two or three of your principal men to descend with me. Whatever are your determinations, I pledge the faith of a soldier for a safe conduct back to your nation. At present I am instructed not to act by force to procure those men, therefore, you will consider yourselves as acting without restraint, and under free deliberations.

“They replied that they thanked me for the generous and candid manner in which I had explained myself and that they would give me an answer to-morrow.”

The next day Little Thunder and Karamone, speaking for the Winnebagos, offered to take the murderers to St. Louis themselves. Pike insisted on a definite time being set and their reply was “ten days to the Prairie and ten days to St. Louis.” Pike replied that

if they failed to keep this agreement the consequences would be serious, and having learned that they had recently raised the British flag he insisted that they bring this and their medals with them and deliver them to their father. A further council was held with the Sioux, Yanktons, and northern tribes. Tonnerre Rouge pertinently inquired why liquor was permitted to be sold on the Louisiana side of the river and not on the eastern side. Pike assured them that very soon liquor would be prohibited on both sides of the Mississippi, and again invited them to go with him to St. Louis, where their father would make chiefs of them. The council ended with a speech of Karamone, who, Pike writes, "spoke with apparent difficulty; assured me of the shame, disgrace, and distress of their nation, and that he would fulfill what the others had said; said that he sent by me the medal of his father, which he considered himself no longer worthy to bear—putting it around my neck, trembling—and begged me to intercede with the general in their favor, etc.

"I assured him that the American was a generous nation, not confounding the innocent with the guilty; that when they had delivered up the three or four dogs who had covered them with blood, we would again look on them as our children; advised them to take courage, that, if they did well, they should be treated well; said that I would tell the general everything relative to the affair; also, their repentance, and determination to deliver themselves and the murderers, and that I would explain about their flags and medals."

The Council ended on April 23rd. Pike bade adieu to his friends, and saluted by the seventeen lodges of the Puants, or Winnebagos, set sail for the last stage of his remarkable journey. Shortly after he met a barge and from it received a letter from "my lady," and at ten o'clock arrived at the house of Mr. Dubuque, where he had stopped ascending the river, and from whom he wished some information. From here he writes: "After we had boiled our victuals, I divided my men into four watches, and put off, wind ahead. Observed for the first time the half formed leaves on the trees.

"*April 24th.* In the morning we used our oars until ten o'clock, and then floated while breakfasting. At this time two barges, one bark and two wooded canoes passed us under full sail; by one of which I sent back a letter to Mr. Dubuque I had forgotten to deliver. Stopped at dark to get supper; after which, rowed under the windward shore, expecting we could make headway with four oars; but were blown on the lee shore in a few moments, when all hands were summoned, and we again with difficulty made to windward, came to, placed one sentry on my bow and all hands went to sleep. It rained, and before morning overflowed my bed in the bottom of the boat, having no cover or extra accommodations, as it might have retarded my voyage. The wind very hard ahead.

"*Apr. 25th.* Obligated to unship our mast to prevent its rolling overboard with the swell. Passed the first Reynard village at twelve o'clock; counted eighteen

lodges. Stopped at the prairie in descending on the left, about the middle of the rapids, where there is a beautiful cove or harbor. There were three lodges of Indians here, but none of them came near us. Shortly after we had left this, observed a barge under sail, with the United States flag, which upon our being seen put to shore on the Big Island, about three miles above Stony river, where I also landed. It proved to be Capt. Many of the Artillerists, who was in search of some Osage prisoners among the Sacs and Reynards. He informed me that at the village of Stony Point the Indians evinced a strong disposition to commit hostilities; that he was met at the mouth of the river by an old Indian, who said that all the inhabitants of the village were in a state of intoxication, and advised him to go up alone. This advice, however, he had rejected. That when they arrived there they were saluted by the appellation of the bloody Americans who had killed such a person's father, such a person's mother, brother, etc. The women carried off the guns and other arms, and concealed them. That he then crossed the river opposite the village, and was followed by a number of Indians with pistols under their blankets. That they would listen to no conference whatever relating to the delivery of the prisoners, but demanded insolently why he wore a plume in his hat, declared that they looked on it as a mark of war, and immediately decorated themselves with their raven's feathers, worn only in cases of hostility. We regretted that our orders would not permit of our punishing the scoundrels, as by a *coup de main*

we might easily have carried the village. Gave Capt. Many a note of introduction to Messrs. Campbell, Fisher, Wilmot, and Dubuque, and every information in my power. We sat up late conversing.

“*Apr. 26th.* Capt. Many and myself took breakfast and embarked; wind directly ahead, and a most tremendous swell to combat, which has existed ever since we left the prairie. Capt. Many under full sail. Descended by all the sinuosity of the shore, to avoid the strength of the wind and force of the waves. Indeed I was confident I could sail much faster up than we could possibly make down. Encamped on Grant’s Prairie, where we had encamped Aug. 25th when ascending. There was one Indian and family present, to whom I gave some corn.

“*Sunday, Apr. 27th.* It cleared off during the night. We embarked early and came from eight or ten leagues above the river Iowa to the establishment at the lower Sac village by sundown, a distance of nearly 48 leagues. Here I met with Messrs. Maxwell and Blondeau; took the deposition of the former on the subject of the Indians’ intoxication at this place, for they were all drunk. They had stolen a horse from the establishment, and offered to bring him back for liquor, but laughed at them when offered a blanket and powder. Passed two canoes and two barges. At the establishment received two letters from Mrs. Pike. Took with us Corporal Eddy and the other soldier whom Capt. Many had left. Rowed with four oars all night. A citizen took passage with me.

Apr. 28th. In the morning passed a wintering-ground where, from appearance, there must have been at least seven or eight different establishments. At twelve o'clock arrived at the French house mentioned in our voyage up, Aug. 16th. Here we landed our citizen; his name was [Blank], and he belonged to the settlement on Copper river. He informed me there were about 25 families in the settlement.

“Stopped at some islands about ten miles above Salt river, where there were pigeon roosts, and in about 15 minutes my men had knocked on the heads and brought on board 298. I had frequently heard of the fecundity of this bird, and never gave credit to what I then thought inclined to be marvellous; but really the most fervid imagination cannot conceive their numbers. Their noise in the wood was like the continued roaring of the wind, and the ground may be said to have been absolutely covered with their excrement. The young ones which we killed were nearly as large as the old; they could fly about ten steps, and were one mass of fat; their craws were filled with acorns and wild pea. They were still reposing on their nests, which were merely small bunches of sticks joined, with which all the small trees were covered.

“Met four canoes of Sacs, with wicker baskets filled with young pigeons. They made motions to exchange them for liquor, to which I returned the back of my hand. Indeed those scoundrels had become so insolent, through the instigation of the traders, that nothing but the lenity of our government and humanity for the

poor devils could have restrained me on my descent from carrying some of their town by surprise, which I was determined to have done had the information of their firing on Capt. Many proved to have been correct.

“Put into the mouth of Salt river to cook supper, after which, although raining, we put off and set our watches; but so violent a gale and thunder storm came on about twelve o'clock that we put ashore. Discovered that one of my sleigh dogs was missing.

“*Apr. 29th.* In the morning still raining, and wind up the river; hoisted sail and returned to the mouth of the river, but neither here nor on the shore could we find my dog. This was no little mortification, as it broke the match, whose important services I had already experienced, after having brought them so near home. We continued on until twelve o'clock, when it ceased raining for a little time, and we put ashore for breakfast. Rowed till sundown, when I set the watch. Night fine and mild.

“*Apr. 30th.* By daylight found ourselves at the Portage de Sioux. I here landed Captain Many's two men, and ordered them across by land to the cantonment. As I had never seen the village, I walked up and through it; there are not more than 21 houses at furthest, which are built of square logs. Met Lieut. Hughes about four miles above St. Louis, with more than 20 Osage prisoners, conveying them to the cantonment on the Missouri; he informed me all my friends were well. Arrived at about twelve o'clock at the town, after an absence of eight months and 22 days.”

Thus briefly Pike concludes his diary, but not his labors. From Bellefontaine, the army post above St. Louis, where a garrison was stationed, Pike made his various reports to General Wilkinson on the Mississippi, the fur trade of the North West and on the Indian tribes he had visited. The meagre diary gives no hint of the amount of faithful detail Pike collected during this voyage and the importance of these facts to the government. Concerning the British flags and medals which all along this route he insisted on the Indians giving up, he was now equally insistent on the government replacing as he had promised. He writes:

“My faith was pledged to the savage chiefs for the replacing of the medals and flags of the British government which they surrendered me, by others of the same magnitude of the United States; but owing to the change of agents, and a variety of circumstances, it was never fulfilled. This has left a number of the Sioux and Sauteur chiefs without their distinguishing marks of dignity, and has induced them to look on my conduct toward them as a premeditated fraud. This would render my life in danger should I ever return amongst them, and the situation of any other officer who should presume to make a similar demand extremely delicate; besides it has compromitted with those savage warriors the faith of our government, which to enable any government ever to do good, should be held inviolate.”

This paragraph was subsequently added because of the delay in sending the Indians the promised medals.

The delay, however, was caused by the fact that the government did not at the time have any, and was subsequently remedied. In a familiar letter to his general Pike writes of sending him the skins of the lynx and "brelaw" and offers him his sleigh dogs, when he has secured a mate to replace the one lost. More formally he concludes the whole journey in the following letter, which discloses the simplicity of the soldier and the modesty of the man.

"BELLE FONTAINE, *July 2nd, 1806*

"DEAR SIR:

"I have at length finished all my reports, observations and journals, which arose from my late voyage to the source of the Mississippi, and hope they may prove interesting, from the information and the different subjects which they contain.

"I perceive I differ materially from Captain Lewis in my account of the numbers, manners and morals of the Sioux. But our reception by that nation at the first interview being so different, it no doubt left an impression on our minds, which may have, unknown to ourselves, given a cast to our observations. I will not only vouch for the authenticity of my account as to numbers, arms, etc., from my own notes, but from having had them revised and corrected by a gentleman of liberal education, who has resided 18 years in that nation, speaks their language, and for some years past has been collecting materials for their natural and philosophical history.

“I have not attempted to give an account of nations of Indians whom I did not visit, except the Assiniboins, whom, from their intimate connection with the Sioux, in a lineal point of view, it would have been improper to leave out of the catalogue.

“The correctness of the geographical parts of the voyage I will vouch for, as I spared neither time, fatigue, nor danger, to see for myself every part connected with my immediate route.

“As the general already knows, at the time I left St. Louis there were no instruments proper for celestial observations, excepting those which he furnished me, which were inadequate to taking the longitude; neither had I the proper tables or authors to accomplish that object, though it can no doubt be ascertained by various charts at different points of my route. Nor had I proper time-pieces or instruments for meteorological observations. Those made were from an imperfect instrument which I purchased in the town of St. Louis.

“I do not possess the qualifications of the naturalist, and even had they been mine, it would have been impossible to gratify them to any great extent, as we passed with rapidity over the country we surveyed, which was covered with snow six months out of the nine I was absent. And indeed, my thoughts were too much engrossed in making provision for the exigencies of the morrow to attempt a science which requires time, and a placidity of mind which seldom fell to my lot.

“The journal in itself will have little to strike the imagination, being but a dull detail of our daily march,

and containing many notes which should have come into the geographical part; others of observations on the savage character, and many that were never intended to be included in my official report.

“The daily occurrences written at night, frequently by fire-light, when extremely fatigued, and the cold so severe as to freeze the ink in my pen, of course have little claim to elegance of expression or style; but they have truth to recommend them, which, if always attended to, would strip the pages of many of our journal-ists of their most interesting occurrences.

“The general will please to recollect also, that I had scarcely returned to St. Louis before the voyage now in contemplation was proposed to me; and that, after some consideration my duty, and inclination in some respects, induced me to undertake it. The preparations for my new voyage prevented the possibility of my paying that attention to the correction of my errors that I should otherwise have done. This, with the foregoing reasons, will, I hope, be deemed a sufficient apology for the numerous errors, tautologies, and egotisms which will appear.

“I am, dear General,

“With great respect,

“Your obedient servant,

[Signed] “Z. M. PIKE,

“*Lt. 1st Regt. Inftry.*

“GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.”

CHAPTER IV
THE ARKANSAS JOURNEY

JULY 15TH—SEPT. 30TH, 1806.

Pike had only been at the cantonment at Bellefontaine two weeks when he was called upon by his commander-in-chief to head a second expedition, now toward the South-west. Before, indeed, he had reached the post, General Wilkinson had addressed him the following letter. This is given entire in order to show how numerous and exacting were the demands on the young officer. From these we may also infer how satisfactory to the commander-in-chief had been his conduct of the first expedition.

“ST. LOUIS, *June 24th*, 1806.

“Sir: You are to proceed without delay to the cantonment on the Missouri [at Belle Fontaine], where you are to embark the late Osage captives and the deputation recently returned from Washington, with their presents and baggage, and are to transport the whole up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the town of the Grand Osage.

“The safe delivery of this charge at the point of destination constitutes the primary object of your expedition; therefore you are to move with such caution as may prevent surprise from any hostile band, and are to

repel with your utmost force any outrage which may be attempted.

“Having safely deposited your passengers and their property, you are to turn your attention to the accomplishment of a permanent peace between the Kanes and Osage nations; for which purpose you must effect a meeting between the head chiefs of those nations, and are to employ such arguments, deduced from their own obvious interests, as well as the inclinations, desires, and commands of the president of the United States, as may facilitate your purpose and accomplish the end.

“A third object of considerable magnitude will then claim your consideration. It is to effect an interview and establish a good understanding with the Yanctons, Tetaus, or Camanches.

“For this purpose you must interest White Hair, of the Grand Osage, with whom and a suitable deputation you will visit the Panis republic, where you may find interpreters, and inform yourself of the most feasible plan by which to bring the Camanches to a conference. Should you succeed in this attempt—and no pains must be spared to effect it—you will endeavor to make peace between that distant powerful nation and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; finally, you will endeavor to induce eight or ten of their distinguished chiefs to make a visit to the seat of government next September, and you may attach to this deputation four or five Panis and the same number of Kanes chiefs.

“As your interview with the Camanches will probably

lead you to the head branches of the Arkansaw and Red rivers, you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico. There it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitering parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offense; because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the president to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, particularly our near neighbors the Spaniards.

“In the course of your tour, you are to remark particularly upon the geographical structure, the natural history, and population of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve specimens of everything curious in the mineral or botanical worlds, which can be preserved and are portable. Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your distances by your watch to be noted in your field book; and I would advise you, when circumstances permit, to protract and lay down in a separate book the march of the day at every evening’s halt.

“The instruments which I have furnished you will enable you to ascertain the variations of the magnetic needle and the latitude; and at every remarkable point I wish you to employ your telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiter’s satellites, having regulated and adjusted your watch by your quadrant, taking care to note with great nicety the periods of immersions and emersions of the eclipsed satellites. These observations may enable us, after your return, by application to the appro-

priate tables, which I cannot now furnish you, to ascertain the longitude.

“It is an object of much interest with the executive to ascertain the direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red rivers; as far, therefore, as may be compatible with these instructions and practicable to the means you may command, I wish you to carry your views to those subjects; and should circumstances conspire to favor the enterprise, that you may detach a party with a few Osage to descend the Arkansaw under the orders of Lieutenant Wilkinson, or Sergeant Ballinger, properly instructed and equipped to take the courses and distances, to remark on the soil, timber, etc., and to note the tributary streams. This party will, after reaching our post on the Arkansaw, descend to Fort Adams and there await further orders; and you yourself may descend the Red river, accompanied by a party of the most respectable Camanches, to the post of Nachitoches, and there receive further orders.

“To disburse your necessary expenses and to aid your negotiations, you are herewith furnished six hundred dollars’ worth of goods, for the appropriation of which you are to render a strict account, vouched by documents to be attested by one of your party.

“Wishing you a safe and successful expedition,

“I am, Sir,

“With much respect and esteem,

“Your obedient servant,

[Signed] “JAMES WILKINSON.

“LIEUTENANT Z. M. PIKE.”

With no further preliminaries the party started up the Missouri river, a turbulent, dangerous stream. Accompanying Pike were Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, a nephew of the General-in-chief, Dr. John H. Robinson, who volunteered as surgeon of the expedition, an interpreter, "Baroney" Vasquez, three non-commissioned officers, Ballinger, Meek, and Johnson, and the privates of the Mississippi exploring expedition, including the worthless Kennerman, who shortly deserted. With his accustomed brevity the leader notes the start of the party into this unknown country on a journey which lacked only a fortnight to complete a year of peril and extreme suffering.

"*Tuesday*, July 15th, 1806. We sailed from the landing at Belle Fontaine about 3 o'clock P. M., in two boats. Our party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant two corporals, 16 privates and one interpreter. We had also under our charge chiefs of the Osage and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington. These Indians had been redeemed from captivity among the Potowatomies, and were now to be returned to their friends at the Osage towns. The whole number of Indians amounted to 51.

"We ascended the river about six miles, and encamped on the South side behind an island. This day my boat swung around twice; once when we had a tow-rope on shore, which it snapped off in an instant. The Indians did not encamp with us at night. Distance six miles.

“*July 16th.* We rejoined our red brethren at breakfast, after which we again separated, and with very severe labor arrived late in the evening opposite the village of St. Charles, where the Indians joined us. Distance 15 miles.

“*July 17th.* We crossed the river to learn if any communications had arrived from St. Louis, and if there was any news of other Indian enemies of the Osages. Called at Mr. James Morrison’s, and was introduced to Mr. Henry, of New Jersey, about 28 years of age; he spoke a little Spanish and French tolerably well; he wished to go with me as a volunteer. From this place I wrote letters back to Belle Fontaine, whilst the Indians were crossing the river. A man by the name of Ramsay reported to the Indians that 500 Sacs, Ioways, Reynards were at the mouth of Big Manitou. This gave them some uneasiness, and it took me some time to do away the impression made upon them, for I by no means believed it. We were about sailing when my interpreter was arrested at the suit of Manuel de Liza for a debt of between \$300 and \$400, and was obliged to return to St. Louis. This made it necessary for me to write another letter to the General. We encamped about three-fourths of a mile above the village.

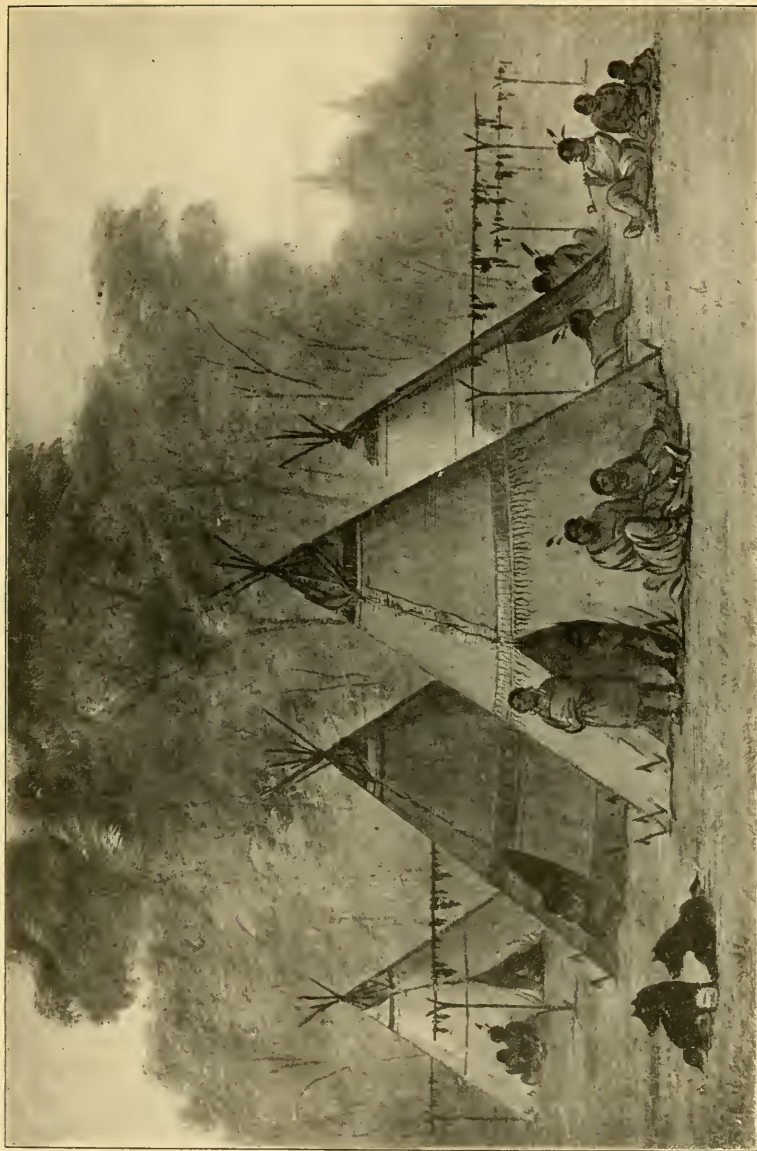
“*July 18th.* Lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson went with the Indians across the country to the village of La Charette. Mr. George Henry engaged, under oath, to accompany me on my tour. Wrote to the general and inclosed him one of Henry’s engagements. After we had made our little arrangements we

marched by land and joined the boats, which had sailed early [in charge of Sergeant Ballinger], at twelve o'clock. Two of the men being sick, I steered one boat and Mr. Henry the other, by which means we were enabled to keep employed our full complement of oars, although we put the sick men on shore. Encamped on the north side. About eleven at night a tremendous thunder-storm arose, and it continued to blow and rain, with thunder and lightning, until day. Distance 15 miles.

“*July 19th.* In consequence of the rain we did not put off until past nine o'clock; my sick men marched. I had some reason to suspect that one of them intended never to join us again. At dinner time the sick man of my own boat came on board; I then went on board the other, and we continued to run races all day. Although this boat had hitherto kept behind, yet I arrived at the encamping ground with her nearly half an hour before the other. The current not generally so strong as below.

“*Sunday, July 20th.* Embarked about sunrise. Wishing to ascertain the temperature of the water, I discovered my large thermometer to be missing, which probably had fallen into the river. Passed one settlement on the north side, and, after turning the point to the south, saw two more houses on the south side. We encamped in a long reach which bore north and west. The absentees had not yet joined us. Distance 15 miles.

“*July 21st.* It commenced raining near day, and continued until four o'clock in the afternoon; the rain



INDIAN VILLAGE.
From a painting by Catlin.

was immensely heavy, with thunder and lightning remarkably severe. This obliged me to lie by; for, if we proceeded with our boats, it necessarily exposed our baggage much more than when at rest, as the tarpaulin could then cover all. We set sail at a quarter past four o'clock, and arrived at the village of La Charette at a little after the dusk of the evening. Here we found Lieut. Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson with the Indians; also Baroney, our interpreter, with letters from the general and our friends. The weather still continued cloudy with rain. We were received in the house of Dr. Chartron, and every accommodation in his power was offered to us. Distance six miles."

At La Charette the party halted several days in order to dry their baggage and corn. Pike took occasion here to write back to his general, from which we learn that the baggage of the Indians containing the presents they had brought with them from Washington had been unduly detained and he questions if "many white men would have borne their loss with more philosophy than our young savages." Meanwhile, as a recompense he gave to one a gun and a soldier's coat to each of the others. He also advises the general of Kennerman's desertion and urges that he be advertised for and when caught tried. Referring to possible trouble when he comes near the Spanish possessions, where the boundaries were not definitely determined he writes with youthful enthusiasm, for which he begs pardon of his commander.

"However, unless they give us ample assurances of

just and honorable treatment, according to the custom of nations in like cases, I would resist, even if the inequality was as great as at the affair of Bender, or the streights of Thermopylæ.

“*July 23d.* I dispatched an express to the general, with advertisements relative to Kennerman, the soldier who had deserted. We embarked after breakfast, and made good progress. Lieutenant Wilkinson steered one boat and I the other, in order to detach all the men on shore, with the Indians, that we could spare. We crossed to the south side, a little below Shepherd river. Dr. Robinson killed a deer, which was the first killed by the party. Distance 13 miles.

“*July 24th.* We embarked at half past six o’clock. Very foggy. The Indians accompanied by only three of my people. Lieutenant Wilkinson being a little indisposed, I was obliged to let Baroney steer his boat. We made an excellent day’s journey and encamped five miles from the Gasconade river. Killed three deer, one bear, and three turkeys. But three or four of the Indians arrived; the others encamped a small distance below.

“*July 25th.* We embarked at half past six o’clock, and arrived at the mouth of the Gasconade river at half past eight o’clock, at which place I determined to remain the day, as my Indians and foot people were still in the rear, and they had complained to me of being without shoes, leggings, etc. Distance five miles.

“One of our Pawnees did not arrive until late; the other had communicated his suspicions to me that the

Oto, who was in company, had killed him: he acknowledged that he proposed to take out their baggage and return to St. Louis. The real occasion of his absence, however, was his having followed a large fresh trace up the Gasconade a considerable distance; but finding it led from the Missouri he examined it and discovered horses to have been on it; he then left it and joined ours, and came in. This being the route generally taken by the Pottawatomies, when they go to war against the Osage, it occasioned some alarm. Every morning we were awakened by the mourning of the savages, who commenced crying about daylight, and continued for the space of an hour. I made inquiry of my interpreter with respect to this, who informed me that this was a custom not only with those who had recently lost their relatives, but also with others who recalled to mind the loss of some friend, dead long since, and joined the other mourners purely from sympathy. They appeared extremely affected; tears ran down their cheeks, and they sobbed bitterly; but in a moment they dry their cheeks and cease their cries. Their songs of grief generally run thus: 'My dear father exists no longer; have pity on me, O Great Spirit! you see I cry forever; dry my tears and give me comfort.' The warriors' songs are thus: 'Our enemies have slain my father (or mother); he is lost to me and his family; I pray to you, O Master of Life! to preserve me until I avenge his death, and then do with me as thou pleaseth.'

"*July 26th.* We commenced at five o'clock to ferry the Indians over the Gasconade, and left the entrance

of this river at half past six o'clock in the afternoon. Met five Frenchmen, who informed us that they had just left the Osage river, and that it was so low they could not ascend it with their canoe. We wrote letters and sent them back by them. Dr. Robinson, Baroney, Sparks, and all the Indians encamped about one league above us. Killed one bear, two deer, one otter, three turkeys, and one raccoon.

“Sunday, July 27th. We embarked at half past five o'clock and arrived at the Indians' camp at seven o'clock. They had been alarmed the day before, and in the evening sent men back in the trace, and some of the chiefs sat up all night. Breakfasted with them. About three o'clock encamped in sight of the Osage river. There being every appearance of rain, we halted early in order to give the Indians time to prepare temporary camps, and to secure our baggage. I went out to hunt, and firing at a deer, near two of the Indians who were in the wood, they knew the difference of the report of my rifle from their guns, and were alarmed, and immediately retired to camp.

“July 28th. Embarked at half past five o'clock, and at half past ten arrived at the Osage river, where we stopped, discharged our guns, bathed, etc. We then proceeded on about six miles, where we waited for and crossed the Indians to the west shore; we then proceeded on to the first island, and encamped on the west side, Sans Oreille and only four or five young men coming up, the rest encamping some distance behind. Killed one deer and one turkey. Distance 19 miles.

“*July 29th.* All the Indians arrived very early. Big Soldier, whom I had appointed the officer to regulate the march, was much displeased that Sans Oreille and the others had left him, and said for that reason he would not suffer any woman to go in the boat and by that means separate the party; but in truth it was from jealousy of the men whose women went in the boats. He began by flogging one of the young men and was about to strike Sans Oreille’s wife, but was stopped by him and told that he knew he had done wrong, but that the women were innocent. We then crossed them and embarked at half past eight o’clock. About twelve o’clock we found the Indians rafting the river, when the first chief of the Little Osage, called Tuttasuggy, or Wind, told me that the man whom Big Soldier struck had not yet arrived with his wife, ‘but that he would throw them away.’ As I knew he was extremely mortified at the dissensions which appeared to reign amongst them, I told him by no means [to do so]; that one of my boats should wait for the woman and her child, but that the man might go to the devil, as a punishment for his insubordination.

“I then left Baroney with one boat, and proceeded with the other. We were called ashore by three young Indians, who had killed some deer; and, on putting them on board, gave them about one or two gills of whisky, which intoxicated all of them. It commenced raining about one o’clock, and continued incessantly for three hours, which obliged us to stop and encamp. One of our men, Miller, lost himself, and did not arrive

until after dark. Killed five deer, one turkey, and one raccoon. Distance 14 miles.

“*July 30th.* After the fog dispersed I left Lieutenant Wilkinson with the party to dry the baggage, and went with Dr. Robinson and Bradley. About two o'clock we returned, set sail, and having passed the first rapid about three miles, encamped on the eastern shore. Killed three deer. Distance five miles.

“*July 31st.* We embarked early and passed several rapids very well. Dined with the Indians. Two of them left us in the morning for the village, and they all had an idea of doing the same, but finally concluded otherwise. One of the Osages, who had left the party for the village, returned and reported that he had seen and heard strange Indians in the woods. This we considered merely a pretext to come back. I this day lost my dog, and the misfortune was the greater, as we had no other dog which would bring anything out of the water. This was the dog Fisher had presented to me at Prairie des Cheins. Killed three deer and one turkey. Distance 18 miles.

“*Aug. 1st.* It rained all night, the river appeared to have risen about six inches. We spread out our baggage to dry, but it continuing to rain all day, the things were wetter at sundown than in the morning. We rolled them up and left them on the beach. We sent out two hunters in the morning, one of whom killed three deer; all the Indians killed three more.

“*Sunday, Aug. 3d.* Embarked early, and wishing to save the fresh, I pushed hard all day. Sparks was

lost, and did not arrive until night. We encamped about 25 paces from the river, on a sand-bar. Near day I heard the sentry observe that the boats had better be brought in; I got up and found the water within a rod of our tent, and before we could get all our things out it had reached the tent. Killed nine deer, one wild-cat, one goose, and one turkey. Distance 18 miles.

“*Aug. 4th.* We embarked early and continued on for some time, not being able to find a suitable place to dry our things, but at length stopped on the east shore. Here we had to ferry the Indians over a small channel which we did not before observe; all of them, however, not arriving, we put off and continued our route. Finding our progress much impeded by our mast, I unshipped it and stripped it of its iron, and, after Lieutenant Wilkinson had carved our names on it, set it adrift, followed by the yards. This mast had been cut and made at [our wintering post on] Pine creek, Upper Mississippi. After proceeding some miles, we found the Indians on the west shore, they having rafted the river. We stopped for them to cook, after which we proceeded. The navigation had become very difficult from the rapidity of the current, occasioned by the rise of the water, which rose one foot an hour. Killed two deer. Rainy. Distance 10 miles.

“*Aug. 5th.* We lay by this day, in order to give the Indians an opportunity to dry their baggage. Dr. Robinson and myself, accompanied by Mr. Henry, went out to hunt. After hunting some time, we lost the latter, two miles from camp. After hunting some

time on the west shore, we concluded to raft the river, which we effected with difficulty and danger, and hunted for some time, but without success. We then returned to the party and found that Mr. Henry, who had been lost returned one hour before us; he had met one of the soldiers, who had brought him in.

“To-day in our tour I passed over a remarkably large rattlesnake, as he lay curled up, and trod so near him as to touch him with my foot, he drawing himself up to make room for my heel. Dr. Robinson who followed me, was on the point of treading on him, but by a spring avoided it. I then turned round and touched him with my ramrod, but he showed no disposition to bite, and appeared quite peaceable. The gratitude I felt toward him for not having bitten me induced me to save his life. Killed four deer. River rises 13 inches. Rain continuous.”

Being advised by the Indians that the marching party could make a short cut from river to river Pike consented and accompanied by the doctor, Henry and Ballinger they set off. Not being delayed by the Indians the boat party made good speed, and Pike employed himself in the intervals of charting the river, in turning the speech of General Wilkinson which was to be made to Cheveux Blancs into French for the benefit of the interpreter. They were now coming into the region of beautiful scenery, and Pike notes the fine cliffs of the river. The second day after the boat came up with the land party which had killed seven deer and three bears. After dining with the Indians the entire party moved on,

leaving Sparks who had not returned from hunting. The next morning Sans Oreille and his wife caught up with the boat and reported Sparks with the Indians. The rain was still merciless, and in the meantime a plank in the bottom of the boat having split the river party had to stop for repairs. Later Pike caught up with the Indians and the whole company camped on a sand bar.

“*Aug. 11th.* We continued here to dry our corn and baggage. This morning we had a match at shooting. The prize offered to the successful person was a jacket and a twist of tobacco, which I myself was so fortunate as to win; I made the articles, however, a present to the young fellow who waited on me. After this, taking Huddleston with me, I went out to hunt; after traveling about 12 miles we arrived at the river, almost exhausted with thirst. I here indulged myself by drinking plentifully of the water, and was rendered so extremely unwell by it that I was scarcely capable of pursuing my route to the camp. On arriving opposite it, I swam the river, from which I experienced considerable relief. The party informed me they had found the heat very oppressive, and the mercury, at sundown, was at 25° Reaumer. This day, for the first time, I saw trout west of the Allegheny mountains. Reloaded our boats and finished two new oars, which were requisite.

“*Aug. 12th.* Previously to our embarkation, which took place at half past five o'clock, I was obliged to convince my red brethren that, if I protected them, I would not suffer them to plunder my men with impunity;

for the chief had got one of my lad's tin cups attached to his baggage, and, notwithstanding it was marked with the initials of the soldier's name, he refused to give it up. On which I requested the interpreter to tell him, "that I had no idea that he had purloined the cup, but supposed some other person had attached it to his baggage; but, that knowing it to be my soldier's I requested him to deliver it up, or I should be obliged to take other measures to obtain it. This had the desired effect for I should have certainly put my threats into execution, from this principle, formed from my experience during my intercourse with the Indians, that if you have justice on your side, and do not enforce it, they usually despise you. When we stopped for dinner, one of my men took his gun and went out; not having returned when we were ready to re-embark, I left him. Passed the Indians twice when we were crossing the river. Passed some very beautiful cliffs on the W. shore; also Vermillion and Grand rivers, the latter of which is a large stream, and encamped at the first bend above it on the E. or left hand bank of the Osage. Distance 24 miles.

"Immediately after our encampment a thunder storm came on, which blew overboard my flag-staff and a number of articles of my clothing, which were on top of the cabin, and sunk them immediately. Being much fatigued and the bank difficult of ascent, lay down in the cabin without supper and slept all night. It continued to rain. The man I left on shore arrived on the opposite bank in the night, having killed two deer, but

was obliged to leave the largest behind. Finding he was not to be sent for, he concealed his gun and deer, and swam the river.

“*Aug. 13th.* It continued to rain. In the morning sent a boat over for Sparks’ gun and deer. Embarked at half past nine o’clock. Stopped to dine at two o’clock. During the time we halted, the river rose over the flat bar on which we were; this, if we had no other proof, would convince us we were near the head of the river, as the rain must have reached it. We made almost a perfect circle, so that I do not believe we were to-night three miles from where we encamped last night. This day, for the first time, we have prairie hills. Distance 13 miles.

“*Aug. 14th.* Embarked at half past five o’clock. Passed the Park, which is 10 miles around, and not more than three-quarters of a mile across, bearing from S. 5° E. to due N. At its head we breakfasted, and just as we were about to put off we saw and brought-to a canoe manned with three engagees of Mr. Chouteau, who informed us that the little Osage had marched a party against the Kansas, and the Grand Osage, a party against our citizens on the Arkansas river. Wrote by them to the general and all friends. Gave the poor fellows some whiskey and eight quarts of corn, they having had only two turkeys in four days. We left them and proceeded, passing on the east some of the largest cedars I ever saw. Came on very well in the afternoon and encamped on an island above Turkey island. Distance 28 miles.

“*Aug. 15th.* We embarked about five o’clock, and at eight o’clock met the Indians and the gentlemen who accompanied them. Found all well. They had been joined by their friends and relatives from the village with horses to transport their baggage. Lieutenant Wilkinson informed me that their meeting was very tender and affectionate—“wives throwing themselves into the arms of their husbands, parents embracing their children, and children their parents, brothers and sisters meeting, one from captivity, the others from the towns; they at the same time returning thanks to the Good God for having brought them once more together”—in short, the *tout ensemble* was such as to make polished society blush, when compared with those savages, in whom the passions of the mind, whether joy, grief, fear, anger, or revenge, have their full scope. Why can we not correct the baneful passions, without weakening the good? Sans Oreille made them a speech, in which he remarked: ‘Osage, you now see your wives, your brothers, your daughters, your sons, redeemed from captivity. Who did this? Was it the Spaniards? No. The French? No. Had either of those people been governors of the country, your relatives might have rotted in captivity, and you never would have seen them; but the Americans stretched forth their hands, and they are returned to you! What can you do in return for all this goodness? Nothing; all your lives would not suffice to repay their goodness.’ This man had children in captivity, not one of whom we were able to obtain for him.

“The chief then requested that Lieutenant Wilkinson and Dr. Robinson might be permitted to accompany them by land, to which I consented. Wrote a letter to Cheveux Blancs, by Lieutenant Wilkinson. When we parted, after delivering the Indians their baggage, Sans Oreille put an Indian on board to hunt, or obey any other commands I might have for him. We stopped at eleven o'clock to dry our baggage. Found our biscuit and crackers almost all ruined. Put off at half past four o'clock, and encamped at three-quarters past five o'clock. Distance $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

“*Aug. 16th.* We embarked at five o'clock and came on extremely well in the barge to an evacuated French hunting camp 12 miles to breakfast, the batteaux coming up late. We exchanged hands. About twelve o'clock we passed the Grand Fork, which is equal in size to the one on which we pursued our route. We waited to dine at the rocks called the Swallow's Nest, on the W. shore, above the forks. The batteaux having gained nearly a half an hour, the crews are convinced that it is not the boat but the men that make the difference; each take their own boat, after which we proceeded very well, the water being good and the men in spirits. Saw an elk on the shore; also met an old man alone hunting, from whom we obtained no information of consequence. Encamped on the W. shore of the Mine river. Distance 37 miles.

“We to-day passed the place where the chief called Belle Oiseau, and others, were killed. The Belle Oiseau was killed by the Sacs in the year 1804, in a

boat of Manuel de Liza, when on his way down to St. Louis, in order to join the first deputation of his nation who were forwarded to the seat of government by Governor Lewis. A particular relation of the event, no doubt, has been given by that gentleman. This chief had a son who accompanied me to the Pawnee nation, and whose honorable deportment, attachment to our government, amiableness of disposition, and the respect and esteem in which he was held by his compeers, entitle him to the attention of our agents to his nation.

“*Sunday, Aug. 17th.* We embarked at five o'clock and came 12 miles to breakfast. At four o'clock arrived at 10 French houses on the E. shore, where was then residing a Sac, who was married to an Osage femme and spoke French only. We afterward passed the position where Mr. Chouteau formerly had his fort not a vestige of which was remaining, the spot being only marked by the superior growth of vegetation. Here the river bank is one solid bed of stone-coal, just below which is a very shoal and rapid ripple, whence to the village of the Grand Osage is nine miles across a large prairie. We came about two miles above and encamped on the W. shore. This day the river has been generally bounded by prairies on both sides. Distance $41\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

“*Aug. 18th.* We put off at half past five o'clock. Stopped at nine o'clock for breakfast. Passed the second fork of the river at twelve o'clock, the right-hand fork bearing N., about 30 yards wide; the left, the one which we pursued, and not more than 50 or 60

feet in width, very full of old trees, etc., but with plenty of water. Observed the road where the chiefs and Lieutenant Wilkinson crossed. We proceeded until one o'clock, when we were halted by a large drift quite across the river. Dispatched Baroney to the village of the Grand Osage, to procure horses to take our baggage nearer to the towns, and unloaded our boats. In about two hours Lieutenant Wilkinson, with Tutasuggy, arrived at our camp, the former of whom presented me an express from the general and letters from my friends. The chiefs remained at our camp all night. I was attacked by a violent headache. It commenced raining, and continued with great force until day. Distance $19\frac{1}{4}$ miles."

This letter from General Wilkinson is of more importance than the diary intimates. He was at St. Louis and fully advised of the details of the march. The Osages were under the protection of the government, and he urges against the threats of the Pottawatomies that a chain of scouts be posted along the Missouri, although he doubts an attack will be made until the "falling of the leaves," expressing himself Indian fashion. As for Pike himself, while showing the paternal regard of the government for the Osage nations, he must avoid conflict with the other tribes. Concerning Manuel de Liza, who will be recalled as arresting the interpreter on a pretext at the beginning of the expedition, the general learns he is planning to establish clandestine commerce with the Spanish at Santa Fé. His scheme was to deposit his goods within a few days'

march of Santa Fé, then personally visit the Spanish governor and tell him how he has suffered by the change in authority and by exciting his compassion dispose of the goods. Pike was charged "to take all prudent and lawful means to blow it up"—that is to say, de Liza's schemes. Pike had his own affair with de Liza, whom he found exciting the Osages to attack the Kansas villages. Indeed, we are to hear much of de Liza, among the first of intriguing Indian traders.

Still more important, in view of the future developments revealed in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, and in which Wilkinson is so deeply involved, is the following paragraph from the letter concerning Pike's own conduct:

"In regard to your approximation to the Spanish settlements, should your route lead you near them, or should you fall in with any of their parties, your conduct must be marked by such discretion and circumspection as may prevent alarm or conflict, as you will be held responsible for the consequences." Later he adds: "Should fortune favor you on your present excursion, your importance to your country will, I think, make your future life comfortable." The letter concludes with the latest European news concerning the failure of Napoleon's plans in the West Indies, and, what must have been more eagerly received by the explorer, news from his family. Pike was now to remain some days among the Osages, having to represent the commander-in-chief in his diplomatic dealings with Chief White Hair. In his later report Pike gives the

following attractive account of the country and these villages:

“The country round the Osage villages is one of the most beautiful the eye ever beheld. The three branches of the river, viz.: the large east fork, the middle one, up which we ascended, and the northern one, all winding round and past the villages, giving the advantages of wood and water, and at the same time the extensive prairies crowned with rich and luxuriant grass and flowers, gently diversified by the rising swells and sloping lawns, present to the warm imagination the future seats of husbandry, the numerous herds of domestic animals, which are no doubt destined to crown with joy those happy plains.”

This happy prophecy has been, as we all know, long since fulfilled.

“*Aug. 19th.* We commenced early to arrange our baggage but had not finished at one o’clock, when the chief of the Grand Osage, and 40 or 50 men of his village, arrived with horses. We loaded and took our departure for the place where Manuel de Liza had his establishment, at which we arrived about four o’clock, and commenced pitching our encampment near the edge of the prairie, when I was informed that three men had arrived from St. Louis sent by Manuel de Liza. I dispatched Lieutenant Wilkinson to the village with Baroney, who brought to camp the man who had charge of the others from St. Louis; he having no passport, I detained him until further consideration. Our reception by the Osage was flattering, and particularly

by White Hair and our fellow-travelers. This evening there arrived in the village of the Grand Osage an express from the Arkansaw, who brought the news that a boat, ascending that river, had been fired on, had two white men killed and two wounded, and that the brother-in-law of Cheveux Blancs, who happened to be on board, was also killed. This put the whole village in mourning.

“*Aug. 20th.* About twelve o'clock I dispatched Baroney for the chiefs of the Grand village, in order to give the general's parole to Cheveux Blancs; also, a young man to the village of the Little Osage. Cheveux Blancs and his people arrived about three o'clock, and after waiting some time for Wind and his people, I just informed the chiefs that I had merely assembled them to deliver the parole of the general and present the marks of distinction intended for Cheveux Blancs and his son—hanging a grand medal round the neck of the latter. The packets committed to my charge for the relations of the deceased Osages were then delivered to them, the widow making the distribution. It must be remarked that I had merely requested Cheveux Blancs to come with his son, and receive the general's message; but instead of coming with a few chiefs, he was accompanied by 186 men, to all of whom we were obliged to give something to drink. When the council was over we mounted our horses, rode to the village, and halted at the quarters of the chief, where we were regaled with boiled pumpkins; then we went to two different houses, and were invited to many others,

but declined, promising that I would pay them a visit previous to my departure, and spend the whole day. We then returned to camp. After inquiring of White Hair if the men of Manuel de Liza had any ostensible object, he informed me that they only said to him that they expected Manuel would be up to trade in the autumn. I concluded to take the deposition of Baptiste Larme as to the manner in which he was employed by Manuel de Liza, forward the same to Dr. Brown and the Attorney General of Louisiana, and permit the men to return to St. Louis, as it was impossible for me to detach a party with them as prisoners.

“*Aug. 21st.* In the morning White Hair paid us a visit, and brought us a present of corn, meat and grease; we invited him, his son, and son-in-law to breakfast with us, and gave his companions something to eat. I then wrote a number of letters to send by express, and inclosed the deposition of Larme. In the afternoon we rode to the village of the Little Osage, and were received by our fellow-travelers with true hospitality. Returned in the evening, when a tremendous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning commenced, and continued with extraordinary violence until half past nine o'clock. It was with great difficulty we were enabled to keep our tents from blowing down. The place prepared for an observatory was carried away.

“*Aug. 22d.* Preparing in the morning for the council, and committing to paper the heads of the subject on which I intended to speak. The chiefs of the Little Osage arrived about one o'clock, also the interpreter of

the Grand Osage, who pretended to say that the Grand Osage had expected us at their village with the Little Osage. Cheveux Blancs arrived with his chiefs. The ceremony of the council being arranged, I delivered them the general's parole, forwarded by express. My reason for not delivering it until this time was in order to have the two villages together, as it was equally interesting to both. After this I explained at large the will, wishes, and advice of their Great Father, and the mode which I conceived most applicable to carry them into effect. Cheveux Blancs replied in a few words, and promised to give me a full reply to-morrow. Wind replied to the same amount; after which Cheveux Blancs addressed himself to Wind as follows: 'I am shocked at your conduct, Tuttasuggy—you who have lately come from the States, and should have been wise; but you led the redeemed captives, with an officer of the United States, to your village, instead of bringing them through my town in the first instance.' To this Wind made no reply, but left his seat shortly after, under pretense of giving some orders to his young men. I conceived this reprimand intended barely to show us the superiority of the one and inferiority of the other; it originated, in my opinion, from an altercation of Lieutenant Wilkinson and Cheveux Blancs, in which allusions were made by the former to the friendly conduct of the Little Chief, alias Wind, when compared to that of the latter. I must here observe that when the chiefs and prisoners left me, accompanied by Lieutenant Wilkinson, I did not know the geographical situation

of the two villages, but conceived that, in going to the Little Village, they would pass by the Grand Village, and, of course, Lieutenant Wilkinson and the chief would arrange the affair.

“Aug. 23rd. I expected to have received from the chiefs their answers to my demands; but received an express from both villages, informing me that they wished to put them off until to-morrow. I then adjusted my instruments. Took equal altitudes and a meridional altitude of the sun; but owing to flying clouds, missed the immersions of Jupiter’s satellites.

“Sunday, Aug. 24th. Was nearly half the day in adjusting the line of collimation in the telescopic sights of my theodolite. It began to cloud before evening, and although the sky was not entirely covered, I was so unfortunate as to miss the time of immersion, and although clear in the immediate period, an emersion also. I was informed by Baroney that the Little Village had made up 11 horses for us. In the evening, however, the interpreter accompanied by the son-in-law and son of Cheveux Blancs, came to camp, and informed me that there were no horses to be got in the village of the Big Osage.

“The son-in-law spoke as follows: ‘I am come to give you the news of our village, which is unfortunate for us, our chief having assembled his young men and warriors and proposed to them to furnish horses, etc. They have generally refused him; but I, who am the principal man after Cheveux Blancs, will accompany you.’ The son: ‘Our young men and warriors will

not take pity on my father, nor on me, nor on you, and have refused to comply with your request; but I will accompany you with two horses to carry provision for your voyage.' The interpreter: 'The Cheveux Blancs was ashamed to bring you this answer, but will again assemble his village and to-morrow come and give you the answer.' I replied that I had made the demand without explanation, merely to let the Osage act agreeably to their inclination, in order that we might see what disposition they would exhibit toward us; but why do I ask of their chiefs to follow me to the Pawnees? Is it for our good, or their own? Is it not to make peace with the Kans? To put their wives and children out of danger? As to their horses which they may furnish us with, I will pay them for their hire; but it is uncertain whether I can pay them here, or give them an order on the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis; but this I do not now wish them to be made acquainted with.

Aug. 25th. In the morning we were visited by Cheveux Blancs and three or four of his chiefs, who were pleased to accord to my demands. He found much difficulty in informing me that in all his village he could only raise four horses, but that we should be accompanied by his son and son-in-law. I then expressed to him the difference of our expectations from the reality. He remained until after twelve o'clock, when I went to the Little Osage village, and was received with great friendship by the chief. Remained all night at the house of Tuttasuggy. Took the census.

“*Aug. 26th.* Rose early and found my friends in council, which was merely relative to our horses. The chief then declared their determination to me, and that he himself gave me one horse, and lent me eight more to carry our baggage to the Pawnees. Sold the old batteau for \$100 in merchandise, which I conceived infinitely preferable to leaving her to the uncertain safeguard of the Indians. About this time we received the news that the party of the Pottawatomies were discovered to be near the towns. I gave them the best advice I was capable of giving, and then returned to our camp.”

Pike was now preparing to continue his journey overland. The difficulty of getting the necessary horses he attributed to the agent of the mischievous de Liza, Labardie, and to his faithless interpreter, Maugraine, both being inspired by de Liza himself, from St. Louis. In a letter sent at the time to his general, Pike writes:

“It is with extreme pain that I keep myself cool amongst the difficulties which those people appear to have a disposition to throw in my way; but I have declared to them that I should go on, even if I collected our tents and other baggage which we will be obliged to leave together, and burnt them on the spot.”

Meanwhile, he made good use of the delay in studying the peculiar traits of the Osages, and with Dr. Robinson attended a medicine dance, of which elsewhere he writes:

“Having had all the doctors or magicians assembled in the lodge of Ca-ha-ga-tonga, alias Cheveux Blancs, and about 500 spectators, they had two rows of fires

prepared, around which the sacred band was stationed. They commenced the tragi-comedy by putting a large butcher-knife down their throats, the blood appearing to run during the operation very naturally; the scene was continued by putting sticks through the nose, swallowing bones and taking them out of the nostrils, etc. At length one fellow demanded of me what I would give if he would run a stick through his tongue, and let another person cut off the piece. I replied, 'a shirt.' He then apparently performed his promise, with great pain, forcing a stick through his tongue, and then giving a knife to a by-stander, who appeared to cut off the piece, which he held to the light for the satisfaction of the audience, and then joined it to his tongue, and by a magical charm healed the wound immediately. On demanding of me what I thought of the performance, I replied I would give him 20 shirts if he would let me cut off the piece from his tongue; this disconcerted him a great deal, and I was sorry I had made the observation."

The Osage nation Pike found divided into four classes—warriors and hunters and cooks and doctors; the doctors exercising also the offices of priests and magicians. Warriors who had become old or infirm, or had lost their families, frequently became cooks, adding to their duties that of town crier, calling the chiefs to council and to feasts, or if any particular person was wanted crying his name through the village and informing him at what lodge he is wanted. Concerning the etiquette of Osage hospitality he tells us:

“When received into the Osage village you immediately present yourself at the lodge of the chief, who receives you as his guest, where you generally eat first, after the old patriarchal style. You are then invited to a feast by all the great men of the village, and it would be a great insult if you did not comply, at least so far as to taste of the victuals. In one instance I was obliged to taste of 15 different entertainments the same afternoon. You will hear cooks crying, ‘Come and eat’—such a one ‘gives a feast, come and eat of his bounty.’ Their dishes were generally sweet corn boiled in buffalo grease, or boiled meat and pumpkins; but Sans Oreille, alias Tetobasi, treated me to a dish of tea in a wooded dish, with new horn spoons, boiled meat and crullers; he had been in the United States. Their towns hold more people in the same space of ground than any places I ever saw. Their lodges are posted with scarcely any regularity, each one building in the manner, directions, and dimensions which suit him best, by which means they frequently leave room only for a single man to squeeze in between them; added to this they have pens for their horses, all within the village, into which they always drive them at night, in case they think there is any reason to believe there is an enemy lurking in the vicinity.

“The Osage lodges are generally constructed with upright posts put firmly in the ground, of about 20 feet in height, with a crotch at the top; they are about 12 feet distant from each other; in the crotch of those posts are put the ridge-poles, over which are bent small poles,

the ends of which are brought down and fastened to a row of stakes about five feet in height; these stakes are fastened together with three horizontal bars, and form the flank walls of the lodge. The gable ends are generally broad slabs, rounded off to the ridge-pole. The whole of the building and sides are covered with matting made of rushes, two or three feet in length and four feet in width, which are joined together, and entirely exclude the rain. The doors are on the sides of the building, and generally are one on each side. The fires are made in holes in the center of the lodge, the smoke ascending through apertures left in the roof for the purpose. At one end of the dwelling is a raised platform, about three feet from the ground, which is covered with bear-skins, generally holds all the little choice furniture of the master, and on which repose his honorable guests. In fact, with neatness and a pleasing companion, these dwellings would compose a very comfortable and pleasant summer habitation, but are left in the winter for the woods. They vary in length from 36 to 100 feet."

After five days' delay in getting horses, and making presents to the Indians for their hospitality and presenting the village with a flag, Pike took up the march again.

"*Sept. 1st.* Struck our tents early in the morning, and commenced loading our horses. We now discovered an Indian had stolen a large black horse which Cheveux Blancs had presented to Lieutenant Wilkinson. I mounted a horse to pursue him; but the interpreter sent to town, and the chief's wife sent another in its place. We left the place about twelve o'clock

with 15 loaded horses, our party consisting of two lieutenants, one doctor, two sergeants, one corporal, 15 privates, two interpreters, three Pawnees, and four chiefs of the Grand Osage, amounting in all to 30 warriors and one woman. We crossed the Grand Osage fork and a prairie N. 80° W. five miles to the fork of the Little Osage. Joined by Sans Oreille and seven Little Osage, all of whom I equipped for the march. Distance eight miles.

“*Sept. 2d.* Marched at six o'clock. Halted at ten o'clock and two o'clock on the side of the creek, our route having been all the time on its borders. Whilst there I was informed by a young Indian that Mr. C. Chouteau had arrived at the towns. I conceived it proper for me to return, which I did, accompanied by Baroney, first to the Little Village; whence we were accompanied by Wind to the Big Village, where we remained all night at the lodge of Cheveux Blancs. Mr. Chouteau gave us all the news, after which I scrawled a letter to the general and my friends.

“*Sept. 3rd.* Rose early and went to the Little Village to breakfast. After giving my letters to Mr. Henry, and arranging my affairs, we proceeded and overtook our party at two o'clock. They had left their first camp about four miles. Our horses being much fatigued, we concluded to remain all night. Sent out our red and white hunters, all of whom only killed two turkeys. Distance four miles.

“*Sept. 4th.* When about to march in the morning one of our horses was missing; we left Sans Oreille, with

the two Pawnees to search for him, and proceeded until about nine o'clock; stopped until twelve o'clock, and then marched. In about a half an hour I was overtaken and informed that Sans Oreille had not been able to find our horse; on which we encamped, and sent two horses back for the load. One of the Indians being jealous of his wife sent her back to the village. After making the necessary notes, Dr. Robinson and myself took our horses and followed the course of a little stream until we arrived at Grand river, which was distant about six miles. Here we found a most delightful basin of water, of 25 paces diameter and about 100 in circumference, in which we bathed; found it deep and delightfully pleasant. Nature scarcely ever formed a more beautiful place for a farm. We returned to camp about dusk, when I was informed that some of the Indians had been dreaming and wished to return. Killed one deer, one turkey, one raccoon.

“*Sept. 5th.* In the morning our Little Osage all came to a determination to return, and, much to my surprise, Sans Oreille among the rest. I had given an order on the chiefs for the lost horse to be delivered to Sans Oreille’s wife, previously to my knowing that he was going back; but took from him his gun, and the guns from all the others also.

“In about five miles we struck a beautiful hill, which bears south on the prairie; its elevation I suppose to be 100 feet. From its summit the view is sublime to the east and southeast. We waited on this hill to breakfast, and had to send two miles for water. Killed a deer

on the rise, which was soon roasting before the fire. Here another Indian wished to return and take his horse with him; which, as we had so few, I could not allow, for he had already received a gun for the use of his horse. I told him he might return, but his horse would go to the Pawnees.

“We marched, leaving the Osage trace, which we had hitherto followed, and crossed the hills to a creek that was almost dry. Descended it to the main river, where we dined. The discontented Indian came up, and put on an air of satisfaction and content.

“We again marched about six miles further, and encamped at the head of a small creek, about half a mile from the water. Distance 19 miles.

“*Sept. 6th.* We marched at half past six o'clock, and arrived at a large fork of the Little Osage river, where we breakfasted. In the holes of the creek we discovered many fish, which, from the stripes on their bellies and their spots, I supposed to be trout and bass; they were 12 inches long. This brought to mind the necessity of a net, which would have frequently afforded subsistence to the whole party. We halted at one o'clock and remained until four o'clock. Being told that we could not arrive at any water, we here filled our vessels. At five o'clock arrived at the dividing ridge, between the waters of the Osage and the Arkansas, alias White river, the dry branches of which interlock within 20 yards of each other. The prospect from the dividing ridge to the east and southeast is sublime. The prairie rising and falling in regular swells, as far as the

sight can extend, produces a very beautiful appearance. We left our course, and struck down to the southwest on a small creek, or rather a puddle of water. Killed one deer. Distance 20 miles.

“*Sunday, Sept. 7th.* We left this at half past six o'clock, before which we had a difficulty with the son of the chief, which was accommodated. At nine o'clock we came on a large fork and stopped for breakfast and encamped on a fine stream, where we swam our horses and bathed ourselves. Killed four deer. Distance 15 miles.

“*Sept. 8th.* Marched early and arrived at a grand fork of the White river. The Indians are all discontented; we had taken the wrong ford; but, as they were dispersed through the wood, we could not be governed by their movements. Previously to our leaving camp, the son of Cheveux Blancs proposed returning, offering no other reason than that he felt too lazy to perform the route. The reason I offered to prevent his going was ineffectual, and he departed with his hunter, who deprived us of one horse. His return left us without any chief or man of consideration, except the son of Belle Oiseau, who was but a lad. The former appeared to be a discontented young fellow, filled with self-pride; he certainly should have considered it as an honor to be sent on so respectable an embassy as he was. Another Indian, who owned one of our horses, wished to return with him, which was positively refused him; but fearing he might steal him, I contented him with a present. We marched, and made the second branch, crossing

one prairie 12 miles, in which we suffered much with drought. Distance 22 miles.”

It is necessary now to understand something of the course by which Pike reached the “Pawnee Republic” in southern Nebraska whither he is now bound and which his uncertainty as to the nomenclature of the country makes a little confusing. The Neosho River, for example, he sometimes calls the Grand River and again the White river. The latter name also seems occasionally to refer to the Arkansas River. He is travelling over the water-shed of the Arkansas into which the Verdigris and the Neosho Rivers empty their waters. It is a difficult journey over dry prairies, numerous creeks—a journey whose difficulties are varied only by the hunting of the buffalo, deer, turkeys, and cabrie, as he calls the antelope, which abounded in this country. It is interesting also to identify Pike’s course by means of the thriving and prosperous towns that have since sprung up in this then unknown region.

After leaving the Osage villages on the border between Missouri and Kansas, Pike traversed the Little Osage until he came to what is now Xenia, Kansas; and from thence travelled westward crossing the Neosho near the present town of Iola. Proceeding now northwest he camped near Elco on the head-waters of the Verdigris River. From thence he crossed the Cottonwood near Cottonwood Falls, and made camp near the present town of Marion on the night of the thirteenth of September. He then marched northward and crossed the divide near Tampa, when proceeding westerly he

crossed Gypsum Creek, not far from Gypsum City, where he camped. His next camp was near Bridgeport, having crossed the Smoky Hill River. From thence he marched northward and again camped within a few miles of the city of Salina, which finishes the first section of Pike's journey to the Pawnees, where, as he says, he expected to meet some of that tribe.

“Sunday, Sept. 14th. The doctor and Frank, a young Pawnee, marched for the village at daylight; we at half past six o'clock. Halted at one o'clock. On the march we were continually passing through large herds of buffalo, elk, and caribou; and I have no doubt that one hunter could support 200 men. I prevented the men shooting at the game, not merely because of the scarcity of ammunition, but, as I conceived, the laws of morality forbid it also. Encamped at sunset on the main branch of White river, hitherto called Grand river. Killed one buffalo and one caribou. Distance 21 miles.

“Sept. 15th. Marched at seven o'clock; passed a very large Kans encampment, evacuated, which had been occupied last summer. Proceeded on to the dividing ridge between the waters of White river and the Kans. This ridge was covered with a layer of stone, which was strongly impregnated with iron ore, and on the W. side of said ridge we found spa springs. Halted at one o'clock, very much against the inclination of the Osage, who, from the running of the buffalo, conceived a party of Kans to be near. Killed two buffalo. Distance 18 miles.

Sept. 16th. Marched late, and in about 4 miles' distance came to a very handsome branch of water, at which we stopped and remained until after two o'clock, when we marched and crossed two branches. Encamped on a third. At the second creek, a horse was discovered on the prairie, when Baroney went in pursuit of him on a horse of Lieutenant Wilkinson's, but arrived at our camp without success. Distance 13 miles.

Sept. 18th. Marched at our usual hour, and at twelve o'clock halted at a large branch of the Kans, which was strongly impregnated with salt. This day we expected the people of the village to meet us. We marched again at four o'clock. Our route being over a continued series of hills and hollows, we were until eight o'clock before we arrived at a small dry branch. It was nearly ten o'clock before we found any water. Commenced raining a little before day. Distance 25 miles.

Sept. 19th. It having commenced raining early, we secured our baggage and pitched our tents. The rain continued without any intermission the whole day, during which we employed ourselves in reading the Bible and Pope's Essays, and in pricking on our arms with India ink some characters, which will frequently bring to mind our forlorn and dreary situation, as well as the happiest days of our life. In the rear of our encampment was a hill, on which there was a large rock, where the Indians kept a continual sentinel, as I imagine to apprise them of the approach of any party, friends

or foes, as well as to see if they could discover any game on the prairies.

“*Sept. 20th.* It appearing as if we possibly might have a clear day, I ordered our baggage spread abroad to dry; but it shortly after clouded up and commenced raining. The Osage sentinel discovered a buffalo on the prairies; upon which we dispatched a hunter on horseback in pursuit of him, also some hunters on foot; before night they killed three buffalo, some of the best of which we brought in and jerked or dried by the fire. It continued showery until afternoon, when we put our baggage again in a position to dry, and remained encamped. The detention of the doctor and our Pawnee ambassador began to be a serious matter of consideration.

“*Sunday, Sept. 21st.* We marched at eight o'clock, although there was every appearance of rain, and at eleven o'clock passed a large creek, remarkably salt. Stopped at one o'clock on a fresh branch of the salt creek. Our interpreter having killed an elk, we sent out for some meat, which detained us so late that I concluded it best to encamp where we were, in preference to running the risk of finding no water. Distance 10 miles.

“Lieutenant Wilkinson was attacked with a severe headache and slight fever. One of my men had been attacked with a touch of the pleurisy on the 18th, and was still ill. We were informed by an Osage woman that two of the Indians were conspiring to desert us in the night and steal some of our horses, one of whom

was her husband. We engaged her as our spy. Thus were we obliged to keep ourselves on our guard against our own companions and fellow-travelers—men of a nation highly favored by the United States, but whom I believe to be a faithless set of poltrons, incapable of a great and generous action. Among them, indeed, there may be some exceptions.

“In the evening, finding that the two Indians above mentioned had made all preparations to depart, I sent for one of them, who owned a horse and had received a gun and other property for his hire, and told him, I knew his plans, and that if he was disposed to desert, I should take care to retain his horse; that as for himself, he might leave me if he pleased, as I only wanted men with us. He replied that he was a man, that he always performed his promises, that he had never said he would return; but that he would follow me to the Pawnee village, which he intended to do. He then brought his baggage and put it under charge of the sentinel, and slept by my fire; but notwithstanding I had him well watched.

“*Sept. 22d.* We did not march until eight o'clock, owing to the indisposition of Lieutenant Wilkinson. At eleven waited to dine. Light mists of rain, with flying clouds. We marched again at three o'clock, and continued our route 12 miles to the first branch of the Republican Fork. Met a Pawnee hunter, who informed us that the chief had left the village the day after the doctor arrived, with 50 or 60 horses and many people, and had taken his course to the north of our route; conse-

quently we had missed each other. He likewise informed us that the Tetaus had recently killed six Pawnees, the Kans had stolen some horses, and a party of 300 Spaniards had lately been as far as the Sabine; but for what purpose was unknown. Distance 11 miles.

“*Sept. 23rd.* Marched early and passed a large fork of the Kans river which I suppose to be the one generally called Solomon’s. One of our horses fell into the water and wet his load. Halted at ten o’clock on a branch of this fork. We marched at half past one o’clock, and encamped at sundown on a stream, where we had a great difficulty to find water. We saw some mules, horses, bridles, and blankets, which they obtained from the Spainards. Few only had breech cloth, most being wrapped in buffalo robes, otherwise quite naked.

“*Sept. 25th.* We marched at a good hour, and in about eight miles struck a very large road on which the Spanish troops had returned, and on which we could yet discover the grass beaten down in the direction which they went.

“When we arrived within about three miles of the village, we were requested to remain, as the ceremony of receiving the Osage into the towns was to be performed here. There was a small circular spot, clear of grass, before which the Osage sat down. We were a small distance in advance of the Indians. The Pawnees then advanced within a mile of us, halted, divided into two troops, and came on each flank at full charge, making all the gestures and performing the maneuvers of a

real war charge. They then encircled us around, and the chief advanced in the center and gave us his hand; his name was Characterish. He was accompanied by his two sons and a chief by the name of Iskatappe. The Osage were still seated; but Belle Oiseau then rose, came forward with a pipe, and presented it to the chief, who took a whiff or two from it. We then proceeded; the chief, Lieutenant Wilkinson, and myself in front; my sergeant, on a white horse, next with the colors; then our horses and baggage, escorted by our men, with the Pawnees on each side, running races, etc. When we arrived on the hill over the town we were again halted, and the Osage seated in a row; when each Pawnee who intended so to do presented them with a horse and gave a pipe to smoke to the Osage to whom he had made the present. In this manner were eight horses given. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded with the party to the river above the town and encamped. I went up to our camp in the evening, having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for my men. Distance 12 miles. As the chief had invited us to his lodge to eat, we thought it proper for one to go. At the lodge he gave me many particulars which were interesting to us relative to the late visit of the Spaniards.

“I will attempt to give some memoranda of this expedition, which was the most important ever carried on from the province of New Mexico, and in fact the only one directed N. E. to the Pawnees (except that mentioned by the Abbé Reynal in his History of the Indies—of which see a more particular account hereafter).

In the year 1806 our affairs with Spain began to wear a very serious aspect, and the troops of the two governments almost came to actual hostilities on the frontiers of Texas and the Orleans territory. At this time, when matters bore every appearance of coming to a crisis, I was fitting out for my expedition from St. Louis, where some of the Spanish emissaries in that country transmitted the news of it to Major Merior and the Spanish Council at that place, who immediately forwarded the information to the then commandant of Nacodoches, Captain Sebastian Roderiques, who forwarded it to the seat of government. This information was personally communicated to me, as an instance of the rapid means they possessed of transmitting information relative to the occurrences transacting on our frontiers. The expedition was then determined on, and had three objects in view:

“1st. To descend the Red river, in order, if he met our expedition, to intercept and turn us back; or, should Major Sparks and Mr. Freeman have missed the party from Nacodoches, under the command of Captain Viana, to oblige them to return and not penetrate further into the country, or make them prisoners of war.

“2d. To explore and examine all the internal parts of the country from the frontiers of the province of New Mexico to the Missouri between the La Platte [sentence unfinished].

“3d. To visit the Tetaus, Pawnees republic, Grand Pawnees, Pawnee Mahaws, and Kans. To the head

chief of each of those nations the commanding officer bore flags, a commission, grand medal, and four mules; and with all of them he had to renew the chains of ancient amity which was said to have existed between their father, his most Catholic majesty, and his children the red people.

“The commanding officers also bore positive orders to oblige all parties or persons, in the above-specified countries, either to retire from them into the acknowledged territories of the United States, or to make prisoners of them and conduct them into the province of N. Mexico. Lieutenant Don Facundo Malgares, the officer selected from the five internal provinces to command this expedition, was a European (his uncle was one of the royal judges in the kingdom of New Spain), and had distinguished himself in several long expeditions against the Apaches and other Indian nations with whom the Spaniards were at war; added to these circumstances, he was a man of immense fortune, and generous in its disposal, almost to profusion; possessed a liberal education, high sense of honor, and a disposition formed for military enterprise. This officer marched from the province of Biscay with 100 dragoons of the regular service, and at Santa Fé, the place where the expedition was fitted out, he was joined by 500 of the mounted militia of that province, armed after the manner described by my notes on that subject, and completely equipped with ammunition, etc., for six months; each man leading with them (by order) two horses and one mule, the whole number of their beasts was 2,075.

They ascended the Red river 233 leagues; met the grand bands of the Tetaus, and held councils with them; then struck off N. E., and crossed the country to the Arkansaw, where Lieutenant Malgares left 240 of his men with the lame and tired horses, while he proceeded on with the rest to the Pawnee republic. Here he was met by the chiefs and warriors of the Grand Pawnees; held councils with the two nations and presented them the flags, medals, etc., which were destined for them. He did not proceed to the execution of his mission with the Pawnee Mahaws and Kans, as he represented to me, from the poverty of their horses and the discontent of his own men; but, as I conceive, from the suspicion and discontent which began to arise between the Spaniards and the Indians; the former wished to revenge the death of Villeneuve and party, while the latter possessed all the suspicions of conscious villainy deserving punishment. Malgares took with him all the traders he found there from our country, some of whom having been sent from Natchitoches, were in abject poverty at that place on my arrival, and applied to me for means to return to St. Louis. Lieutenant Malgares returned to Santa Fé in October, when his militia was disbanded; but he remained in the vicinity of that place until we were brought in, and with his dragoons, became our escort to the seat of Government.”

Pike had now arrived at his destination, coming directly north from Salina and crossing the Republican River near what is now White Rock. The diary gives but a meagre account of his reception by the Pawnees,

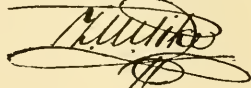
Sir

Washington 5 May 1838

I have the Honor to
acknowledge the receipt of yours, notifying
me of my appointment to a Majorcy
in the 6 Regt. of Infantry in the service
of the United States. You will
please Sir to receive this as my
acceptance of the same, and believe
me to be

With High Consideration

Your Servant



The Hon^r.

Henry Dearborn

Secy. War Dep.

but fortunately Lieutenant Wilkinson has elsewhere related it in detail.

“Early on the morning of the 25th we were joined by a few more savages of distinction, headed by the brother of Characterish, or White Wolf, chief of the nation, who was to act as master of the ceremonies to our formal entry. Preparatory to our march, we had our men equipped as neatly as circumstances would admit. About mid-day we reached the summit of a lofty chain of ridges, where we were requested to halt and await the arrival of the chief who was half a mile from us, with 300 horsemen, who were generally naked, except buffalo robes and breech cloths, and painted with white, yellow, blue, and black paint. At the word of the chief the warriors divided, and, pushing on at full speed, flanked us on the right and left, yelling in a most diabolical manner. The chief advanced in front, accompanied by Iskatappe, or Rich Man, the second great personage of the village and his two sons, who were clothed in scarlet cloth. They approached slowly, and when within 100 yards the three latter halted; Characterish advanced in great state, and when within a few paces of us stretched out his hand and cried, ‘*Bon jour.*’ Thus ended the first ceremony. We moved on about a mile further, and having gained the summit of a considerable hill, we discovered the village directly at its base. We here were again halted, and the few Osages who accompanied us were ordered in front and seated in rank entire. The chief squatted on his hams in front of them and filled a calumet, which

several different Indians took from him and handed the Osages to smoke. This was called the horse-smoke, as each person who took the pipe from the chief intended to present the Osages a horse. Mr. Pike and Dr. Robinson afterward accompanied the chief to his lodge, and I moved on with the detachment and formed our camp on the opposite bank of the Republican fork of the Kansas river, on a commanding hill which had been selected as the most favorable situation for making observations, though very inconvenient on account of wood and water, which we had to transport nearly a quarter of a mile.

“At a council held some few days after our arrival, Lieutenant Pike explained to them the difference of their present situation and that of a few years past; now they must look up to the president of the United States as their great father; that he had been sent by him to assure them of his good wishes, etc.; that he perceived a Spanish flag flying at the council-lodge door, and was anxious to exchange one of their great father’s for it; and that it was our intention to proceed further to the westward, to examine this, our newly acquired country. To this a singular and extraordinary response was given—in fact, an objection, started in direct opposition to our proceeding further west; however, they gave up the Spanish flag, and we had the pleasure to see the American standard hoisted in its stead.”

Pike’s diary again takes up the daily march.

“*Sept. 26th.* Finding our encampment not eligible as to situation, we moved down on to the prairie hill,

about three-fourths of a mile nearer the village. We sent our interpreter to town to trade for provisions. About three o'clock in the afternoon 12 Kans arrived at the village, and informed Baroney that they had come to meet us, hearing that we were to be at the Pawnees village. We pitched our camp upon a beautiful eminence, whence we had a view of the town and all that was transacting. In the evening Baroney, with the chief, came to camp to give us the news, and returned together.

“Sept. 27th. Baroney arrived from the village about one o'clock, with Characterish, whose commission from the Governor of New Mexico was dated Santa Fé, June 15th, 1806, and three other chiefs, to all of whom I gave a dinner. I then made an appropriate present to each, after which Lieutenant Wilkinson and myself accompanied them to town, where we remained a few hours, and returned. Appointed to-morrow for the interview with the Kans and Osage.

“Sunday Sept. 28th. Held a council of the Kans and Osage, and made them smoke the pipe of peace. Two of the Kans agreed to accompany us. We received a visit from the chief of the village. Made an observation on an emersion of one of Jupiter's satellites.

“Sept. 29th. Held our grand council with the Pawnees, at which not less than 400 warriors were present, the circumstances of which were extremely interesting. The notes I took on my grand council held with the Pawnee nation were seized by the Spanish government, together with all my speeches to the different

nations. But it may be interesting to observe here, in case they should never be returned, that the Spaniards had left several of their flags in this village, one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council; and that among various demands and charges I gave them was, that the said flag should be delivered to me, and one of the United States' flags be received and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had so lately been a large force of Spanish cavalry at the village which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, etc., which my appearance with 20 infantry was by no means calculated to remove.

“After the chiefs had replied to various parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, adding that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards, or acknowledge their American father. After a silence of some time an old man rose, went to the door, took down the Spanish flag, brought it and laid it at my feet; he then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic Majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom decidedly avow themselves to be under American protection. Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great national calamity were about to befall them, I took up the contested colors, and told them that as they had shown

themselves dutiful children in acknowledging their great American father, I did not wish to embarrass them with the Spaniards, for it was the wish of the Americans that their red brethren should remain peaceably around their own fires, and not embroil themselves in any disputes between the white people; and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again, I returned them their flag with an injunction that it should never be hoisted during our stay. At this there was a general shout of applause, and the charge was particularly attended to.

“*Sept. 30th.* Remained all day in camp, but sent Baroney to town, who informed me on his return that the chief appeared to wish to throw great obstacles in our way. A great disturbance had taken place in the village, owing to one of the young Pawnees, Frank, who had lately come from the United States, having taken the wife of an Osage and run away with her. The chief, in whose lodge the Osage put up, was extremely enraged, considering it a breach of hospitality to a person under his roof, and threatened to kill Frank if he caught him.”

This date concludes the chapter from the diary. But the notes on the Pawnees, that Pike alludes to as having been taken from him he introduces in his report, and these may be fitly introduced here while he is parleying with the Pawnee chief, who was still plainly under the influence of the Spaniards. Pike finds the Pawnees tall, slim, with high cheek-bones, which “clearly indicate their Asiatic origin. By no means so cleanly as the

Osage, they are also neither so brave or generous as the more northern tribes." This degeneracy he attributes to the ease in which they live in the midst of a country abounding in buffaloes. Although they breed superior horses, they always go to war on foot while the enemy is mounted. They, however, are better armed, half the warriors having fire-arms. Like the Osage, they are agriculturists, raising corn and pumpkins with which they thin their soup. The pumpkins they cut into thin slices, which they dry in the sun, while the corn they *cache*, and keep sweet until spring.

Their houses are a perfect circle, except where the door enters, whence there is a projection of about fifteen feet; the whole being constructed after the following manner: "First there is an excavation of a circular form made in the ground, about 4 feet deep, and 60 in diameter, where there is a row of posts about 5 feet high, with crotches at the top, set firmly in all round, and horizontal poles also laid from one to another. There then is a row of posts, forming a circle about 10 feet in height; the crotches of these are so directed that horizontal poles are laid also from one to another; long poles are then laid slanting upward from the lower poles over the higher ones, and meeting nearly at the top, leaving only a small aperture for the smoke of the fire to pass out, which is made on the ground in the middle of the lodge. There is then a number of small poles put up around the circle, so as to form the wall, and wicker-work is run through the whole. The roof is then thatched with grass, and earth is thrown up against the

wall until a bank is made to the eaves of the thatch; that is also filled with earth one or two feet thick, and rendered so tight as entirely to exclude any storm, and make the houses extremely warm. The entrance is about six feet wide, with walls on each side, and roofed like our houses in shape, but of the same materials as the main building. Inside there are numerous little apartments constructed of wicker-work against the wall, with small doors; they have a great appearance of neatness, and in them the members of the family sleep and have their little deposits. Their towns are by no means so much crowded as the Osage, giving much more space; but they have the same mode of introducing their horses into the village at night, which makes it extremely crowded. They keep guards with the horses during the day.

“They are extremely addicted to gaming, and have for that purpose a smooth piece of ground cleared out on each side of the village for about 150 yards in length, on which they play the three following games: One is played by two players at a time, and in the following manner: They have a large hoop about four feet in diameter, in the center of which is a small leather ring; this is attached to leather thongs which are extended to the hoop, and by that means kept in its central position; they also have a pole about six feet in length, which the player holds in one hand; he then rolls the hoop from him, and immediately slides the pole after it; and the nearer the head of the pole lies to the small ring within the hoop, when they both fall, the greater is the cast.

But I could not ascertain their mode of counting sufficiently to decide when the game was won. Another game is played with a small stick, with several hooks, and a hoop about four inches in diameter, which is rolled along the ground, and the forked stick darted after it, the value of the cast being estimated by the hook on which the ring is caught. This game is gained at 100. The third game alluded to is that of *la platte*, described by various travelers; this is played by the women, children, and old men, who like grasshoppers crawl out to the circus to bask in the sun, probably covered only with an old buffalo robe."

CHAPTER V

THROUGH KANSAS AND COLORADO TO PIKE'S PEAK

OCTOBER 1ST—NOVEMBER 30TH, 1806

“*Wednesday, Oct. 1st.* Paid a visit to town and had a very long conversation with the chief, who urged everything in his power to induce us to turn back. Finally, he very candidly told us that the Spaniards wished to have gone further into our country, but he induced them to give up the idea; that they had listened to him and he wished us to do the same; that he had promised the Spaniards to act as he now did, and that we must proceed no further, or he must stop us by force of arms. My reply was, that I had been sent out by our great father to explore the western country, to visit all his red children, to make peace between them, and turn them from shedding blood; that he might see how I had caused the Osage and Kans to meet to smoke the pipe of peace together, and take each other by the hand like brothers; that as yet my road had been smooth, with a blue sky over our heads. I had not seen any blood in our path; but he must know that the young warriors of his great American father were not women, to be turned back by words; that I should therefore proceed,

and if he thought proper to stop me, he could attempt it; but we were men, well armed, and would sell our lives at a dear rate to his nation; that we knew our great father would send his young warriors there to gather our bones and revenge our deaths on his people, when our spirits would rejoice in hearing our exploits sung in the war-songs of our chiefs. I then left his lodge and returned to camp, in considerable perturbation of mind.

“*Oct. 2d.* We received advice from our Kans that the chief had given publicity to his idea of stopping us by force of arms, which gave serious reflections to me, and was productive of many singular expressions from my brave lads, which called for my esteem at the same time that they excited my laughter. Attempted to trade for horses, but could not succeed. In the night we were alarmed by some savages coming near our camp at full speed; but they retreated equally rapidly, on being hailed with fierceness by our sentinels. This created some degree of indignation in my little band, as we had noticed that all the day had passed without any traders presenting themselves, which appeared as if all intercourse was interdicted. I wrote to the secretary of war, the general etc.”

These letters written on the back of a book, seated on the ground, contain little more than has been transcribed, beyond Pike's belief that the conduct of the Pawnees had been inspired by the Spaniards, and that the presents of a double barrelled gun to each of the four chiefs, as well as “gorgets”—that is to say orna-

mented head-pieces—had not prevented them from throwing every obstacle in the way of the party's further progress. Meanwhile the arrival of two French traders brought the welcome news of the successful return of the Lewis and Clark expedition down the Missouri River. The buying of the horses necessary for the return, and the journey toward the Arkansas River was a tortuous bit of diplomacy, but at length successful, and the departure from the Pawnee republic was set for the next day.

"*Oct. 7th.* In the morning we found two of our newly purchased horses missing. Sent in search of them; the Indians brought in one pretty early. Struck our tents and commenced loading our horses. Finding there was no probability of our obtaining the other lost one, we marched at 2 p. m.; and as the chief had threatened to stop us by force of arms, we made every arrangement to make him pay as dearly for the attempt as possible. The party was kept compact, and marched by a road round the village, in order that, if attacked, the savages would not have their houses to fly to for cover. I had given orders not to fire until within five or six paces, and then to charge with the bayonet and saber, when I believe it would have cost them at least 100 men to have exterminated us, which would have been necessary. The village appeared all to be in motion. I galloped up to the lodge of the chief, attended by my interpreter and one soldier, but soon saw there was no serious attempt to be made, although many young men were walking about with their bows, arrows,

guns, and lances. After speaking to the chief with apparent indifference, I told him that I calculated on his justice in obtaining the horse, and that I should leave a man until the next day at twelve o'clock to bring him out. We then joined the party and pursued our route.

"When I was once on the summit of the hill which overlooks the village, I felt my mind relieved from a heavy burden; yet all the evil I wished the Pawnees was that I might be the instrument, in the hands of our government, to open their ears and eyes with a strong hand, to convince them of our power.

"Our party now consisted of two officers, one doctor, 18 soldiers, one interpreter, three Osage men, and one woman, making 25 warriors. We marched out and encamped on a small branch, distant seven miles, on the same route we came in. Rain in the night.

"*Oct. 8th.* I conceived it best to send Baroney back to the village with a present to be offered for our horse, the chief having suggested the propriety of this measure, and he met his son and the horse with Sparks. Marched at ten o'clock, and at four o'clock came to this place, where the Spanish troops encamped the first night they left the village. Their encampment was circular, having only small fires round the circle to cook by. We counted 59 fires; now if we allow six men to a fire, they must have been 354 in number. We encamped on a large branch of the second fork of the Kans river. Distance 18 miles.

"*Oct. 9th.* Marched at eight o'clock, being detained until that time by our horses being at a great distance.

At eleven o'clock we found the forks of the Spanish and Pawnee roads, and when we halted at twelve o'clock, we were overtaken by the second chief, Iskatappe, and the American chief with one third of the village. They presented us with a piece of bear meat.

"When we were about to march we discovered that the dirk of the doctor had been stolen from behind his saddle. After marching, the men, the doctor and myself, with the interpreter went to the chief and demanded that he should cause a search to be made; it was done, but when the dirk was found, the possessor asserted that he had found it on the road. I told him that he did not speak the truth, and informed the chief that we never suffered a thing of ever so little value to be taken without liberty. At this time the prairie was covered with his men, who began to encircle us around, and Lieutenant Wilkinson with the troops had gained a half mile on the road. The Indian demanded a knife before he would give it up; but as we refused to give any, the chief took one from his belt and gave him and took the dirk and presented it to the doctor, who immediately returned it to the chief as a present, desired Baroney to inform him it was not the value of the article but the act we despised, and then galloped off.

"In about a mile we discovered a herd of elk, which we pursued; they took back in sight of the Pawnees, who immediately mounted 50 or 60 young men and joined in the pursuit. Then, for the first time in my life, I saw animals slaughtered by the true savages with their original weapons, bows and arrows; they

buried the arrow up to the plume in the animals. We took a piece of meat and pursued our party; we overtook them and then encamped within the Grand, or Solomon's fork, which we crossed lower down on the 23rd of September, on our route to the Pawnees. This was the Spanish encamping ground. Distance 18 miles.

"In the evening two Pawnees came to our camp, who had not eaten for three days, two of which they had carried a sick companion whom they had left this day; we gave them for supper some meat and corn, and they immediately departed in order to carry their sick companion this seasonable supply. When they were coming into camp, the sentinel challenged, it being dark; they immediately, on seeing him bring his piece to the charge, supposing he was about to fire on them, advanced to give him their hands; he, however, not well discerning their motions, was on the point of firing; but being a cool, collected little fellow, called out that there were two Indians advancing on him, and asked if he should fire. This brought out the guard, when the poor affrighted savages were brought into camp, very much alarmed, for they had not heard of a white man's being in their country, and thought they were entering one of the camps of their own people.

"*Oct. 10th.* Marched at seven o'clock and halted at twelve o'clock to dine. Were overtaken by the Pawnee chief whose party we left the day before, who informed us the hunting-party had taken another road, and that he had come to bid us good-by. We left a large ridge on our left, and at sundown crossed it. . . . From this

place we had an extensive view of the southwest; we observed a creek at a distance, to which I meant to proceed. The doctor, interpreter, and myself arrived at eight o'clock at night; found water and wood, but had nothing to eat. Kindled a fire in order to guide the party; but they, not being able to find the route and not knowing the distance, encamped on the prairie without wood or water.

“Oct. 11th. Ordered Baroney to return to find the party and conduct them to our camp. The doctor and myself went out to hunt, and on our return found all our people had arrived, except the rear-guard, which was in sight. Whilst we halted five Pawnees came to our camp and brought some bones of a horse which the Spanish troops had been obliged to eat at their encampment on this creek. We took up our line of march at twelve o'clock, and at sundown the party halted on the Saline. I was in pursuit of buffalo, and did not make the camp until near ten o'clock at night. Killed one buffalo. Distance 12 miles.

“Sunday, Oct. 12th. Here Belle Oiseau and one Osage left us, and there remained only one man and woman of that nation. Their reason for leaving us was that our course bore too much west, and they desired to bear more for the hunting-ground of the Osage. In the morning we sent out to obtain the buffalo meat, and laid by until after breakfast. Proceeded at eleven o'clock; and crossing the [Grand Saline] river two or three times, we passed two camps where the Spanish troops had halted. Here they appeared to have re-

mained some days, their roads being so much blended with the traces of the buffalo that we lost them entirely. This was a mortifying stroke, as we had reason to calculate that they had good guides, and were on the best route for wood and water. We took a southwest direction, and before night were fortunate enough to strike their roads on the left; and at dusk, much to our surprise, struck the east fork of the Kans, or La Touche de la Cote Bucanieus. Killed one buffalo. Distance 18 miles.

“Oct. 13th. The day being rainy, we did not march until two o’clock; when, it having an appearance of clearing off, we raised camp (and crossed the Smoky Hill river); after which we marched seven miles and encamped on the head of a branch of the river we had left. Had to go two miles for water. Killed one cabrie.

“Oct. 14th. It having drizzled all night, and the atmosphere being entirely obscured, we did not march until a quarter past nine o’clock, and commenced crossing the dividing ridge between the Kans and Arkansas rivers. Arrived on a branch of the latter at one o’clock; continued down it in search of water, until after dusk, when we found a pond on the prairie, which induced us to halt. Sparks did not come up, being scarcely able to walk with rheumatic pains. Wounded several buffalo, but could not get one of them. Distance 24 miles.”

It is time now to trace Pike’s march from the Pawnee Republic in terms of modern geography. He is now journeying to the southwest toward Colorado in search of

the headwaters of the Arkansas River. He recrossed the Solomon River near Beloit, and the Saline River somewhere near Lincoln in Lincoln county. The Smoky Hill River he struck in Russell county, and it is certain that he camped near the towns of Forest Hill and Du-buque. Journeying more directly south he crossed Cow Creek near the town of Claflin. He is now on the old Santa Fé trail, crossing Walnut Creek, from whence Lieutenant Wilkinson, mistaking "the distant wood" Pike pointed out for a camp, while he and Dr. Robinson sought further for traces of the Spanish march, proceeded to Great Bënd where he camped on the shore of the Arkansas.

"Oct. 15th. In the morning rode out in search of the South trace, and crossed the low prairie, which was nearly covered with ponds, but could not discover it. Finding Sparks did not arrive sent two men in search of him, who arrived with him about eleven o'clock. At twelve o'clock we commenced our line of march, and at five o'clock Dr. Robinson and myself, left the party at a large creek, having pointed out a distant wood to Lieutenant Wilkinson for our encampment, in order to search some distance up it for the Spanish trace. Killed two buffalos and left part of our clothing with them to scare away the wolves. Went in pursuit of the party. On our arrival at the creek appointed for the encampment, did not find them. Proceeded down it for some miles, and not finding them, encamped, struck fire, and then supped on our buffalo tongues.

“Oct. 16th. Early on horseback; proceeded up the creek some distance in search of our party, but at twelve o'clock crossed to our two buffaloes; found a great many wolves at them, notwithstanding the precautions taken to keep them off. Cooked some marrow-bones and again mounted our horses, and proceeded down the creek to their junction. Finding nothing of the party, I began to be seriously alarmed for their safety. Killed two more buffalo, made our encampment, and feasted sumptuously on the marrow-bones. Rain in the night.

“Oct. 17th. Rose early, determining to search the creek to its source. Very hard rain, accompanied by a cold northwester all day. Encamped near night without being able to discover any signs of the party. Our sensations now became excruciating, not only for their personal safety, but for fear of the failure of the national objects intended to be accomplished by the expedition. Our own situation was not the most agreeable, not having more than four rounds of ammunition each, and being 400 miles in the nearest direction from the first civilized inhabitants. We, however, concluded to search for the party on the morrow, and if we did not succeed in finding them, to strike the Arkansaw, where we were in hopes to discover some traces, if not cut off by the savages.

“Oct. 18th. Commenced our route at a good time, and about ten o'clock discovered two men on horseback in search of us—one my waiter. They informed us the party was encamped on the Arkansaw, about

three miles south of where we then were; this surprised us very much, as we had no conception of that river being so near. On our arrival we were met by Lieutenant Wilkinson, who, with all the party, was greatly concerned for our safety. The Arkansaw, on the party's arrival, had not water in it six inches deep, and the stream was not more than 20 feet wide; but the rain of the two days covered all the bottom of the river, which in this place is 450 yards from bank to bank. These are not more than four feet in height, bordered by a few cottonwood trees; on the north side, a low swampy prairie; on the south, a sandy, sterile desert at a small distance. In the afternoon the doctor and myself took our horses and crossed the Arkansaw, in order to search for some trees which might answer the purpose to make canoes; found but one and returned at dusk. It commenced raining at twelve o'clock."

Lieutenant Wilkinson's report further explains his change of camp, and its interesting result:

"For several days past we had been so bewildered by buffalo paths that we lost the Spanish trace; and this being an object of moment, we resolved to make search for it. Accordingly, on the following day at noon, Mr. Pike and Dr. Robinson struck off from the party on a due west course, and I marched the detachment for a copse of wood which we could barely discern in the southwest, and reached it about midnight. At daybreak I was awakened by my old and faithful Osage, who informed me that we were on the banks of

the Arkansaw river. I immediately arose, and discovered my tent to have been pitched on the margin of a watercourse nearly 400 yards wide, with banks not three feet high, and a stream of water running through it about 20 feet in width and not more than six or eight inches deep.

“I remained here four days in great anxiety and suspense, as neither Mr. Pike nor Dr. Robinson made their appearance, nor could be found, although I had all my hunters out in search of them. But I was agreeably surprised on the fifth day, early in the morning, by their arrival. It appeared that our apprehensions were mutual, as they expected I had been cut off, and I believed they had been murdered.”

The party now together after its day of anxiety, the camp was removed to the south bank of the river now rising so rapidly on account of the rain. Here the business of building the canoe with which Lieutenant Wilkinson was to descend the river was begun. A young cottonwood tree was hewn out with much labor, but, proving not sufficient, a second canoe was constructed of buffalo and elk skins. Meanwhile the hunters were busy, and for diversion a target was set up, and for the best shot, a prize of a tent and a pair of shoes was offered. Unluckily, in this contest the dog standing in the grass at the foot of a tree was shot and killed. Still searching for the traces of the Spaniards, Pike with Dr. Robinson rode twenty miles up the Arkansas to its junction with the Pawnee River, and five miles up the latter river to what became Fort Larned, then a trading-

post on the main road to Santa Fé, and latterly a place of strategic importance in our Indian campaigns.

"*Oct. 24th.* We ascended the right branch about five miles, but could not see any sign of the Spanish trace; this is not surprising, as the river bears southwest, and they no doubt kept more to the west from the head of one branch to another. We returned on our way and killed some prairie-squirrels, or wishtonwishes and nine large rattlesnakes, which frequent their villages. On our arrival, found the hunters had come in a boat one hour before, with two buffalos and one elk skin.

"The wishtonwish of the Indians, prairie-dogs of some travelers, or squirrels, as I should be inclined to denominate them, reside on the prairies of Louisiana in towns or villages, having an evident police established in their communities. The sites of their towns are generally on the brow of a hill, near some creek or pond, in order to be convenient to water, and that the high ground which they inhabit may not be subject to inundation. Their residence, being under ground, is burrowed out, and the earth, which answers the double purpose of keeping out the water and affording an elevated place in wet seasons to repose on, and to give them a further and more distinct view of the country. Their holes descend in a spiral form; therefore I could never ascertain their depth; but I once had 140 kettles of water poured into one of them in order to drive out the occupant, without effect. In the circuit of the villages they clear off all the grass, and leave the earth bare

of vegetation; but whether it is from an instinct they possess inducing them to keep the ground thus cleared, or whether they make use of the herbage as food, I cannot pretend to determine. The latter opinion I think entitled to a preference, as their teeth designate them to be of the graminivorous species, and I know of no other substance which is produced in the vicinity of their positions on which they could subsist; and they never extend their excursions more than half a mile from the burrows. They are of a dark brown color, except their bellies, which are white. Their tails are not so long as those of our gray squirrels, but are shaped precisely like theirs; their teeth, head, nails, and body are the perfect squirrel, except that they are generally fatter than that animal. Their villages sometimes extend over two and three miles square, in which there must be innumerable hosts of them, as there is generally a burrow every ten steps in which there are two or more, and you see new ones partly excavated on all the borders of the town. We killed great numbers of them with our rifles and found them excellent meat, after they were exposed a night or two to the frost, by which means the rankness acquired by their subterraneous dwelling is corrected. As you approach their towns, you are saluted on all sides by the cry of "wishtonwish," from which they derive their name with the Indians, uttered in a shrill and piercing manner. You then observe them all retreating to the entrance of their burrows, where they post themselves, and regard every, even the slightest, movement that you make. It requires a very

nice shot with a rifle to kill them, as they must be killed dead, for as long as life exists they continue to work into their cells. It is extremely dangerous to pass through their towns, as they abound with rattlesnakes, both of the yellow and black species; and strange as it may appear, I have seen the wishtonwish, the rattlesnake, the horn frog, with which the prairie abounds (termed by the Spaniards the *cammellion*, from their taking no visible sustenance), and a land-tortoise, all take refuge in the same hole. I do not pretend to assert that it was their common place of resort; but I have witnessed the above facts in more than one instance.

“*Sunday, Oct. 26th.* Delivered out a ration of corn by way of distinction of the Sabbath. Preparing for our departure.

“*Oct. 27th.* Delivered to Lieutenant Wilkinson letters for the general and our friends, with other papers, consisting of his instructions, traverse tables of our voyage, and a draught of our route complete, in order that if we were lost, and he arrived in safety, we might not have made the tour without some benefit to our country. He took with him, in corn and meat, 21 days provisions, and all the necessary tools to build canoes or cabins. Launched his canoes. We concluded we would separate in the morning, he to descend and we to ascend to the mountains.

“*Oct. 28th.* As soon as possible all was in motion, my party crossing the river to the north side, and Lieutenant Wilkinson launching his canoes of skin and wood. We breakfasted together, and then filed off;

but I suffered my party to march, while I remained to see Lieutenant Wilkinson sail. This he did at ten o'clock, having one skin canoe, made of four buffalo skins and two elk skins, which held three men beside himself and one Osage. In his wooden canoe were one soldier, one Osage and their baggage; one other soldier marched on shore. We parted with 'God bless you' from both parties; they appeared to sail very well. In the pursuit of our party Dr. Robinson, Baroney, one soldier and myself, killed a brelau and a buffalo; of the latter we took only his marrow bones and liver. Arrived where our man had encamped about dusk. Distance 14 miles.

"*Oct. 29th.* Marched after breakfast and in the first hour's march passed two fires, where 21 Indians had recently encamped, in which party, by their paintings on the rocks, there were seven guns. Killed a buffalo, halted, made fire, and feasted on the choice pieces of meat. About noon discovered two horses feeding with a herd of buffalo; we attempted to surround them, but they soon cleared our fleetest coursers. One appeared to be an elegant horse. These were the first wild horses we had seen. Two or three hours before night struck the Spanish road; and, as it was snowing, halted and encamped the party at the first woods on the bank of the river. The doctor and myself then forded it, the ice running very thick, in order to discover the course the Spaniards took; but owing to the many buffalo roads, could not ascertain it. It evidently appeared that they had halted here some time, as the

ground was covered with horse-dung for miles around. Returned to camp. The snow fell about two inches deep, and then it cleared up.

“Oct. 30th. In the morning sent out to kill a buffalo, to have his marrow bones for breakfast, which was accomplished. After breakfast the party marched up the north side; the doctor and myself crossed with considerable difficulty, on account of the ice to the Spanish camp, where we took a large circuit in order to discover the Spanish trace, and came in at a point of woods south of the river where we found our party encamped. We discovered also that the Spanish troops had marked the river up, and that a party of savages had been there not more than three days before. Killed two buffaloes. Distance 4 miles.

“We observed this day a species of crystallization on the road, when the sun was high, in low places where there had been water settled; on tasting it found it to be salt; this gave in my mind some authenticity to the report of the prairie being covered for leagues. Discovered the trace of about 20 savages who had followed our road; and of horses going down the river. Killed one buffalo, one elk and one deer.

“Nov. 1st. Marched early; just after commencing our line, heard a gun on our left. The doctor, Baroney and myself being in the advance, and lying on the ground waiting for our party, a band of cabrie came among our horses, to satisfy their curiosity; we could not resist the temptation of killing two, although we had plenty of meat. At the report of the gun they appeared

astonished, and stood still until we hallowed to drive them away. Encamped in the evening on an island.

“Upon using my glass to observe the adjacent country, I observed a herd of horses. Dr. Robinson and Baroney accompanied me to go and view them; when within a quarter of a mile they discovered us, and came immediately up near us, making the earth tremble under them; this brought to my recollection a charge of cavalry. They stopped and gave us an opportunity to view them; among them there were some very beautiful bays, blacks, and grays, and indeed of all colors. We fired at a black horse, with an idea of creasing him, but did not succeed; they flourished round and returned again to see us, when we returned to camp.

“*Sunday, Nov. 2d.* In the morning, for the purpose of trying the experiment, we equipped six of our fleetest coursers with riders and ropes, to noose the wild horses, if in our power to come among the band. They stood until we came within forty yards of them, neighing and whinneying, when the chase began, which we continued about two miles, without success. Two of our horses ran up with them; but we could not take them. Returned to camp. I have since laughed at our folly; for taking wild horses in that manner is scarcely ever attempted, even with the fleetest horses and most expert ropers. See my account of wild horses and the manner of taking them, in my dissertation on the province of Texas. Marched late. Killed one buffalo. River turned to north by west. Hills changed to the northside. Distance $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

"*Nov. 3d.* Marched at ten o'clock. Passed numerous herds of buffalo, elk, some horses, etc., all travelling south. The river bottoms full of salt meadows. Killed one buffalo.

"*Nov. 4th.* This day brought to our recollection the fate of our countrymen at Recovery, when defeated by the Indians, in the year 1791. In the afternoon discovered the north side of the river to be covered with animals; which, when we came to them, proved to be buffalo cows and calves. I do not think it an exaggeration to say there were 3,000 in one view. It is worthy of remark that in all the extent of country yet crossed, we never saw one cow, and that now the face of the earth appeared to be covered with them. Killed one buffalo. Distance $24\frac{1}{4}$ miles."

When Pike made this allusion to the most disastrous defeat our army had ever suffered from the Indians on the Wabash River in Darke County, Ohio, under General Arthur St. Clair, he was camping a little west of the town of Ingalls in Gray County, Kansas. After leaving Fort Larned, following the Spanish route on the north side of the Arkansas River, according to his mileage he made his first camp near the town of Garfield, the second camp in the vicinity of Kingsley, and the third near the boundary line between Ford and Kiowa Counties. He then marched to Ford, where he notes the change in the character of the scenery. His next camp is at Dodge City, and after passing Ingalls—the camp of the date above—he halts at Garden City, again near Hartland, and his last day's camp in Kan-

sas was at Coolidge on the border line on November the eleventh.

“*Nov. 5th.* Marched at our usual hour; at the end of two miles shot a buffalo and two deer, and halted, which detained us so long that we foolishly concluded to halt this day and kill some cows and calves, which lay on the opposite side of the river. I took post on a hill, and sent some horsemen over, when a scene took place which gave a lively representation of an engagement. The herd of buffalo being divided into separate bands covered the prairie with dust, and first charged on the one side, then to the other, as the pursuit of the horsemen impelled them; the report and smoke from the guns added to the pleasure of the scene, which in part compensated for our detention.

“*Nov. 6th.* Marched early but was detained two or three hours by the cows we killed. The cow buffalo is equal to any meat I ever saw, and we feasted sumptuously on the choice morsels. I will not attempt to describe the droves of animals we now saw on our route; suffice it to say that the face of the prairie was covered with them, on each side of the river; their number exceeded imagination. Distance 16 miles.”

Of this abundance Pike elsewhere writes to his superiors:

“The borders of the Arkansaw river may be termed the terrestrial paradise of our territories for the wandering savages. Of all countries ever visited by the footsteps of civilized man, there never was one probably that produced game in greater abundance. We know

that the manners and morals of the erratic nations are such (the reasons I leave to be given by the ontologists) as never to give them a numerous population; and I believe that there are buffalo, elk, and deer sufficient on the banks of the Arkansaw alone, if used without waste, to feed all the savages in the United States territory one century.

“*Nov. 8th.* Our horses being very much jaded and our situation very eligible, we halted all day; jerked meat, mended mockinsons, etc.

“*Sunday, Nov. 9th.* Marched early. At twelve o'clock struck the Spanish road, which had been on the outside of us, and which appeared to be considerably augmented. On our arrival at the camp, found it to consist of 96 fires, from which a reasonable conclusion might be drawn that there were from 600 to 700 men. We this day found the face of the country considerably changed, being hilly, with springs; passed numerous herds of buffalo and some horses.

“*Nov. 10th.* The hills increased; the banks of the river covered with groves of young cottonwood; the river itself much narrower and crooked. Our horses growing weak; two gave out; bring them along empty; cut down trees at night for them to browse on. Killed one buffalo. Distance 20 miles.

“*Nov. 11th.* Marched at the usual hour. Passed two old camps, and one of last summer, which had belonged to the savages, and we supposed Tetaus. Passed a Spanish camp where it appeared they remained some days, as we conjectured, to lay up meat, previously to

entering the Tetau country, as the buffalo evidently began to grow much less numerous. Finding the impossibility of performing the voyage in the time proposed, I determined to spare no pains to accomplish every object, even should it oblige me to spend another winter in the desert. Killed one buffalo, one brelaw.

“*Nov. 13th.* Marched at the usual hour. The river banks began to be entirely covered with woods on both sides, but no other species than cottonwood. Discovered very fresh signs of Indians, and one of our hunters informed me he saw a man on horseback, ascending a ravine on our left. Discovered signs of war parties ascending the river. Wounded several buffalo. Killed one turkey, the first we have seen since we left the Pawnees.

“*Nov. 14th.* In the morning Dr. Robinson, one man, and myself went up a ravine in which the man was supposed to have been seen, but could make no important discovery. Marched at two o'clock; passed a point of red rocks and one large creek. Distance 10 miles.

“*Nov. 15th.* Marched early. Passed two deep creeks and many high points of rocks; also, large herds of buffalo.

“At two o'clock in the afternoon I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small blue cloud; viewed it with the spy glass, and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Dr. Robinson, who was in front with me; but in half an hour they appeared in full view before

us. When our small party arrived on the hill they with one accord gave three cheers to the Mexican mountains. Their appearance can easily be imagined by those who have crossed the Alleghenies; but their sides were whiter, as if covered with snow, or a white stone. Those were a spur of the grand western chain of mountains which divide the waters of the Pacific from those of the Atlantic ocean; and it [the spur] divides the waters which empty into the Bay of the Holy Spirit from those of the Mississippi, as the Alleghenies do those which discharge themselves into the latter river and the Atlantic. They appear to present a natural boundary between the province of Louisiana and New Mexico, and would be a defined and natural boundary."

Pike's party has now reached Purgatory River, which he calls the "first fork" and has his first glimpse of the Rocky Mountains. On the north is the main range with Pike's Peak towering high, and on the south that branch known as the Sangre de Cristo range. His next camp is near the town of Rocky Ford; he halts again where the Apishapa empties into the Arkansas; and makes camp the third night at Nepesta. The party does not advance rapidly, owing not only to the fatigue of the horses, but to the leader's anxiety concerning the Spanish trail, and to the evident traces of an Indian war party.

"*Sunday, Nov. 16th.* After ascertaining that the Spanish troops had ascended the right branch or main river, we marched at two o'clock. The Arkansaw appeared at this place to be much more navigable than

below, where we first struck it; and for any impediment I have yet discovered in the river, I would not hesitate to embark in February at its mouth and ascend to the Mexican mountains, with crafts properly constructed. Distance $11\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

“*Nov. 17th.* Marched at our usual hour; pushed on with the idea of arriving at the mountains, but found at night no visible difference in their appearance from what we did yesterday. One of our horses gave out and was left in the ravine, not being able to ascend the hill; but I sent back for him and had him brought to the camp.

“*Nov. 18th.* As we discovered fresh signs of the savages, we concluded it best to stop and kill some meat, for fear we should get into a country where we could not kill game. Sent out the hunters; walked myself to an eminence whence I took the courses to the different mountains, and a small sketch of their appearance. In the evening, found the hunters had killed without mercy, having slain 17 buffalo and wounded at least 20 more.

“*Nov. 19th.* Having several buffalo brought in, gave out sufficient to last this month. I found it expedient to remain and dry the meat, as our horses were getting weak, and the one died which was brought up on the 17th. Had a general feast of marrow-bones, 136 of them furnishing the repast.

“*Nov. 20th.* Marched at our usual hour; but as our horses' loads were considerably augmented by the death of one horse and the addition of 900 lbs. of meat,

we moved slowly and made only 18 miles. Killed two buffalo and took some choice pieces.

"*Nov. 21st.* Marched at our usual hour; passed two Spanish camps, within three miles of each other. We again discovered the tracks of two men who had ascended the river yesterday. This caused us to move with caution; but at the same time increased our anxiety to discover them. The river was certainly as navigable here, and I think much more so than some hundred miles below; which I suppose arises from its flowing through a long course of sandy soil, which must absorb much of the water, and render it shoaler below than above, near the mountains. Distance 21 miles.

"*Nov. 22nd.* Marched at our usual hour, and with rather more caution than usual. After having marched about five miles on the prairie, we descended into the bottom—the front only; when Baroney cried out 'Voila un Savage!' We observed a number running from the woods toward us; we advanced to them, and on turning my head to the left I observed several running on the hill, as it were to surround us; one with a stand of color. This caused a momentary halt; but perceiving those in front reaching out their hands, and without arms, we again advanced; they met us with open arms, crowding around to touch and embrace us. They appeared so anxious that I dismounted from my horse. In a moment a fellow had mounted him and was off. I then observed that the doctor and Baroney were in the same predicament. The Indians were embracing the soldiers. After some time tranquillity was so far

restored, they having returned our horses all safe, as to enable us to learn they were a war party from the Grand Pawnees, who had been in search of the Tetaus; but not finding them, were now on their return. An unsuccessful war party, on their return home, are always ready to embrace an opportunity of gratifying their disappointed vengeance on the first persons they meet.

“Made for the woods and unloaded our horses, when the two partisans endeavored to arrange the party; it was with the greatest difficulty that they got them tranquil, and not until there had been a bow or two bent on the occasion. When in some order, we found them to be 60 warriors, half with fire-arms, and half with bows, arrows, and lances. Our party was 16 total. In a short time they were arranged in a ring, and I took my seat between the two partisans; our colors were placed opposite each other; the utensils for smoking were paraded on a small seat before us; thus far all was well. I then ordered half a carrot of tobacco, one dozen knives, 60 fire steels, and 60 flints to be presented them. They demanded ammunition, corn, blankets, kettles, etc., all of which they were refused, notwithstanding the pressing instances of my interpreter to accord to some points. The pipes yet lay unmoved, as if they were undetermined whether to treat us as friends or enemies; but after some time we were presented with a kettle of water, drank, smoked, and ate together. During this time Dr. Robinson was standing up to observe their actions, in order that we might be ready to commence hostilities

as soon as they. They now took their presents and commenced distributing them, but some malcontents threw them away, by way of contempt.

“We began to load our horses, when they encircled us and commenced stealing everything they could. Finding it was difficult to preserve my pistols, I mounted my horse, when I found myself frequently surrounded; during which some were endeavoring to steal the pistols. The doctor was equally engaged in another quarter, and all the soldiers in their positions, in taking things from them. One having stolen my tomahawk, I informed the chief; but he paid no respect, except to reply that ‘they were pitiful.’ Finding this, I determined to protect ourselves, as far as was in my power, and the affair began to take a serious aspect. I ordered my men to take their arms and separate themselves from the savages; at the same time declaring to them that I would kill the first man who touched our baggage. On which they commenced filing off immediately; we marched about the same time, and found they had made out to steal one sword, tomahawk, broad-ax, five canteens, and sundry other small articles. After leaving them, when I reflected on the subject, I felt myself sincerely mortified, that the smallness of my number obliged me thus to submit to the insults of lawless banditti, it being the first time a savage ever took anything from me with the least appearance of force.

“After encamping at night the doctor and myself went about one mile back, and waylaid the road, determined in case we discovered any of the rascals pursuing us to

steal our horses, to kill two at least; but after waiting behind some logs until some time in the night, and discovering no person, we returned to camp. Killed two buffalo and one deer. Distance 17 miles.

“*Sunday, Nov. 23d.* Marched at ten o'clock; at one o'clock came to the third fork, on the south side, and encamped at night in the point of the grand forks. As the river appeared to be dividing itself into many small branches, and of course must be near its extreme source, I concluded to put the party in a defensible situation, and ascend the north fork to the high point of the blue mountain, which we conceived would be one day's march, in order to be enabled, from its pinical to lay down the various branches and positions of the country. Killed five buffalo. Distance 19 miles.

“*Nov. 24th.* Early in the morning we cut down 14 logs, and put up a breastwork five feet on three sides and the other thrown on the river. After giving the necessary orders for their government during my absence, in case of our not returning, we marched at one o'clock, with an idea of arriving at the foot of the mountain; but found ourselves obliged to take up our night's lodging under a single cedar which we found in the prairie, without water and extremely cold. Our party besides myself consisted of Dr. Robinson, and Privates Miller and Brown. Distance 12 miles.”

Pike had now passed the Huerfano River in its junction with the Arkansas, calling it the “second fork,” and the St. Charles River which he terms the “third fork,” and arrived at the “Grand forks,” by which

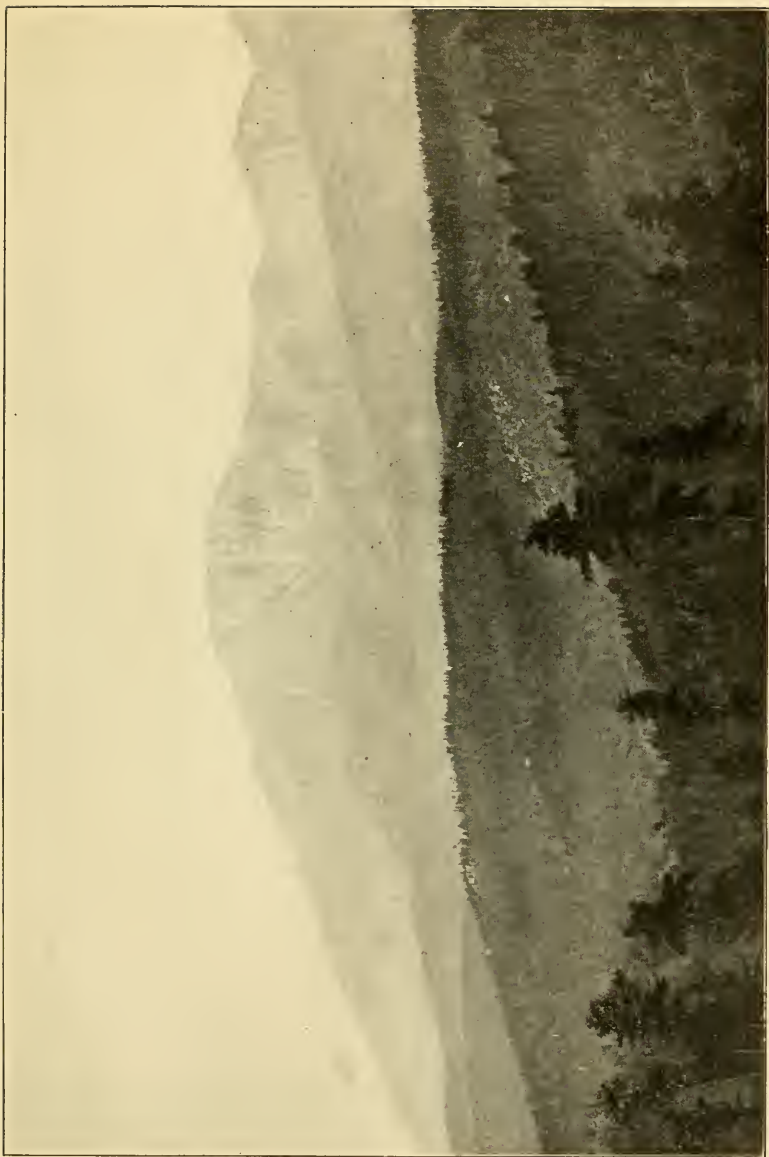
must be understood the junction of the Fountain River with the Arkansas, and the present site of the city of Pueblo. Here he erected his block-house, leaving a detachment of his men, and started up the Fountain River to the "high point of the blue mountain." This we now know as Pike's Peak, which he then considered to be but a day's march away.

"*Nov. 25th.* Marched early, with an expectation of ascending the mountain, but was only able to encamp at its base, after passing over many small hills covered with cedars and pitch-pines. Our encampment was on a creek, where we found no water for several miles from the mountain; but near its base, found springs sufficient. Took a meridional observation, and the altitude of the mountain. Killed two buffalo. Distance 22 miles.

"*Nov. 26th.* Expecting to return to our camp the same evening, we left all our blankets and provisions at the foot of the mountain. Killed a deer of a new species and hung his skin on a tree with some meat. We commenced ascending; found it very difficult, being obliged to climb up rocks, sometimes almost perpendicular; and after marching all day we encamped in a cave, without blankets, victuals, or water. We had a fine clear sky, while it was snowing at the bottom. On the side of the mountain we found only yellow and pitch-pine. Some distance up we found buffalo; higher still a new species of deer and pheasants.

"*Nov. 27th.* Arose hungry, dry, and extremely sore, from the inequality of the rocks on which we had lain all

night, but were amply compensated for toil by the sublimity of the prospect below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds, which appeared like the ocean in a storm, wave piled on wave and foaming, while the sky was perfectly clear where we were. Commenced our march up the mountain, and in about one hour arrived at the summit of this chain. Here we found the snow middle-deep; no sign of beast or bird inhabiting this region. The thermometer, which stood at 9° above zero at the foot of the mountain, here fell to 4° below zero. The summit of the Grand Peak, which was entirely bare of vegetation and covered with snow, now appeared at the distance of 15 or 16 miles from us. It was as high again as what we had ascended, and it would have taken a whole day's march to arrive at its base, when I believe no human being could have ascended to its pinical. This, with the condition of my soldiers, who had only light overalls on, no stockings, and were in every way ill provided to endure the inclemency of the region; the bad prospect of killing anything to subsist on, with the further detention of two or three days which it must occasion, determined us to return. The clouds from below had now ascended the mountain and entirely enveloped the summit, on which rest eternal snows. We descended by a long, deep ravine, with much less difficulty than contemplated. Found all our baggage safe, but the provisions all destroyed. It began to snow, and we sought shelter under the side of a projecting rock, where we all four made a meal on one partridge and a piece of deer's ribs the



PIKE'S PEAK—FROM NEAR MANITOU PARK.

ravens had left us, being the first we had eaten in that 48 hours.

“*Nov. 28th.* Marched at nine o'clock. Kept straight on down the creek to avoid the hills. At half past one o'clock shot two buffalo, when we made the first full meal we had made in three days. Encamped in a valley under a shelving rock. The land here very rich, and covered with old Tetau camps.”

The peak which Pike ascended is known to us as Cheyenne peak. “Grand Peak” now bears his name. It is not known by whom this was first applied. General Fremont in the map of his explorations in 1843 calls it Pike's Peak, and this was the name given it by the white people of the country many years before. Returning to his camp Pike came down Turkey Creek “to avoid the hills,” halting at the old Comanche camps of the valley—for by the word Tetaus, which should be spelled Tetans, he refers to the Comanche tribe, whose acquaintance he is yet to make.

“*Sunday, Nov. 30th.* Marched at eleven o'clock; it snowed very fast, but my impatience to be moving would not permit my lying in camp. The doctor, Baroney and myself went to view a Tetau encampment, which appeared to be about two years old; and from their having cut down so large a quantity of trees to support their horses, we concluded there must have been at least 2000 souls. Passed several more in the course of the day; also one Spanish camp. This day came to the first cedar and pine. Killed two deer. Distance 15 miles.”

CHAPTER VI

IN THE MOUNTAINS OF COLORADO

DECEMBER 1ST, 1806—FEBRUARY 26TH, 1807

“*Monday, Dec. 1st.* The storm still continuing with violence, we remained encamped; the snow by night was one foot deep. Our horses were obliged to scrape it away to obtain their miserable pittance, and to increase their misfortunes the poor animals were attacked by the magpies, which, attracted by the scent of their sore backs, alighted on them, and in defiance of their wincing and kicking, picked many places quite raw. The difficulty of procuring food rendered those birds so bold as to alight on our men’s arms and eat meat out of their hands. One of our hunters went out, but killed nothing.

“*Dec. 2d.* It cleared off in the night, and in the morning the thermometer stood at 17° below zero (Reaumer), being three times as cold as any morning we had yet experienced. We killed an old buffalo on the opposite side of the river, which here was so deep as to swim horses. Marched and found it necessary to cross to the north side, about two miles up, as the ridge joined the river. The ford was a good one, but the ice ran very bad, and two of the men got their feet frozen

before we could get accommodated with fire, etc. Secured some of our old buffalo and continued our march. The country being very rugged and hilly, one of our horses took a freak in his head and turned back, which occasioned three of our rear-guard to lie out all night; I was very apprehensive they might perish on the prairie. Distance 13 miles.

“*Dec. 3d.* The weather moderating to 3° below zero, our absentees joined, one with his feet frozen, but were not able to bring up the horse. I sent two men back on horseback. The hardships of our last voyage had now begun; and had the climate only been as severe as the climate then was, some of the men must have perished, for they had no winter clothing. I wore myself cotton overalls, for I had not calculated on being out in that inclement season of the year.

“Dr. Robinson and myself, with assistants, went out and took the altitude of the north mountain, [Pike’s Peak], on the base of a mile. The perpendicular height of this mountain, from the level of the prairie, was 10,581 feet, and admitting that the prairie was 8,000 feet from the level of the sea, it would make the elevation of this peak, 18,581 feet; equal to some and surpassing the calculated height of others for the peak of Teneriffe, and falling short of that of Chimborazo only 1,701 feet. Indeed, it was so remarkable as to be known to all the savage nations for hundreds of miles around, to be spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards of New Mexico, and to be the bounds of their travels N. W. In our wandering in the mountains it was never out of

sight, except when in a valley, from the 14th of November to the 27th of January.

“After this, together with Sparks, we endeavored to kill a cow, but without effect. Killed two bulls, that the men might use their hides for mockinsons. Left Sparks out. On our return to camp found the men had got back with the strayed horse, but too late to march.”

“*Dec. 5th.* Marched at our usual hour. Passed one very bad place for falling rocks; had to carry our loads. Encamped on the main branch of the river, near the entrance of the South mountain. In the evening walked up the mountain. Heard 14 guns at camp during my absence, which alarmed me considerably; returned as quickly as possible and found that the cause of alarm was their shooting turkeys. Killed two buffaloes and nine turkeys. Distance 20 miles.”

Pike's estimate of the height of Pike's Peak, it is now known, was too generous. The actual height is 14,147 feet.

He is now camping at Canon City, and from there in searching with the doctor for “the Spanish trace” discovers the Royal Gorge, now famous in the scenery of this country. Then with Dr. Robinson and Miller he went northward, camping on Ten Mile Creek near the town of Truro. Ascending the creek he entered South Park, making his pass between Ten Mile and Thirty Nine Mile Mountains, and camped on the South Platte River near Howbert. The party then marched up the South Platte, until finding it going too far north, struck

off near Hartsel, where he camped, and from there marched South, making Trout Creek Pass, where the Colorado Midland railroad now crosses and striking the Arkansas River again, which he mistook for the Red River at Buena Vista. From here he marched up the river until he came under the shadow of Mount Harvard, camping between Fisher and Riverside, and thence to the highest point the expedition reached on the Arkansas River, and Pike's nearest approach to the waters of the Pacific.

“Dec. 6th. Sent out three different parties to hunt the Spanish trace, but without success. The doctor and myself followed the river into the mountain, where it was bounded on each side by the rocks of the mountain, 200 feet high, leaving a small valley of 50 or 60 feet. Killed two buffaloes, two deer, one turkey.

“Sunday, Dec. 7th. We again dispatched parties in search of the trace. One party discovered it, on the other side of the river, and followed it into the valley of the river at the entrance of the mountain, where they met two parties who were returning from exploring the two branches of the river, in the mountains; of which they reported that they had ascended until the river was merely a brook, bounded on both sides with perpendicular rocks, impracticable for horses ever to pass them; they had then crossed the river to the north side, and discovered, as they supposed, that the Spanish troops had ascended a dry valley to the right. On their return they found some rock-salt, samples of which were brought me. We determined to march the morrow to

the entrance of the valley, there to examine the salt and the road. Killed one wildcat.

“*Dec. 8th.* On examining the trace found yesterday, conceived it to have been only a reconnoitering party, dispatched from the main body; and on analyzing the rock-salt, found it to be strongly impregnated with sulphur. There were some very strong sulphurated springs at its foot. Returned to camp; took with me Dr. Robinson and Miller, and descended the river, in order to discover certainly if the whole party had come by this route. Descended seven miles on the south side. Saw great quantities of turkeys and deer. Killed one deer.

“*Dec. 9th.* Before we marched killed a fine buck at our camp as he was passing. Found the Spanish camp about four miles below; and from every observation we could make, conceived they all ascended the river. Returned to camp, where we arrived about two o'clock. Found all well; would have moved immediately but four men were out reconnoitering. Killed three deer.

“*Dec. 10th.* Marched and found the road over the mountain excellent. Encamped in a dry ravine. Obligated to melt snow for ourselves and horses; and as there was nothing else to eat, was obliged to give them one pint of corn each. Killed one buffalo.

“*Dec. 11th.* Marched at ten o'clock, and in one mile struck a branch of the Arkansas on which the supposed Spaniards had encamped, where there was both water and grass. Kept up this branch, but was frequently embarrassed as to the trace; at three o'clock,

having no sign of it, halted and encamped, and went out to search it; found it about one mile to the right. Distance 15 miles.

“*Dec. 12th.* Marched at nine o'clock. Continued up the same branch as yesterday. The ridges on our right and left appeared to grow lower, but mountains appeared on our flanks, through the intervals, covered with snow. Owing to the weakness of our horses, we made only 12 miles.

“*Dec. 13th.* Marched at the usual hour; passed large springs and the supposed Spanish camp; crossed at twelve o'clock a dividing ridge, and immediately fell on a small branch running N. 20° W. There being no appearance of wood, we left it and the Spanish trace to our right, and made for the hills to encamp. After the halt I took my gun and went out to see what discovery I could make. After marching about two miles north, fell on a river 40 yards wide, frozen over; which, after some investigation, I found ran northeast. This was the occasion of much surprise, as we had been taught to expect to meet with the branches of Red river, which should run southeast. Query: Must it not be the headwaters of the river Platte? If so, the Missouri must run much more west than is generally represented; for the Platte is a small river, by no means presenting an expectation of so extensive a course. One horse gave out and was left. Distance 18 miles.

“*Sunday, Dec. 14th.* Marched; struck the river, ascended it four miles, and encamped on the north side. The prairie, being about two miles wide, was covered for

at least six miles along the banks of the river with horse-dung and the marks of Indian camps, which had been made since cold weather, as was evident by the fires which were in the center of the lodges. The sign made by their horses was astonishing, and would have taken a thousand horses some months. As it was impossible to say which course the Spaniards had pursued, amongst this multiplicity of signs, we halted early, and discovered that they or the savages had ascended the river. We determined to pursue them, as the geography of the country had turned out to be so different from our expectations. We were somewhat at a loss which course to pursue, unless we attempted to cross the snowcapped mountains to the southeast of us, which was almost impossible. Burst one of our rifles, which was a great loss, as it made three guns which had burst; five had been broken on the march, and one of my men was now armed with my sword and pistols. Killed two buffaloes.

“*Dec. 15th.* After repairing our guns we marched, but were obliged to leave another horse. Ascended the river, both sides of which were covered with old Indian camps, at which we found corn-cobs. This induced us to believe that those savages, although erratic, must remain long enough in one position to cultivate this grain, or obtain it of the Spaniards. From their sign, they must have been extremely numerous, and possessed vast numbers of horses. My poor fellows suffered extremely from cold, being almost naked. Distance 10 miles.

Dec. 16th. Marched up the river about two miles and killed a buffalo; when, finding no road up the stream, we halted and dispatched parties in different courses, the doctor and myself ascending high enough to enable me to lay down the course of the river into the mountains. From a high ridge we reconnoitered the adjacent country, and concluded, putting the Spanish trace out of the question, to bear our course southwest for the head of Red river. One of our party found a large camp, which had been occupied by at least 3000 Indians with a large cross in the middle. Query: Are those people Catholics?

Dec. 18th. Marched and crossed the mountain which lay southwest of us; in a distance of seven miles arrived at a small spring. Some of our lads observed that they supposed it to be Red river, to which I gave very little credit. On entering a gap in the next mountain came past an excellent spring, which formed a fine creek. This we followed through narrows in the mountains for about six miles. Found many evacuated camps of Indians, the latest yet seen. After pointing out the ground for the encampment, the doctor and myself went on to make discoveries, as was our usual custom, and in about four miles we struck what we supposed to be the Red river, which here was about 25 yards wide, ran with great rapidity, and was full of rocks. We returned to the party with the news, which gave general pleasure. Determined to remain a day or two in order to determine the source. Snowing. Distance 18 miles.

“*Dec. 20th.* Having found a fine place for pasture on the river, sent our horses down to it with a guard; also, three parties out hunting, all of whom returned without success. Took an observation. As there was no prospect of killing any game, it was necessary that the party should leave that place. I therefore determined that the doctor and Baroney should descend the river in the morning; that myself and two men would ascend; and that the rest of the party should descend after the doctor, until they obtained provisions and could wait for me.

“*Sunday, Dec. 21st.* The doctor and Baroney marched; the party remained for me to take a meridional observation; after which we separated. Myself and the two men who accompanied me, Mountjoy and Miller, ascended 12 miles and encamped on the north side.

“*Dec. 22d.* Marched up 13 miles, to a large point of the mountain, whence we had a view of at least 35 miles, to where the river entered the mountains; it being at that place not more than 10 or 15 feet wide, and properly speaking, only a brook. From this place, after taking the course and estimating the distance, we returned to our camp of last evening. Killed one turkey and a hare.

“*Dec. 23d.* Marched early, and at two o'clock discovered the trace of our party on the opposite side of the river, forded it, although extremely cold, and marched until some time in the night, when we arrived at the second night's encampment of our party. Our clothing

was frozen stiff, and we ourselves considerably benumbed.

“*Dec. 24th.* The party’s provisions extended only to the 23rd, and their orders were not to halt until they killed some game, and then wait for us; consequently they might have been considerably advanced. About eleven o’clock met Dr. Robinson on the prairie, who informed me that he and Baroney had been absent from the party two days without killing anything, also without eating; but that over night they had killed four buffaloes, and that he was in search of the men. I suffered the two lads with me to go to the camp where the meat was, as we had also been nearly two days without eating. The doctor and myself pursued the trace and found them encamped on the river-bottom. Sent out horses for the meat. Shortly afterwards Sparks arrived and informed us he had killed four cows. Thus, from being in a starving condition, we had eight beeves in our camp.

“We now again found ourselves all assembled together on Christmas Eve, and appeared generally to be content, although all the refreshment we had to celebrate that day with was buffalo meat, without salt, or any other thing whatever. My little excursion up the river had been in order to establish the geography of the sources of the supposed Red river. As I well knew that the indefatigable researches of Dr. Hunter, Dunbar, and Freeman had left nothing unnoticed in the extent of their voyage up said river, I determined that its upper branches should be equally well explored. In this

voyage I had already ascertained the sources of the Osage and White rivers, been round the head of the Kans river, and on the headwaters of the Platte.

“*Dec. 25th.* It being stormy weather and having meat to dry, I concluded to lie by this day. Here I must take the liberty of observing that, in this situation, the hardships and privations we underwent were on this day brought more fully to our mind, having been accustomed to some degree of relaxation, and extra enjoyments. But here, 800 miles from the frontiers of our country, in the most inclement season of the year—not one person clothed for the winter—many without blankets, having been obliged to cut them up for socks, etc., and now lying down at night on the snow or wet ground, one side burning whilst the other was pierced with the cold wind—such was in part the situation of the party, whilst some were endeavoring to make a miserable substitute of raw buffalo hide for shoes, etc. I will not speak of diet, as I conceive that to be beneath the serious consideration of a man on a voyage of such a nature. We spent the days as agreeably as could be expected from men in our situation. Caught a bird of a new species, having made a trap for him. This bird was a green color, almost the size of a quail, had a small tuft on its head like a pheasant, and was of the carnivorous species; it differed from any bird we ever saw in the United States. We kept him with us in a small wicker cage, feeding him on meat, until I left the interpreter on the Arkansas with whom I left it. We at one time took a companion of the same species and put them in the

same cage, when the first resident never ceased attacking the stranger until he killed him."

From this Christmas camp, which seems to have been in the neighborhood of Brown Canon, not far from Salida, Pike and his party began the descent of the Arkansas, now skirting the Sangre de Cristo mountains to which he alludes. This *détour* made by Pike, Dr. Robinson and his men through South Park and up to the headwaters of the Arkansas was full of incredible suffering, cold, hunger, and terrible fatigues both for the men and their horses. But of this the diary, from the restraint Pike puts upon himself in personal matters, gives but a meagre account. These perils continued until the expedition reached the old camp at Canon City, where Pike rejoined his men.

Dec. 26th. Marched at two o'clock, and made 7 miles to the entrance of the mountains. On this piece of prairie the river spreads considerably and forms several small islands; a large stream enters from the South. As my boy and some others were sick, I omitted pitching our tent in order that they might have it; in consequence of which we were completely covered with snow on top, as well as that part on which we lay.

Dec. 27th. Marched over an extremely rough road; our horses received frequent falls, and cut themselves considerably on the rocks. From there being no roads of buffalo, or signs of horses, I am convinced that neither those animals, nor the aborigines of the country, ever take this route, to go from the source of the river to the mountains; but that they must cross one of the chains

to the right or left, and find a smoother tract in the lower country. Were obliged to unload our horses, and carry our baggage at several places. Distance $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

“*Sunday, Dec. 28th.* Marched over an open space; and from the appearance before us concluded we were going out of the mountains; but at night encamped at the entrance of the most perpendicular precipices on both sides, through which the river ran and our course lay. Distance 16 miles.

“*Dec. 29th.* Marched; but owing to the extreme ruggedness of the road, made but five miles. Saw one of a new species of animal on the mountains; ascended to kill him, but did not succeed. Finding the impossibility of getting along with the horses, made one sled, with which the men of three horses carry the load.

“*Dec. 30th.* Marched; but at half past one o'clock were obliged to halt and send back for sled loads, as the men had broken it and could not proceed, owing to the waters running over the ice. Crossed our horses twice on the ice. Distance eight miles.

“*Dec. 31st.* Marched; had frequently to cross the river on the ice; horses falling down, we were obliged to pull them over on the ice. The river turned so much to the north as almost induced us to believe it was the Arkansaw. Distance $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

“*Jan. 1st, 1807.* The doctor and one man marched early, in order to precede the party until they should kill a supply of provision. We had great difficulty in getting our horses along, some of the poor animals having nearly

killed themselves in falling on the ice. Found on the way one of the mountain rams, which the doctor and Brown had killed and left in the road. Skinned it with horns, etc. At night ascended a mountain, and discovered a prairie ahead about eight miles, the news of which gave great joy to the party.

“*Jan. 2d.* Labored all day, but made only one mile; many of our horses were much wounded in falling on the rocks. Provision growing short, left Stoute and Miller with two loads, to come on with a sled on the ice, which was on the water in some of the coves. Finding it almost impossible to proceed any further with the horses by the bed of the river, ascended the mountain and immediately after were again obliged to descend an almost perpendicular side of the mountain; in effecting which, one horse fell down the precipice, and bruised himself so miserably that I conceived it mercy to cause the poor animal to be shot. Many others were nearly killed with falls received. Left two more men with loads, and tools to make sleds. The two men we had left in the morning had passed us.

“*Jan. 3d.* Left two more men to make sleds and come on. We pursued the river, and with great difficulty made six miles by frequently cutting roads on the ice, and covering it with earth, in order to go round precipices, etc. The men left in the morning encamped with us at night; but those of the day before we saw nothing of. This day two of the horses became senseless from the bruises received on the rocks, and were obliged to be left.

“*Sunday, Jan. 4th.* We made the prairie about three o'clock, when I detached Baroney and two soldiers with the horses, in order to find some practicable way for them to get out of the mountains light. I then divided the others into two parties of two men each, to make sleds and bring on the baggage. I determined to continue down the river alone, until I could kill some sustenance, and find the two men who left us on the 2d inst., or the doctor and his companion; for we had no provision, and everyone had then to depend on his own exertion for safety and subsistence. Thus we were divided into eight different parties, *viz.*: 1st. The doctor and his companion; 2d. The two men with the first sled; 3d. The interpreter and the two men with the horses; 4th. Myself; 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, two men each, with sleds at different distances; all of whom, except the last, had orders, if they killed any game, to secure some part in a conspicuous place, for their companions in the rear. I marched about five miles on the river, which was one continued fall through a narrow channel, with immense cliffs on both sides. Near night I came to a place where the rocks are perpendicular on both sides, and there was no ice, except a narrow border on the water. I began to look about, in order to discover which way the doctor and his companion had managed, and to find out what had become of the two lads with the first sled, when I discovered one of the latter climbing up the side of the rocks. I called to him; he and his companion immediately joined me. They said they had not known whether we were before or in



"LABORED ALL DAY, BUT MADE ONLY ONE MILE."

the rear; they had eaten nothing for the last two days, and that this night they had intended to have boiled a deer-skin to subsist on. We at length discovered a narrow ravine, where was the trace of the doctor and his companion; as the water had run down it and frozen hard, it was one continuous sheet of ice. We ascended it with the utmost difficulty and danger, loaded with baggage. On the summit of the first ridge we found an encampment of the doctor, and where they had killed a deer, but they now had no meat. He afterward informed me that they had left the greater part hanging on a tree, but supposed the birds had destroyed it. I left the boys to bring up the remainder of the baggage, and went out to kill some subsistence; wounded a deer, but the darkness of the night approaching could not find him. I returned hungry, weary, dry, and had only snow to supply the calls of nature. Distance 8 miles.

“*Jan. 5th.* I went out in the morning to hunt, while the two lads were bringing up some of their loads still left at the foot of the mountain. Wounded several deer, but was surprised to find that I killed none. On examining my gun discovered her bent, owing, as I suppose, to some fall on the ice or rocks; shortly afterward received a fall on the side of a hill, which broke her off by the breach. This put me into *desespoir*, as I calculated on it as my grandest resource for the greatest part of my party; returned to my companions sorely fatigued and hungry. I then took a double-barreled gun and left them, with assurances that the first animal I killed,

I would return with part for their relief. About ten o'clock rose the highest summit of the mountain, when the unbounded spaces of the prairie again presented themselves to my view; and from some distant peaks I immediately recognized it to be the outlet of the Arkansas which we had left nearly a month since. This was a great mortification; but at the same time I consoled myself with the knowledge I had acquired of the sources of La Platte and Arkansas rivers, with the river to the northwest, supposed to be the Pierre Jaun, which scarcely any person but a madman would ever purposely attempt to trace further than the entrance of those mountains which had hitherto secured their sources from the scrutinizing eye of civilized man.

"I arrived at the foot of the mountain and bank of the river, in the afternoon, and at the same time discovered, on the other shore, Baroney with the horses; they had found quite an eligible pass through, and had killed one buffalo and some deer. We proceeded to our old camp, which we left the 10th of December and reoccupied it. Saw the traces of the doctor and his companion but could not discover their retreat. This was my birthday, and most fervently hope never to pass another so miserably. Fired a gun off as a signal to the doctor. Distance seven miles.

"*Jan. 6th.* Dispatched the two soldiers back with some provision to meet the first lads and assist them on and sent the interpreter hunting. About eight o'clock the doctor came in, having seen some of the men. He had been confined to the camp for one or two days, by

a vertigo which proceeded from some berries he had eaten on the mountains. His companion brought down six deer, which they had at their camp; thus we again began to be out of danger of starving. In the afternoon some of the men arrived and part were immediately returned with provisions, etc. Killed three deer.

“*Jan. 7th.* Sent more men back to assist in the rear and to carry the poor fellows provisions; at the same time kept Baroney and one man hunting. Killed three deer.

“*Jan. 8th.* Some of the different parties arrived. Put one man to stocking my rifle; others were sent back to assist up the rear. Killed two deer.

“*Jan. 9th.* The whole party were once more joined together, when we felt comparatively happy, notwithstanding the great mortification I experienced at having been so egregiously deceived as to the Red river. I now felt at considerable loss how to proceed, as any idea of services at that time from my horses was entirely preposterous. After various plans formed and rejected, and the most mature deliberation, I determined to build a small place for defense and deposit; leave part of the baggage, horses, my interpreter, and one man; and with the balance, our packs of Indian presents, ammunition, tools, etc., on our backs, cross the mountains on foot, find the Red river, and then send back a party to conduct the horses and baggage by the most eligible route we could discover; by which time the horses would be so recovered as to be able to endure the fatigues of the march. In consequence of this determination,

some were put to constructing the blockhouse, some to hunting, some to taking care of horses, etc. I myself made preparations to pursue a course of observations which would enable me to ascertain the latitude and longitude of this situation, which I conceived to be an important one. Killed three deer."

Thus ended this perilous journey, unfortunately undertaken in midwinter. None of the parties succeeded in getting through the canon, which the railroad has now made so familiar. Pike alone attempted the Royal Gorge; and got half way through, but failed to get further. Scrambling through a side canon to the North he climbed Noonan's Peak which overlooks Canon City, and from there discovered his old camp. The doctor and his man came the same way; while Baroney with the horses came by way of Webster Park and had an easier journey. It was three days before all the party got in. In Pike's recapitulation of what he had accomplished, he is mistaken in his belief that he had sighted the sources of the Yellowstone. The river north of him was the Grand River, the Yellowstone being much further north.

Four days were now occupied in preparing for the journey southward, and by Pike in making his observations to determine his position, and in separating and rearranging his baggage. At the block-house he determined to leave one man, Patrick Smith, and the faithful Baroney, whom in a letter to General Wilkinson, Pike calls "one of the finest young men, I ever knew in his situation," and "as firm an American as if

born one." On January 14th the party, consisting of Pike, Dr. Robinson and twelve soldiers, each carrying an average of seventy pounds, started up Grape Creek toward the Sangre de Cristo mountains, through Wet Mountain Valley which he calls Blue, on a journey, the perils of which can scarcely be realized from the diary's meagre statements.

"*Jan. 15th.* Followed up this branch, and passed up the main ridge of what I term the Blue mountains. Halted early. The doctor, myself, and one hunter went out with our guns; each killed a deer, and brought them into camp. Distance 19 miles.

"*Jan. 16th.* Marched up the creek all day. Encamped early, as it was snowing. I went out to hunt, but killed nothing. Deer on the hill; the mountains lessening. Distance 18 miles.

"*Jan. 17th.* Marched about four miles, when the great White mountain presented itself before us, in sight of which we had been for more than one month, and through which we supposed lay the long-sought Red river. We now left the creek on the north of us, and bore away more east, to a low place in the mountains. About sunset we came to the edge of a prairie which bounded the foot of the mountains. As there was no wood or water where we were, and the woods from the skirts of the mountains appeared to be at no great distance, I thought proper to march for it; in the middle of said prairie crossed the creek which now bore east. Here we all got our feet wet. The night commenced extremely cold, when we halted at the woods at eight

o'clock, for encampment. After getting fires made, we discovered that the feet of nine of our men were frozen; and, to add to this misfortune, both of those whom we called hunters were among the number. This night we had no provision. Reaumur's thermometer stood at $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below zero. Distance 28 miles.

"*Sunday, Jan. 18th.* We started two of the men least injured; the doctor and myself, who fortunately were untouched by the frost, also went out to hunt something to preserve existence. Near evening we wounded a buffalo with three balls, but had the mortification to see him run off notwithstanding. We concluded it was useless to go home to add to the general gloom, and went amongst some rocks, where we encamped and sat up all night; from the intense cold it was impossible to sleep. Hungry and without cover.

"*Jan. 19th.* We again took the field, and after crawling about one mile in the snow, got to shoot eight times among a gang of buffalo; we could plainly perceive two or three to be badly wounded, but by accident they took the wind of us, and to our great mortification all were able to run off. By this time I had become extremely weak and faint, it being the fourth day since we had received sustenance, all of which we were marching hard, and the last night had scarcely closed our eyes to sleep. We were inclining our course to a point of woods determined to remain absent and die by ourselves rather than return to our camp and behold the misery of our poor lads, when we discovered a gang of buffalo com-

ing along at some distance. With great exertions I made out to run and place myself behind some cedars. By the greatest of good luck, the first shot stopped one, which we killed in three more shots; and by the dusk had cut each of us a heavy load, with which we determined immediately to proceed to camp, in order to relieve the anxiety of our men and carry the poor fellows some food.

“We arrived there about twelve o’clock, and when I threw my load down, it was with difficulty I prevented myself from falling. I was attacked by giddiness of the head which lasted some minutes. On the countenances of the men there was not a frown, nor a desponding eye; all seemed happy to hail their officer and companion, yet not a mouthful had they eaten for four days. On demanding what were their thoughts the sergeant replied that on the morrow the more robust had determined to set out in search of us and not return unless they found us, or killed something to preserve the lives of their starving companions.

“*Jan. 20th.* The doctor and all the men able to march returned to the buffalo to bring the balance of the meat. On examining the feet of those who were frozen we found it impossible for two of them to proceed, and two others only without loads, by the help of a stick. One of the former was my waiter, a promising young lad of twenty, whose feet were so badly frozen as to present every possibility of losing them. The doctor and party returned toward evening, loaded with the buffalo meat.

“*Jan. 21st.* This day we separated the four loads which we intended to leave, and took them some distance from camp, where we secured them. I went up to the foot of the mountain to see what prospect there was of being able to cross it, but had not more than fairly arrived at its base when I found the snow four or five feet deep; this obliged me to determine to proceed and *côtoyer* the mountain [keep alongside the base of the Sangre de Cristo range] to the south, where it appeared lower, until we found a place where we could cross.

“*Jan. 22nd.* I furnished the two poor lads, who were to remain with ammunition, made use of every argument in my power to encourage them to have fortitude to resist their fate, and gave them assurance of my sending relief as soon as possible. We parted, but not without tears.

“We pursued our march, taking merely sufficient provisions for one meal, in order to leave as much as possible for the two poor fellows who remained. They were John Sparks and Thomas Dougherty. We went on eight miles and encamped on a little creek, which came down from the mountains. At three o’clock went out to hunt but killed nothing. Little snow.

“*Jan. 23rd.* After showing the sergeant a point to steer for, the doctor and myself proceeded on ahead in hopes to kill something, as we were again without victuals. About one o’clock it commenced snowing hard; we retreated to a small copse of pine, where we constructed a camp to shelter us; and, as it was time the party should arrive, we sallied forth to search for them.

We separated, and had not marched more than one or two miles, when I found it impossible to keep my course without the compass continually in my hand, and then was not able to see more than 10 yards. I began to perceive the difficulty even of finding my way back to camp; and I can scarcely conceive a more dreadful idea than remaining on the wild, where inevitable death must have ensued. It was with great pleasure I again reached camp, where I found the doctor had arrived before me. We lay down and strove to dissipate the ideas of hunger and misery by the thought of our far distant homes and relatives. Distance eight miles.

“Jan. 24th. We sallied out in the morning, and shortly after perceived our little band marching through the snow about two feet and a half deep, silent and with downcast countenances. We joined them and learned that, finding the snow to fall so thickly that it was impossible to proceed, they had encamped about one o’clock the preceding day. As I found all the buffalo had quit the plains, I determined to attempt the traverse of the mountain, in which we persevered until the snow became so deep that it was impossible to proceed; when I again turned my face to the plain, and for the first time in the voyage found myself discouraged.

“This was also the first time I heard a man express himself in a seditious manner; he exclaimed that it was more than human nature could bear, to march three days without sustenance, through snows three feet deep, and carry burdens only fit for horses, etc. As I knew

very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow (only he could not endure fasting), and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it unnoticed for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time.

“We dragged our weary and emaciated limbs along until about ten o’clock. The doctor and myself, who were in advance, discovered some buffalo on the plain, when we left our loads on the snow, and gave orders to proceed to the nearest woods to encamp. We went in pursuit of the buffalo, which were on the move. The doctor, who was then less reduced than myself, ran and got behind a hill and shot one down, which stopped the remainder. We crawled up to the dead one and shot from him as many as 12 or 14 times among the gang, when they removed out of sight. We then proceeded to butcher the one we had shot; and after procuring each of us a load of the meat, we marched for the camp, the smoke of which was in view. We arrived at the camp, to the great joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously.

“After our repast I sent for the lad who had presumed to speak discontentedly in the course of the day, and addressed him to the following effect: ‘Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous. I then passed it over, pitying your situation, and attributing it to your distress rather than your inclination to sow discontent among the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves, while

you were starving; had we been marching along light and at our ease, while you were weighed down with your burden; then you would have had some pretext for your observations. But when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated, and charged with burdens which I believe my natural strength is less able to bear than any man's in the party; when we were always foremost in breaking the road, in reconnoitering, and in the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent. Your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men and my companion in miseries and dangers. But your duty as a soldier called on your obedience to your officer, and a prohibition of such language, which for this time I will pardon; but assure you, should it ever be repeated, by instant death will I avenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience. I take this opportunity likewise to assure you, soldiers generally, of my thanks for the obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger which you have generally evinced. I assure you nothing shall be wanting, on my part, to procure you the rewards of our government and the gratitude of your countrymen.' They all appeared very much affected, and retired with assurances of perseverance in duty, etc. Distance nine miles.

"*Sunday, Jan. 25th.* I determined never to march again with so little provision on hand; as, had the storm continued one day longer, the animals would

have continued in the mountains; we would have become so weak as not to be able to hunt, and of course have perished. The doctor went out with the boys, and they secured three of the buffalo; we commenced bringing in the meat, at which we continued all day.

“*Jan. 26th.* Got in all the meat and dried it on a scaffold, intending to take as much as possible along, and leave one of my frozen lads with the balance, as a deposit for the parties who might return for their baggage, etc., on their way back to Baroney’s camp.

“*Jan. 27th.* We marched determined to cross the mountains, leaving Menagh encamped with our deposit. After a bad day’s march through snows, in some places three feet deep, we struck a brook which led west. This I followed down, and shortly came to a small stream, running west, which we hailed with fervency as the waters of Red river. Saw some sign of elk. Distance 14 miles.

“*Jan. 28th.* Followed down the ravine and discovered after some time that a road had been cut out; on many trees were hieroglyphics painted. After marching some miles, we discovered through the lengthy vista at a distance, another chain of mountains; and near by at the foot of the White mountains which we were then descending, sandy hills. We marched on the outlet of the mountains, left the sandy desert to our right, and kept down between it and the mountain. When we encamped, I ascended one of the largest hills of sand, and with my glass could discover a large river flowing through the plain. This river came out of the

third chain of mountains, the prairie between the two mountains bore nearly N. and S. I returned to camp with the news of my discovery. The sand-hills extended up and down the foot of the White mountains about 15 miles, and appeared to be about five miles in width. Their appearance was exactly that of the sea in a storm, except as to color, not the least sign of vegetation existing thereon. Distance 15 miles."

The exact route Pike took in crossing the Sangre de Cristo range, which he calls the White Mountains, has been a matter of discussion, as there are several passes he might have taken. A close study of the diary, and his mileage seems to warrant determining that it was near Blumenau in Fremont County that he left the unfortunate Sparks and Dougherty. Crossing over into Custer County he camped near the present town of Silver Cliff. Skirting the Sangre de Cristo Mountains he crosses the divide into Huerfano County, where he comes upon the Huerfano River, and camps. From here everything points to the inference that he made the Sand Hill or Medano Pass, as it is variously called, descending into the San Luis Valley, whence he comes upon the Dunes, which he alludes to above as "the sandy hills," and discovers with his glass in the distance the Rio Grande.

"*Jan. 29th.* Finding the distance too great to attempt crossing immediately to the river, in a direct line, we marched obliquely to a copse of woods, which made down a considerable distance from the mountains. Saw sign of horses. Distance 17 miles.

“*Jan. 31st.* As there was no timber here we determined on descending until we found timber, in order to make transports to descend the river with, where we might establish a position that four or five might defend against the insolence, cupidity and barbarity of the savages, while the others returned to assist the poor fellows who had been left behind at various points. We descended 18 miles, when we met a large west branch emptying into the main stream, about five miles up which branch we took our station. Killed one deer. Distance 18 miles.

“*Sunday, Feb. 1st.* Laid out the place for our works and went out hunting.

“*Feb. 5th.* The doctor and myself went out to hunt. After chasing some deer for several hours, without success, we ascended a high hill which lay south of our camp, whence we had a view of all the prairies and rivers to the north of us. It was at the same time one of the most sublime and beautiful inland prospects ever presented to the eyes of man. The prairie, lying nearly north and south, was probably 60 miles by 45. The main river, bursting out of the western mountain, and meeting from the northeast a large branch which divides the chain of mountains, proceeds down the prairie, making many large and beautiful islands, one of which I judge contains 100,000 acres of land, all meadow ground, covered with innumerable herds of deer. About six miles from the mountains which cross the prairie at the south end, a branch of 12 steps wide pays its tribute to the main stream from the west course.

Four miles below is a stream of the same size, which enters on the east and up which was a large road; its general course is N. 65° E. From the entrance of this was about three miles, down to the junction of the west fork, which waters the foot of the hill on the north, while the main river wound along its meanders on the east. In short, this view combined the sublime and the beautiful. The great and lofty mountains, covered with eternal snows, seemed to surround the luxuriant vale, crowned with perennial flowers, like a terrestrial paradise shut out from the view of man.

“*Feb. 6th.* The doctor, having some pecuniary demands in the province of New Mexico, conceived this to be the most eligible point for him to go in, and return previous to all my party having joined me from the Arkansaw, and that I was prepared to descend to Nachitoches. He therefore this day made his preparations for marching to-morrow. I went out hunting, and killed at three miles’ distance a deer which, with great difficulty, I brought in whole. We continued to go on with the works of our stockade or breastwork, which was situated on the north bank of the west branch, about five miles from its junction with the main river, and was on a strong plan.

“The stockade was situated in a small prairie on the west fork of the Rio del Norte. The south flank joined the edge of the river, which at that place was not fordable; the east and west curtains were flanked by bastions in the northeast and northwest angles, which likewise flanked the curtain of the north side of the work.

The stockade from the center of the angle of the bastions was 36 feet square. Heavy cottonwood logs, about two feet in diameter, were laid up all around about six feet, after which lighter ones, until we made it 12 feet in height; these logs were joined together by a lap of about two feet at each end. We then dug a small ditch on the inside on the internal side and sloping next the work. In this ditch we planted small stakes, about six inches in diameter, sharpened at the upper end to a nice point, and slanted them over the top of the work, giving them about 2 feet projection. We then secured them above and below in that position, which formed a small pointed frise, which must have been removed before the works could be scaled. Lastly we had dug a ditch round the whole, four feet wide, and let the water in all round. The earth taken out, being thrown against the work formed an excellent rampart against small-arms three or four feet high. Our mode of getting in was to crawl over the ditch on a plank, and into a small hole sunk below the level of the work near the river for that purpose. Our port-holes were pierced about eight feet from the ground, and a platform was prepared to shoot from. Thus fortified I should not have had the least hesitation of putting 100 Spanish horse at defiance, until the second night, and then to have made our escape under cover of the darkness; or made a sally and dispersed them, when resting under a full confidence of our being panic-struck by their numbers and force."

There have been many differences of opinion concern-

ing the precise location of Pike's stockade. He seems after skirting the Sierra Blanco to have struck the Rio Grande, which he thinks is the Red River, near Alamosa, where he halted. Finding no timber he marched down the west bank until he came to the Rio Conejos, which he calls "the large west branch." Here opposite Ojo Caliente, or hot spring, he built his fort, the moat of which, according to one of the older inhabitants, as late as 1894, could be still seen.

Feb. 7th. The doctor marched alone for Santa Fé; and as it was uncertain whether this gentleman would ever join me again, I at that time committed to paper the following testimonial of respect for his good qualities, which I do not at this time feel any disposition to efface. He had had the benefit of a liberal education, without having spent his time, as too many of our gentlemen do in college, in skimming on the surface of sciences, without ever endeavoring to make themselves masters of the solid foundations. Robinson studied and reasoned; with these qualifications he possessed a liberality of mind too great ever to reject an hypothesis because it was not agreeable to the dogmas of the schools; or adopt it because it had all the eclat of novelty. His soul could conceive great actions, and his hand was ready to achieve them; in short, it may truly be said that nothing was above his genius, nor anything so minute that he conceived it entirely unworthy of consideration. As a gentleman and companion in dangers, difficulties, and hardships, I in particular, and the expedition generally, owe much to his exertions.

“The demands which Dr. Robinson had on persons in New Mexico, although legitimate, were in some degree spurious *in his hands*. The circumstances were as follows: In the year 1804, William Morrison, Esq., an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskias, sent a man by the name of Baptiste LaLande, a Creole of the country, up the Missouri and La Platte, directing him if possible to push into Santa Fé. He sent Indians and the Spaniards came out with horses and carried him and his goods into the province. Finding that he sold the goods high, had land offered him, and the women kind, he concluded to expatriate himself, and convert the property of Morrison to his own benefit. When I was about to sail, Morrison, conceiving that it was possible that I might meet some Spanish factors on the Red river, intrusted me with the claim, in order, if they were acquainted with LaLande, I might negotiate the thing with some of them. When on the frontiers, the idea suggested itself to us of making this claim a pretext for Robinson to visit Santa Fé. We therefore gave it the proper appearance, and he marched for that place. Our views were to gain a knowledge of the country the prospect of trade, force, etc.; while, at the same time our treaties with Spain guaranteed to him, as a citizen of the United States, the right of seeking the recovery of all just debts or demands before the legal and authorized tribunals of the country, as a franchised inhabitant of the same, as specified in the 22d article of said treaty.

“In the evening I dispatched Corporal Jackson with four men, to recross the mountains, in order to bring in

the baggage left with the frozen lads, and to see if they were yet able to come on. This detachment left me with four men only, two of whom had their feet frozen; they were employed in finishing the stockade, and myself to support them by the chase.

“Sunday, Feb. 8th. Refreshing my memory as to the French grammar, and overseeing the works.

“Feb. 14th. Crossed the river and examined the numerous springs which issued from the foot of the hill, opposite our camp. These were so strongly impregnated with mineral qualities, as not only to keep clear of ice previous to their joining the main branch, but to keep open the west fork until its junction with the main river and for a few miles afterward, while all the other branches in the neighborhood were bound in the adamantine chains of winter.

“Feb. 16th. I took one man and went out hunting; about six miles from the post, shot and wounded a deer.

“Immediately afterward I discovered two horsemen rising the summit of a hill, about half a mile to our right. As my orders were to avoid giving alarm or offense to the Spanish government of New Mexico, I endeavored to avoid them at first; but when we attempted to retreat, they pursued us at full charge, flourishing their lances; and when we advanced they would retire as fast as their horses could carry them. Seeing this, we got in a small ravine, in hopes to decoy them near enough to oblige them to come to a parley; which happened agreeably to our desires, as they came on, hunting us with great

caution. We suffered them to get within 40 yards—where we had allured them; but they were about running off again, when I ordered the soldier to lay down his arms and walk toward them, at the same time standing ready with my rifle to kill either who should lift an arm in an hostile manner. I then hollowed to them that we were ‘Americans,’ and ‘friends,’ which were almost the only two words I knew in the Spanish language; when, with great signs of fear, they came up, and proved to be a Spanish dragoon and a civilized Indian, armed after their manner, of which we see a description in the *Essai Militaire*. We were jealous of our arms on both sides, and acted with great precaution.

“They informed me that this was the fourth day since they had left Santa Fé; that Robinson had arrived there, and been received with great kindness by the governor. As I knew them to be spies, I thought proper to inform them merely that I was about to descend the river to Nachitoches. We sat on the ground a long time, till, finding they were determined not to leave us, we rose and bid them adieu. But they demanded where our camp was; and, finding they were not about to leave us, I thought it most proper to take them with me, thinking we were on Red river, and of course in the territory claimed by the United States.

“We took the road to my fort, and as they were on horse-back, they traveled rather faster than myself; they were halted by the sentinel, and immediately retreated much surprised. When I came up, I took them in and explained to them, as well as possible, my in-

tention of descending the river to Nachitoches; but at the same time, I told them that if Governor Allencaster would send out an officer with an interpreter who spoke French or English, I would do myself the pleasure to give his Excellency every reasonable satisfaction as to my intention in coming to his frontiers. They informed me on the second they would be in Santa Fé, but were careful never to suggest an idea of my being on the Rio del Norte, as they concluded I did not think as I spoke. They were very anxious to ascertain our numbers, etc.; seeing only five men here, they could not believe we came without horses. To this I did not think proper to give them any satisfaction, giving them to understand we were in many parties, etc.

“*Feb. 17th.* In the morning, our two Spanish visitors departed, after I had made them some trifling presents, with which they seemed highly delighted. After their departure, we commenced working at our little stockade, as I thought it probable the governor might dispute my right to descend the Red river, and send out Indians, or some light party, to attack us; I therefore determined to be as much prepared to receive them as possible.

“This evening the corporal and three of the men arrived, who had been sent back to the camp of the frozen lads. They informed me that the two men would arrive the next day, one of whom was Menaugh, who had been left alone on the 27th of January; but that the other two, Dougherty and Sparks, were unable to come in. They said that they had hailed them with tears of

joy, and were in despair when they again left them, with the chance of never seeing them more. They sent on to me some of the bones taken out of their feet, and conjured me, by all that was sacred, not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world. Ah! little did they know my heart, if they could suspect me of conduct so ungenerous. No! before they should be left, I would for months have carried the end of a litter, in order to secure them the happiness of once more seeing their native homes, and being received in the bosom of a grateful country. Thus those poor lads are to be invalids for life, made infirm at the commencement of manhood and in the prime of their course, doomed to pass the remainder of their days in misery and want. For what is a pension? Not sufficient to buy a man his victuals. What man would even lose the smallest of his joints for such a pittance?

“*Feb. 18th.* The other two boys, Menaugh and the fourth member of the relief party arrived. In the evening I ordered the Sergeant and one man to prepare to march to-morrow for the Arkansas, where we had left our interpreter, horses, etc., to conduct them on, and on his return to bring the two lads, who were still in the mountains.

“*Feb. 19th.* Sergeant William Meek marched with one man whose name was Theodore Miller, and I took three men to accompany them some distance in order to point out to him a pass in the mountain which I conceived to be more eligible for horses than the one by which we came. I must here remark the effect of habit,

discipline, and example, in two soldiers soliciting a command of more than 180 miles, over two great ridges of mountains covered with snow, inhabited by bands of unknown savages, in the interest of a nation with which we were not on the best understanding. To perform this journey, each had about ten pounds of venison. Only let me ask, What would our soldiers generally think on being ordered on such a tour, thus equipped? Yet those men volunteered it with others, and were chosen; for which they thought themselves highly honored. We accompanied them about six miles, and pointed out the pass alluded to, in a particular manner. But the corporal afterward reported that the new one I obliged him to take was impassible, he having been three days in the snows nearly middle deep.

“We then separated and, having killed a deer, sent one of the men back to the fort with it. With the other two, I kept on my exploring trip down the river on the east side, at some leagues from its banks, intending to return up it. At nine o'clock at night we encamped on a small creek which emptied into the river from a nearly due east course.

“*Feb. 20th.* We marched down the river for a few hours; but, seeing no fresh signs of persons, or any other object to attract our attention, took up our route for the fort. Discovered the signs of horses and men on the shore. We arrived after night and found all well.

“*Feb. 21st.* As I was suspicious that possibly some party of Indians might be harboring round, I gave par-

ticular orders to my men, if they discovered any people, to endeavor to retreat undiscovered; but, if not, never to run, and not suffer themselves to be disarmed or taken prisoners, but conduct whatever party discovered them, if they could not escape, to the fort.

“Sunday, Feb. 22d. As I was beginning to think it was time we received a visit from the Spaniards or their emissaries, I established a lookout guard on the top of the hill all day, and at night a sentinel in a bastion on the land side. Studying, reading, working at our ditch to bring the river round the works.

“Feb. 24th. Took one man with me and went out on the Spanish road hunting; killed one deer and wounded several others. As we were a great distance from the fort, we encamped near the road all night. Saw several signs of horses.

“Feb. 25th. Killed two more deer, when we marched for our post. Took all three of our deer with us, and arrived about nine o'clock at night, as much fatigued as I ever was in my life. Our arrival dissipated the anxiety of the men, who began to be apprehensive we were taken or killed by some of the savages.

“Feb. 26th. In the morning was apprized of the approach of strangers by the report of a gun from my lookout guard. Immediately afterward two Frenchmen arrived. My sentinel halted them, and ordered them to be admitted, after some questions. They informed me that his Excellency, Governor Allencaster, had heard it was the intention of the Utah Indians to attack me; had detached an officer with 50 dragoons to

come out and protect me; and that they would be here in two days. To this I made no reply: but shortly after the party came in sight, to the number, as I afterward learned, of 50 dragoons and 50 mounted militia of the province, armed in the same manner with lances, escopates (guns), and pistols. My sentinel halted them at the distance of about 50 yards. I had the works manned. I thought it most proper to send out the two Frenchmen to inform the commanding officer that it was my request he should leave his party in the small copse of woods where he was halted, and that I would meet him myself in the prairie in which our work was situated. This I did, with my sword on me only. I was then introduced to Don Ignatio Saltelo and Don Bartholemew Fernandez, two lieutenants, the former the commandant of the party. I gave them an invitation to enter the works, but requested the troops might remain where they were. This was complied with. When they came round and discovered that to enter they were obliged to crawl on their bellies over a small draw-bridge, they appeared astonished, but entered without further hesitation.

“We first breakfasted on deer, meal, goose, and some biscuit which the civilized Indian who came out as a spy had brought me. After breakfast the commanding officer addressed me as follows:

“‘Sir, the governor of New Mexico, being informed you had missed your route, ordered me to offer you, in his name, mules, horses, money, or whatever you might stand in need of to conduct you to the head of

Red river; as from Santa Fé to where it is sometimes navigable is eight days' journey, and we have guides and the routes of the traders to conduct us.'

"'What,' said I, interrupting him, 'is not this the Red river?'

"'No, Sir! The Rio del Norte.'

"I immediately ordered my flag to be taken down and rolled up, feeling how sensibly I had committed myself in entering their territory, and conscious that they must have positive orders to take me in.

"He now added that he had provided 100 mules and horses to take in my party and baggage, and how anxious his Excellency was to see me at Santa Fé. I stated to him the absence of my sergeant, the situation of the balance of the party, and that my orders would not justify my entering into the Spanish territory. He urged still further, until I began to feel myself a little heated in the argument; and told him, in a peremptory style, that I would not go until the arrival of my sergeant with the balance of the party. He replied, that there was not the least restraint to be used; that it was only necessary his Excellency should receive an explanation of my business on his frontier; that I could go now, or on the arrival of my party; that, if none went in at present, he should be obliged to send in for provisions; but that, if I would now march, he would leave an Indian interpreter and an escort of dragoons to conduct the sergeant into Santa Fé. His mildness induced me to tell him that I would march, but must leave two men to meet the sergeant and party, to instruct him as to

coming in, as he never would come without a fight, if not ordered.

“I was induced to consent to this measure by the conviction that the officer had positive orders to bring me in; and as I had no orders to commit hostilities, and indeed had committed myself, although innocently, by violating their territory, I conceived it would appear better to show a will to come to an explanation than to be any way constrained; yet my situation was so eligible, and I could so easily have put them at defiance, that it was with great reluctance I suffered all our labor to be lost without trying the efficacy of it. My compliance seemed to spread general joy through the party, as soon as it was communicated; but it appeared to be different with my men, who wished to have a “little dust” as they expressed themselves, and were likewise fearful of treachery.

“My determination being once taken, I gave permission for the Spanish lieutenant’s men to come to the outside of the works, and some of mine to go outside and see them. The hospitality and goodness of the Creoles and Metifs began to manifest itself by their producing their provision and giving it to my men, covering them with blankets, etc.

“After writing my orders to my sergeant, and leaving them with my corporal, and one private named Carter, who were to remain, we sallied forth, mounted our horses, and went up the river about 12 miles, to a place where the Spanish officers had made a camp deposit, whence we sent down mules for our baggage, etc.”

The disposition of the party now is Baroney and Private Smith on the Arkansas River at Cano City; Privates Dougherty and Sparks in the mountains where they were left with frozen feet; Sergeant Meek and Private Miller have gone to bring these all in; Corporal Jackson and Private Carter are left at the fort on the Rio Conejos to wait their coming; Dr. Robinson has gone ahead to Santa Fé; Pike with Privates Brown, Gordon, Menaugh, Mountjoy, Roy, and Stoute are to accompany the Spanish dragoons to Santa Fé.

CHAPTER VII

THROUGH NEW MEXICO TO EL PASO

FEB. 27TH—MARCH 21ST 1807

“*Friday, Feb. 27th, 1807.* In the morning I discovered that the Spanish lieutenant was writing letters addressed to the governor and others; on which I demanded if he was not going on with me to Santa Fé. He appeared confused and said, No; that his orders were so positive as to the safe conduct and protection of my men, that he dare not go and leave any behind; that his companion would accompany me to Santa Fé with 50 men, while he with the others would wait for the sergeant and his party. I replied that he had deceived me, and had not acted with candor; but that it was now too late for me to remedy the evil.

“We marched about eleven o’clock, ascending the Rio del Norte five miles more, S. 60° W., when we went round through a chain of hills and bore off to the south. We proceeded nine miles further, when we crossed the main branch of that stream, which was now bearing nearly west toward the main chain of the third chain of mountains. We encamped on the opposite side. Intensely cold; obliged to stop frequently and make fires. Snow deep. Distance 15 miles.

“*Feb. 28th.* We marched late. One of the Frenchmen informed me that the expedition which had been to the Pawnees had descended the Red river 233 leagues, and from thence had crossed to the Pawnees expressly in search of my party. This was afterward confirmed by the gentleman who commanded the troops. He then expressed great regret at my misfortunes, as he termed them, in being taken, and offered his services in secreting my papers, etc. I took him at his word, and for my amusement thought I would try him; so I gave him a leaf or two of my journal, copied, which mentioned the time of my sailing from Belle Fontaine, and our force. This I charged him to guard very carefully and give to me after the investigation of my papers at Santa Fé. This day we saw a herd of wild horses. The Spaniards pursued them and caught two colts, one of which the Indians killed and ate; the other was let go. We pursued our journey over some hills, where the snow was very deep, and encamped at last on the top of a pretty high hill, among some pines. We left the river, which in general ran about six, eight, and 10 miles to the left or east of us. Saw great sign of elk. Distance 36 miles.

“*Sunday, Mar. 1st.* We marched early. Although we rode very hard we only got to the village of L'eau Chaud, or Warm Spring, some time in the afternoon. The distance was about 45 miles. The difference of climate was astonishing; after we left the hills and deep snows, we found ourselves on plains where there was no snow, and where vegetation was sprouting.

“The village of Warm Springs, or Agua Caliente in their language, is situated on the eastern branch of a creek of that name, and at a distance presents to the eye a square enclosure of mud walls, the houses forming the walls. They are flat on top, or with extreme ascent on one side, where there are spits to carry off the water of the melting snow and rain when it falls; which, we were informed, had been but once in two years previous to our entering the country. Inside of the enclosure were the different streets of houses in the same fashion, all of one story; the doors were narrow, the windows small, and in one or two houses there were talc lights. This village had a mill near it, situated on the little creek, which made very good flour. The population consisted of civilized Indians, but much mixed blood.

“Here we had a dance which is called the fandango; but there was one which was copied from the Mexicans, is now danced in the first societies of New Spain, and has even been introduced at the court of Madrid.

“This village may contain 500 souls. The greatest natural curiosity is the warm springs, which are two in number, about 10 yards apart, each affording sufficient water for a mill-seat. They appeared to be impregnated with copper, and were more than 33° above blood heat. From this village the Tetaus drove off 2,000 horse at one time, when at war with the Spaniards.

“*Mar. 2d.* We marched late, and passed several little mud-walled villages and settlements, all of which had round mud towers of the ancient shape and construction, to defend the inhabitants from the intrusions of the

savages. I was this day shown the ruins of several old villages which had been taken and destroyed by the Tetaus. We were frequently stopped by the women, who invited us into their houses to eat; and in every place where we halted a moment there was a contest who should be our hosts. My poor lads who had been frozen were conducted home by old men, who would cause their daughters to dress their feet, provide their victuals and drink, and at night give them the best bed in the house. In short, all their conduct brought to my recollection the hospitality of the ancient patriarchs, and caused me to sigh with regret at the corruption of that noble principle by the polish of modern ages.

“We descended the creek of Agua Caliente about 12 miles, where it joined the river of Conejos from the west. This river was about 30 yards wide, and was settled for 12 miles above its junction with the Agua Caliente, as the latter was in its whole course from the village of that name. From where they form a junction it was about 15 miles to the Rio del Norte, on the eastern branch of which was situated the village of St. John’s which was the residence of the president priest of the province, who had resided in it 40 years.

“The house-tops of the village of St. John’s were crowded, as well as the streets, when we entered, and at the door of the public quarters we were met by the president priest. When my companion, who commanded the escort, received him in a street and embraced him, all the poor creatures who stood round strove to kiss the

ring or hand of the holy father; for myself, I saluted him in the usual style. My men were conducted into the quarters, and I went to the house of the priest, where we were treated with politeness. He offered us coffee, chocolate, or whatever we thought proper, and desired me to consider myself at home in his house.

“As I was going, some time after, to the quarters of my men, I was addressed at the door by a man in broken English: ‘My friend, I am very sorry to see you here; we are all prisoners in this country and can never return; I have been a prisoner for nearly three years, and cannot get out.’ I replied: that as for his being a prisoner, it must be for some crime; that with respect to myself I felt no apprehension; and requested him to speak French, as I could hardly understand his English. He began to demand of me so many different questions on the mode of my getting into the country, my intention, etc., that by the time I arrived in the room of my men, I was perfectly satisfied of his having been ordered by some person to endeavor to obtain some confession or acknowledgment of sinister designs in my having appeared on the frontiers, and some confidential communications which might implicate me. As he had been rather insolent in his inquiries, I ordered my men to shut, and fasten the door. I then told him that I believed him to be an emissary sent on purpose by the governor, or some person, to betray me; that all men of that description were scoundrels, and never should escape punishment, whilst I had the power to chastise them—immediately ordering my men to

seize him, and cautioning him at the same time, that if he cried out, or made the least resistance, I would be obliged to make use of the sabre in my hand. On this he was so much alarmed, that he begged me for God's sake not to injure him; he also said that he had been ordered by the government to meet me, and endeavor to trace out what and who I was, and what were my designs, by endeavoring to produce a confidence in him, by his exclaiming against the Spaniards and complaining of the tyranny which they exercised toward him. After this confession, I ordered my men to release him, and told him that I looked upon him too contemptuously for further notice; but that he might tell the governor, the next time he employed emissaries, to choose those of more abilities and sense; and that I questioned if his Excellency would find the sifting of us an easy task.

“This man's name was Baptiste Lalande; he had come from the Illionis to the Pawnees, to trade with goods furnished him by William Morrison, a gentleman of the Illinois, and thence to New Mexico with the goods which he had procured, and established himself; he was the same man on whom Robinson had a claim. He returned into the priest's house with me, and, instead of making any complaint, he in reply to their inquiries of who I was, etc., informed them that when he left Louisiana I was governor of the Illinois. This I presume he took for granted from my having commanded for some time the post of Kaskaskias, the first military post the United States had established in that country since the

peace; however, the report served to add to the respect with which my companion and host treated me.

“I had at this place the first good meal, wine, etc., which, with the heat of the house, and perhaps rather an immoderate use of the refreshments allowed me, produced an attack of something like cholera morbus, which alarmed me considerably, and made me determine to be more abstemious in future.

“This father was a great naturalist, or rather florist; he had large collections of flowers, plants, etc., and several works on his favorite studies, the margins and bottoms of which were filled with his notes in the Castilian language. As I neither had a natural turn for botany sufficient to induce me to puzzle my head much with the Latin, nor understood Castilian, I enjoyed but little of the lectures which he continued to give me for nearly two hours on those subjects; but, by the exercise of a small degree of patience, I entirely acquired the esteem of this worthy father, he calling me his son, and lamenting extremely that my faith had not made me one of the holy catholic church.

“The father, being informed that I had some astronomical instruments with me, expressed a desire to see them. All that I had here was my sextant and a large glass which magnified considerably, calculated for the day or night; the remainder of my instruments being with my sergeant and party. On examining the sextant and my showing him the effect of it in the reflection of the sun, he, as well as the hundreds who surrounded us, appeared more surprised at the effect of the instrument

than any nation of savages I ever was among. Here an idea struck me as extraordinary—how a man who appeared to be a master of the ancient languages, a botanist, a mineralogist, and chemist, should be so ignorant of the power of reflection and the first principles of mathematics. But my friend explained the enigma, by informing me of the care the Spanish government took to prevent any branch of science from being made a pursuit which would have a tendency to extend the views of the subjects of the provinces to the geography of the country, or any other subject which would bring to view a comparison of their local advantages and situations with other countries.

“St. John’s was inclosed with a mud wall and probably contained 1,000 souls; its population consisted principally of civilized Indians, as indeed does that of all the villages of New Mexico, the whites not forming one-twentieth of the inhabitants.

“*Mar. 3rd.* We marched after breakfast, B. Lande accompanying us, and in about six miles came to a village, where I suppose there were more than 2,000 souls. Here we halted at the house of a priest, who, understanding that I would not kiss his hand, would not present it to me. The conduct and behavior of a young priest who came in was such as in our country would have been amply sufficient forever to have banished him from the clerical association—strutting about with a dirk in his boot, a cane in his hand, whispering to one girl, chucking another under the chin, going out with a third, etc.

“From this village, to another small village of 500 inhabitants, is seven miles. At each of those villages is a small stream, sufficient for the purpose of watering the fields. At the father’s house we took coffee. From this village it was 17 miles to another of 400 civilized Indians. Here we changed horses, and prepared for entering the capital, which we came in sight of in the evening. It is situated along the banks of a small creek, which comes down from the mountains, and runs west to the Rio del Norte. The length of the capital along the creek may be estimated at one mile; it is but three streets in width.

Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of the flat-bottomed boats which are seen in the spring and fall seasons, descending the Ohio river. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples forms a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses. On the north side of the town is the square of soldiers’ houses equal to 120 or 140 on each flank. The public square is in the centre of the town; on the north side of it is situated the palace, as they term it, or government house, with quarters for guards, etc. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public officers. In general the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick; the consequence is that the streets are very narrow, say in general 25 feet. The supposed population is 4,500 souls. On our entering the town the crowd was great, and followed us to the government house. When we

dismounted we were ushered in through various rooms, the floors of which were covered with skins of buffalo, bear, or some other animal. We waited in a chamber for some time, until his Excellency appeared, when we rose, and the following conversation took place in French:

“*Governor.* ‘Do you speak French?’

“*Pike.* ‘Yes, sir.’

“*Governor.* ‘You come to reconnoiter our country, do you?’

“*Pike.* ‘I marched to reconnoiter our own.’

“*Governor.* ‘In what character are you?’

“*Pike.* ‘In my proper character, an officer of the United States army.’

“*Governor.* ‘And this Robinson—is he attached to your party?’

“*Pike.* ‘No.’

“*Governor.* ‘Do you know him?’

“*Pike.* ‘Yes; he is from St. Louis. (I understood the doctor had been sent 45 leagues from Santa Fé, under a strong guard. The haughty and unfriendly reception of the governor induced me to believe war must have been declared, and that if it were known Dr. Robinson had accompanied me, he would be treated with great severity. I was correct in saying he was not attached to my party, for he was only a volunteer, who could not properly be said to be one of my command.)’

“*Governor.* ‘How many men have you?’

“*Pike.* ‘Fifteen.’

“*Governor.* ‘And this Robinson makes sixteen?’

“*Pike.* ‘I have already told your Excellency that he does not belong to my party, and shall answer no more interrogatories on that subject.’

“*Governor.* ‘When did you leave St. Louis?’

“*Pike.* ‘July 15th.’

“*Governor.* ‘I think you marched in June.’

“*Pike.* ‘No, sir!’

“*Governor.* ‘Well! Return with Mr. Bartholomew to his house; come here again at seven o’clock, and bring your papers.’

“On which we returned to the house of my friend Bartholomew, who seemed much hurt at the interview.

“At the door of the government house, I met the old Frenchman to whom I had given the scrap of paper on the 27th of February. He had left us in the morning, and, as I suppose, hurried in to make his report, and I presume had presented this paper to his Excellency. I demanded, with a look of contempt, if he had made his report? To which he made reply in a humble tone and began to excuse himself; but I did not wait to hear his excuses. At the hour appointed we returned, when the governor demanded my papers. I told him that I understood my trunk had been taken possession of by his guard. He expressed surprise, immediately ordered it in, and also sent for one Solomon Colly, formerly a sergeant in our army, and one of the unfortunate company of Nolan. We were seated, when he ordered Colly to demand my name, to which I replied. He then demanded in what province I was born. I answered in English, and then addressed his Excellency in

French, and told him that I did not think it necessary to enter into such a catechising; that if he would be at the pains of reading my commission from the United States, and my orders from my general, it would be all that I presumed would be necessary to convince his Excellency that I came with no hostile intentions toward the Spanish government; that, on the contrary, I had express instructions to guard against giving them offense or alarm; and that his Excellency would be convinced that myself and party were rather to be considered objects on which the so much celebrated generosity of the Spanish nation might be exercised, than proper subjects to occasion the opposite sentiments. He then requested to see my commission and orders, which I read to him in French; on which he got up and gave me his hand, for the first time, and said he was happy to be acquainted with me as a man of honor and a gentleman; that I could retire this evening and take my trunk with me; and that on the morrow he would make further arrangements.

“Mar. 4th. I was desired by the governor to bring up my trunk, in order that he might make some observations on my route, etc. When he ordered me to take my trunk over night, I had conceived that the examination of papers was over. As many of my documents were intrusted to the care of my men, and I found the inhabitants were treating the men with liquor, I was fearful they would become intoxicated, and through inadvertency betray or discover the papers. I had therefore obtained several of them and put them in

the trunk, when an officer arrived for myself and it, and I had no opportunity of taking them out again before I was taken up to the palace. I discovered instantly that I had been deceived, but it was too late to remedy the evil. After examining the contents of my trunk, he informed me that I must, with my troops, go to Chihuahua, province of Biscay, to appear before the commandant-general. He added: 'You have the key of your trunk in your own possession; the trunk will be put under the charge of the officer, who commands your escort.' The following conversation then took place:

"*Pike.* 'If we go to Chihuahua we must be considered prisoners of war?'

"*Governor.* 'By no means.'

"*Pike.* 'You have already disarmed my men without my knowledge; are their arms to be returned or not?'

"*Governor.* 'They can receive them at any moment.'

"*Pike.* 'But, sir, I cannot consent to be led three or four hundred leagues out of my route, without its being by force of arms.'

"*Governor.* 'I know you do not go voluntarily; but I will give you a certificate from under my hand of my having obliged you to march.'

"*Pike.* 'I will address you a letter on the subject.'

"*Governor.* 'You will dine with me to-day, and march afterward to a village about six miles distant, escorted by Captain Anthony D'Almansa, with a detachment of dragoons, who will accompany you where the remainder

of your escort are waiting, under the command of the officer, who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees.'

"*Pike.* 'I would not wish to be impertinent in my observations to your Excellency; but pray, sir, do you not think it was a greater infringement of our territory to send 600 miles in the Pawnees', than for me with our small party to come on the frontiers of yours with an intent to descend the Red river?'

"*Governor.* 'I do not understand you.'

"*Pike.* 'No, sir, any further explanation is unnecessary.'

"I then returned to the house of my friend Bartholomew and wrote my letter to his Excellency, which I had not finished before we were hurried to dinner.

"In the morning I received from the governor, by the hands of his private secretary, \$21, notifying to me that it was the amount of the king's allowance for my party to Chihuahua, and that it would be charged to me on account of my subsistence. From this I clearly understood that it was calculated that the expenses of the party to Chihuahua would be defrayed by the United States. I also received by the same hands, from his Excellency, a shirt and neck-cloth with his compliments, wishing me to accept of them, as they had been made in Spain by his sister and had never been worn by any person. For this I returned him my sincere acknowledgments; and it may not be deemed irrelevant if I explain at this period the miserable appearance we made, and the situation we were in, with the causes of it.

“When we left our interpreter and one man on the Arkansaw, we were obliged to carry all our baggage on our backs; consequently, that which was the most useful was preferred to the few ornamental parts of dress we possessed. The ammunition claimed our first care; tools were secondary; leather leggings, boots, and mockinsons were the next in consideration. Consequently, I left all my uniform, clothing, trunks, etc., as did the men, except what they had on their backs; conceiving that which would secure the feet and legs from the cold to be preferable to any less indispensable portion of our dress. Thus, when we presented ourselves at Santa Fé, I was dressed in a pair of blue trousers, mockinsons, blanket coat, and a cap made of scarlet cloth lined with fox-skin; my poor fellows were in leggings, breech cloths, leather coat, and there was not a hat in the whole party. This appearance was extremely mortifying to us all, especially as soldiers; although some of the officers used frequently to observe to me, that worth made the man, etc., with a variety of adages to the same amount. Yet the first impression made on the ignorant is hard to eradicate; and a greater proof cannot be given of the ignorance of the common people, than their asking if we lived in houses, or in camps like the Indians, and if we wore hats in our country. Those observations are sufficient to show the impression our uncouth appearance made amongst them.

The dinner at the governor's was rather splendid, having a variety of dishes and wines of the southern

provinces; and when his Excellency was a little warmed with the influence of cheering liquor, he became very sociable. He informed me that there existed a serious difficulty between the commandant-general of the internal provinces and the Marquis Caso Calvo, who had given permission to Mr. Dunbar to explore the Ouchata contrary to the general principles of their government; in consequence of which the former had made representations against the latter to the court of Madrid. After dinner his Excellency ordered his coach; Captain D'Almansa, Bartholomew, and myself entered with him, and he drove out three miles. He was drawn by six mules and attended by a guard of cavalry. When we parted his adieu was, Remember Allencaster, in peace or war.

“I left a note for my sergeant, with instructions to keep up good discipline and not be alarmed or discouraged. As I was about leaving the public square, poor Colly, the American prisoner, came up with tears in his eyes, and hoped I would not forget him when I arrived in the United States.

“After we left the governor we rode on about three miles to a defile, where we halted for the troops. I soon found that the old soldier who accompanied us and commanded our escort was fond of a drop of the cheering liquor, as his boy was carrying a bottle in his ‘cochmelies,’ a small leather case attached to the saddle for the purpose of carrying small articles. We ascended a hill, and galloped on until about ten o’clock; it was snowing hard all the time. Then we came to a

precipice, which we descended with great difficulty, from the obscurity of the night, to a small village, where we put up at the quarters of the priest, he being absent.

“After supper, Captain D’Almansa related to me that he had served his Catholic Majesty 40 years to arrive at the rank he then held, which was that of a first lieutenant of the line and a captain by brevet, whilst he had seen various young Europeans promoted over his head. After the old man had taken his *quantum sufficet* and gone to sleep, my friend and myself sat up for some hours, he explaining to me their situation, the great desire they felt for a change in affairs and an open trade with the United States. I pointed out to him with chalk on the floor the geographical connection and route from the North America and Louisiana, and finally gave him a certificate addressed to the citizens of the United States, stating his friendly disposition and his being a man of influence. This paper he seemed to estimate as a very valuable acquisition, as he was decidedly of the opinion that we would invade that country the ensuing spring; and not all my assurances to the contrary could eradicate that idea.”

Pike had been out of the reach of news for many months, and was ignorant, as the Mexicans were not, of the conspiracy of Aaron Burr concerning the Spanish possessions. The suspicions of Governor Allencaster were not unfounded concerning Pike’s presence on Spanish soil, although these were not correct as the record of Pike’s mistaken wanderings and perils which

brought him to the Rio Grande, disclose. He is now, however, brought close to events, and conducts himself with "courage, dignity and much fertility of resources," as one of his historians declares; and these last "were never prompted from personal considerations, but always from intense patriotism." Before leaving Santa Fé, in the official letter addressed to the Governor, he desires to know if he is a prisoner of war, and who is to pay the expenses of this journey of himself and men, which he so unwillingly is obliged to take.

In reply the Governor issued a certificate to "Z. Montgomery Pike, First Lieutenant of the Anglo-American troops," making himself responsible for the journey, which, diplomatically, he says, is in order to introduce his visitor to the commanding-general of Chihuahua. Into the matter of expense he does not enter, but subsequently the Governor of Chihuahua advanced Pike \$100, which the United States is to refund.

"*Mar. 5th.* As it snowed very hard in the morning, we did not march until eleven o'clock. In the meantime, Bartholomew and myself paid a visit to an old invalid Spaniard, who received us in the most hospitable manner, giving us chocolate, etc. He made many inquiries as to our government and religion, and of [Bartholomew], who did not fail to give them the brightest coloring; he being enthusiastic in their favor from his many conversations with me, and drawing comparisons with his own country. What appeared to



WAR DANCE OF THE APACHES.

From a painting by Catlin.

the old veteran most extraordinary was that we ever changed our president. I was obliged to draw his powers on a nearer affinity with those of a monarch than they really are, in order that he might comprehend his station, and that there was a perfect freedom of conscience permitted in our country. He, however, expressed his warm approbation of the measure. In the priest's house at which we put up were two orphan girls, who were adopted by him in their infancy and at this time constituted his whole family.

"I bid adieu to my friend Bartholomew, and could not avoid shedding tears; he embraced me and all my men.

"We arrived at the village of St. Domingo at two o'clock. It is as I supposed, nine miles on the east side of the Rio del Norte, and is a large village, the population being about 1000 natives, generally governed by its own chief. The chiefs of the village were distinguished by a cane with a silver head and black tassels. On our arrival at the public house Captain D'Almansa was waited on by the governor, cap in hand, to receive his orders as to furnishing our quarters and ourselves with wood, water, provisions, etc. The house itself contained nothing but bare walls and small grated windows, which brought to my recollection the representations of the Spanish inhabitants given by Dr. Moore in his travels through Spain, Italy, etc. This village, as well as those of St. Philip's and St. Bartholomew, is of the nation of Keres, many of whom do not yet speak good Spanish.

“After we had refreshed ourselves a little, the captain sent for the keys of the church; and when we entered it, I was much astonished to find, inclosed in mud-brick walls, many rich paintings, and the saint as large as life, elegantly ornamented with gold and silver. The captain made a slight inclination of the head, and intimated to me that this was the patron of the village. We then ascended into the gallery, where the choir are generally placed. In an outside hall was placed another image of the saint, less richly ornamented, where the populace repaired daily and knelt to return thanks for benefactions received, or to ask new favors. Many young girls, indeed, chose the time of our visit to be on their knees before the holy patrons. From the flat roof of the church we had a delightful view of the village; The Rio del Norte on the west; the mountains of St. Dies to the south; the valley round the town, on which were numerous herds of goats, sheep, and asses—upon the whole, this was one of the handsomest views in New Mexico.

“*Mar. 6th.* Marched down the Rio del Norte on the east side. Snow one foot deep. Passed large flocks of goats. At the village of St. Philip’s we crossed a bridge of eight arches, constructed as follows: the pillars made of neat woodwork, something similar to a crate, and in the form of a keel-boat, the sharp end or bow to the current; this crate or abutment was filled with stone, in which the river lodged sand, clay, etc., until it had become of a tolerably firm consistency. On the top of the pillars were laid pine logs, lengthways, squared

on two sides; being joined pretty close, these made a tolerable bridge for carriages, as there were no hand-rails.

“On our arrival at the house of the father, we were received in a very polite and friendly manner; and before my departure we seemed to have been friends for years past. During our dinner, at which we had a variety of wines, we were entertained with music, composed of base drums, French horns, violins, and cymbals. We likewise entered into a long and candid conversation as to the Creoles, wherein he spared neither the government nor its administrators. As to government and religion, Father Rubi displayed a liberality of opinion and a fund of knowledge which astonished me. He showed a statistical table on which he had in a regular manner, taken the whole province of New Mexico by villages, beginning at Tous, on the northwest, and ending with Valencia on the south, giving their latitude, longitude, and population, whether natives or Spaniards, civilized or barbarous, Christians or pagans, numbers, names of the nations, when converted, how governed, military force, clergy, salary, etc.—in short, a complete geographical, statistical, and historical sketch of the province. Of this I wished to obtain a copy, but perceived that the captain was somewhat surprised at its having been shown to me. When we parted, we promised to write to each other, which I performed from Chihuahua.

“Here was an old Indian who was extremely inquisitive to know if we were Spaniards; to which an old

gentleman called Don Francisco, who appeared to be an inmate of Father Rubi's, replied in the affirmative. 'But,' said the Indian, 'they do not speak Castillian.' 'True,' replied the other; 'but you are an Indian of the nation of Keres, are you not?' 'Yes.' 'Well, the Utahs are Indians also?' 'Yes.' 'But still you do not understand them, they speaking a different language.' 'True,' replied the Indian. 'Well,' said the old gentleman, 'those strangers are likewise Spaniards, but do not speak the same language with us.' This reasoning seemed to satisfy the poor savage; and I could not but smile at the ingenuity displayed to make him believe there was no other nation of whites but the Spaniards.

"Whilst at dinner, Father Rubi was informed that one of his parishioners was at the point of death, and wished his attendance to receive his confession.

"We took our departure, but were shortly after overtaken by our friend, who, after giving me another hearty shake of the hand, left us. Crossed the river and passed two small hamlets and houses on the road to the village of St. Dies, opposite the mountain of the same name, where we were received in a house of Father Rubi, this making part of his domains.

"*Mar. 7th.* Marched at nine o'clock through a country better cultivated and inhabited than any I had yet seen. Arrived at Albuquerque, a village on the east side of the Rio del Norte. We were received by Father Ambrosio Guerra in a very flattering manner, and led into his hall. From thence, after taking

some refreshments, we went into an inner apartment, where he ordered his adopted children of the female sex to appear. They came in by turns—Indians of various nations, Spanish, French, and finally two young girls, whom from their complexion I conceived to be English. On perceiving I noticed them, he ordered the rest to retire, many of whom were beautiful, and directed those to sit down on the sofa beside me. Thus situated, he told me that they had been taken to the east by the Tetaus and passed from one nation to another, until he purchased them, at that time infants; they could recollect neither their names nor language, but, concluding they were my countrywomen, he ordered them to embrace me as a mark of their friendship, to which they appeared nothing loath. We then sat down to dinner, which consisted of various dishes, excellent wines, and, to crown all, we were waited on by half a dozen of those beautiful girls who, like Hebe at the feast of the gods, converted our wine to nectar, and with their ambrosial breath shed incense on our cups. After the cloth was removed some time, the priest beckoned me to follow him, and led me into his sanctum sanctorum, where he had the rich and majestic images of various saints, and in the midst the crucified Jesus, crowned with thorns, with rich rays of golden glory surrounding his head—in short, the room being hung with black silk curtains, served but to augment the gloom and majesty of the scene. When he conceived my imagination sufficiently wrought up, he put on a black gown and miter, kneeled before the cross, took

hold of my hand, and endeavored gently to pull me down beside him. On my refusal he prayed fervently for a few minutes and then rose, laid his hands on my shoulders, and, as I conceived, blessed me. He then said to me, 'You will not be a Christian. Oh! what a pity! oh! what a pity!' He then threw off his robes, took me by the hand and led me out of the company smiling; but the scene I had gone through had made too serious an impression on my mind to be eradicated until we took our departure, which was in an hour after, having received great marks of friendship from the father.

"Both above and below Albuquerque, the citizens were beginning to open canals, to let in the water of the river to fertilize the plain and fields which border its banks on both sides; where we saw men, women, and children, of all ages and sexes, at the joyful labor which was to crown with rich abundance their future harvest and insure them plenty for the ensuing year. Those scenes brought to my recollection the bright descriptions given by Savary of the opening of the canals of Egypt. The cultivation of the fields was commencing and everything appeared to give life and gayety to the surrounding scenery.

"We crossed the Rio del Norte, a little below the village of Albuquerque, where it was 400 yards wide, but not more than three feet deep and excellent fording. At Father Ambrosio's was the only chart we saw in the province that gave the near connection of the sources of the Rio del Norte and the Rio Colorado of California, with their ramifications.

“On our arriving at the next village, a dependency of Father Ambrosio’s, we were invited into the house of the commandant. When I entered, I saw a man sitting by the fire reading a book; with blooming cheeks, fine complexion, and a genius-speaking eye, he arose from his seat. It was Robinson! Not that Robinson who left my camp on the headwaters of the Rio del Norte, pale, emaciated, with uncombed locks and beard of eight months’ growth, but with fire; unsubdued enterprise, and fortitude. The change was indeed surprising. I started back and exclaimed, ‘Robinson!’ ‘Yes.’ ‘But I do not know you,’ I replied. ‘But I know you,’ he exclaimed; ‘I would not be unknown to you here, in this land of tyranny and oppression, to avoid all the pains they dare to inflict. Yet, my friend, I grieve to see you here and thus, for I presume you are a prisoner.’ I replied ‘No! I wear my sword, you see; all my men have their arms, and the moment they dare to ill-treat us we will surprise their guards in the night, carry off some horses, make our way to the Appaches, and then set them at defiance.’

“At this moment Captain D’Almansa entered, and I introduced Robinson to him as my *companion de voyage* and friend, he having before seen him at Santa Fé. He did not appear much surprised, and received him with a significant smile, as much as to say, ‘I knew this.’ We then marched out to the place where the soldiers were encamped, not one of whom would recognize him, agreeably to orders, until I gave them the sign. Then it was a joyful meeting, as the whole

party was enthusiastically fond of him. He gave me the following relation of his adventures after he left me:

““I marched the first day up the branch on which we were situated, as you know we had concluded it would be most proper to follow it to its source and then cross the mountains west, where we had conceived we should find the Spanish settlements, and at night encamped on its banks. The second day I left it a little, bore more south, and was getting up the side of the mountain, when I discovered two Indians, for whom I made. They were armed with bows and arrows, and were extremely shy of my approach; but after some time, confidence being somewhat restored, I signified a wish to go to Santa Fé, when they pointed due south, down the river I left you on. As I could not believe them, I reiterated the inquiry and received the same reply. I then concluded that we had been deceived, and that you were on the Rio del Norte, instead of the Red river. I was embarrassed whether I should not immediately return to apprise you of it; but concluded it to be too late, as I was discovered by the Indians, whom if I had not met, or some others, I should have continued on, crossed the mountains to the waters of the Colorado, and descended these, until from their course I should have discovered my mistake. I therefore offered them some presents to conduct me in; they agreed, conducted me to the camp where their women were, and in about five minutes we were on our march. That night we encamped in the woods: I slept very little, owing

to my distrust of my companions. The next day, at three o'clock, we arrived at the village of Agua Caliente, where I was immediately taken into the house of the commandant, and expresses were dispatched to Santa Fé. That night I was put to sleep on a mattress on the floor. The next day we departed early, leaving my arms and baggage at the commandant's, he promising to have them forwarded to me at the city. On our arrival at Santa Fé, the governor received me with great austerity at first, entered into an examination of my business, and took possession of all my papers. After all this was explained, he ordered me to a room where the officers were confined when under an arrest, and a non-commissioned officer to attend me when I walked out into the city, which I had free permission to do. I was supplied with provisions from the governor's table, who had promised he would write to Baptiste Lalande to come down and answer to the claim I had against him; whose circumstances I had apprised myself of. The second day the governor sent for me, and informed me that he had made inquiry as to the abilities of Lalande to discharge the debt, and found that he possessed no property; but that at some future period he would secure the money for me. To this I made a spirited remonstrance, as an infringement of our treaties and a protection of a refugee citizen of the United States against his creditors. But it had no other effect than to obtain me an invitation to dinner, and rather more respectful treatment than I had hitherto received from his Excellency; who, being slightly afflicted with dropsy,

requested my advice as to his case. For this I prescribed a regimen and mode of treatment, which happened to differ from the one adopted by a monk and practising physician of the place, and thus brought on me his enmity and ill offices. The ensuing day I was ordered by the governor to hold myself in readiness to proceed to the internal parts of the country, to which I agreed; determining not to leave the country in a clandestine manner, unless they attempted to treat me with indignity or hardship; and conceiving it in my power to join you on your retreat, or find Red river and descend it, should you not be brought in; but, in that case, to share your destiny. Added to this I felt a desire to see more of the country, for which I was willing to run the risk of future consequences. We marched the ensuing day, I having been equipped by my friends with some small articles of which I stood in need, such as I would receive out of the numerous offers of his country. The fourth day I arrived at the village of St. Fernandez, where I was received and taken charge of by Lieutenant Don Faciendo Malgares, who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees, and whom you will find a gentleman, a soldier, and one of the most gallant men you ever knew. With him I could no longer keep up the disguise, and when he informed me that you were on the way in, I confessed to him that I belonged to your party. We have ever since been anticipating the pleasure we three will enjoy in our journey to Chihuahua; for he is to command the escort, his dragoons

being now encamped in the field, awaiting your arrival. Since I have been with him I have practiced physic in the country in order to have an opportunity of examining the manners, customs, etc., of the people, to endeavor to ascertain their political and religious feelings, and to gain every other species of information which would be necessary to our country or ourselves. I am now here, on a visit to this man's wife, attended by a corporal of dragoons as a guard, who answers very well as a waiter, guide, etc., in my excursions through the country; but I will immediately return with you to Malgares.'

"Thus ended Robinson's relation, and I in return related what had occurred to the party and myself. We agreed upon our future line of conduct, and then rejoined my old captain in the house. He had been persuaded to tarry all night, provided it was agreeable to me, as our host wished Robinson to remain until the next day. With this proposition I complied, in order that Robinson and myself might have a further discussion before we joined Malgares, who I suspected would watch us closely. The troops proceeded to the village of Tousac that evening."

This avowal of Dr. Robinson to Lieutenant Malgares now obliged Pike to write back to Governor Allencaster a letter in which he gives the following explanation of his denial of any knowledge of the doctor; this he had already justified to himself on the ground of his being a volunteer, and not under command:

"On my being informed of his embarrassments, I

conceived it would be adding to them to acknowledge his having accompanied a military party to the frontiers of the province, and conceived myself bound in honor and friendship to conceal it; but his scorning any longer the disguise he assumed has left me at liberty to make this acknowledgment to your Excellency, which I hope will sufficiently exculpate me in the opinion of every man of honor, and of the world, for having denied a fact when I conceived the safety of a friend, in a foreign country, was concerned in the event."

These extracts from letters preserved in the War Department illustrate that honorable and courteous conduct, which Pike exhibited toward all with whom he came into relations.

"*Sunday, Mar. 8th.* Marched after taking breakfast and halted at a little village, three miles distant, called Tousac, situated on the west side of the Rio del Norte. The men informed me that, on their arrival over night, they had all been furnished with an excellent supper; and after supper, wine and a violin, with a collection of the young people to a dance. When we left this village the priest sent a cart down to carry us over, as the river was nearly four feet deep. When we approached the village of St. Fernandez we were met by Lieutenant Malgares, accompanied by two or three other officers; he received me with the most manly frankness and the politeness of a man of the world. Yet my feelings were such as almost overpowered me and obliged me to ride by myself for a short period in order to recover myself. Those sensations arose from

my knowledge that he had been absent from Chihuahua ten months, and it had cost the king of Spain more than \$10,000 to effect that (capture of myself and party), which a mere accident and the deception of the governor had accomplished.

“Malgares, finding that I did not feel at ease, took every means in his power to banish my reserve, which made it impossible on my part not to appear cheerful. We conversed as well as we could, and in two hours were as well acquainted as some people would be in the same number of months. Malgares possessed nothing of the haughty Castilian pride, but much of the urbanity of a Frenchman; and I will add my feeble testimony to his loyalty, by declaring that he was one of the few officers or citizens whom I found loyal to their king, who felt indignant at the degraded state of the Spanish monarchy, and who deprecated a revolution or separation of Spanish America from the mother country, unless France should usurp the government of Spain. These are the men who possess the heads to plan, the hearts to feel, and the hands to carry this great and important work into execution. In the afternoon our friend wrote the following notification to the alcaldes of several small villages around us:

“Send this evening six or eight of your handsomest young girls to the village of St. Fernandez, where I propose giving a fandango, for the entertainment of the American officers arrived this day.

“‘DON FACIENDO.’”

“This order was punctually obeyed, and portrays more clearly than a chapter of observations the degraded state of the common people. In the evening, when the company arrived, the ball began after their usual manner, and there was really a handsome display of beauty.

“It will be proper to mention here, that when my small paper trunk was brought in, Lt. Malgares struck his foot against it, and said: ‘The governor informs me this is a prisoner of war, or that I have charge of it; but, sir, only assure me that you will hold the papers therein contained sacred, and I will have nothing to do with it.’ I bowed assent; and I will only add that the condition was scrupulously adhered to, as I was bound by every tie of military and national honor, and, let me add, gratitude, not to abuse his high confidence in the honor of a soldier. He further added that ‘Robinson being now acknowledged as one of your party, I shall withdraw his guard and consider him as under your parole of honor.’ Those various marks of politeness and friendship caused me to endeavor to evince to my brother soldier that we were capable of appreciating his honorable conduct toward us.

“*Mar. 9th.* The troops marched about ten o’clock. Lt. Malgares and myself accompanied Captain D’Almansa about three miles back on his route to Santa Fé, to the house of a citizen, where we dined; after which we separated. I wrote by the captain to the governor in French and to Father Rubi in English. D’Almansa presented me with his cap and whip, and gave me a

letter of recommendation to an officer at Chihuahua. We returned to our quarters and, being joined by our waiters, commenced our route.

“Passed a village called St. Thomas, one mile distant from camp. The camp was formed in an ellipsis, the two sides presenting a breastwork formed of the saddles and heads of the mules, each end of the ellipsis having a small opening to pass and repass at; in the centre was the commandant’s tent. Thus in case of an attack on camp, there were ready-formed works to fight from. Malgares’ mode of living was superior to anything we have an idea of in our army; having eight mules loaded with his common camp equipage, wines, confectionery, etc. But this only served to evince the corruption of Spanish discipline; for, if a subaltern indulged himself with such a quantity of baggage, what would be the cavalcade attending an army? Dr. Robinson had been called over the river to a small village to see a sick woman, and did not return that night. Distance 12 miles.

“*Mar. 10th.* Marched at eight o’clock, and arrived at the village Sibilleta; passed on the way the village of Sabinez on the west side, and Xalales, on the same side. Sibilleta is situated on the east side, and is a regular square, appearing like a large mud wall on the outside, the doors, windows, etc., facing the square; it is the neatest and most regular village I have yet seen, and is governed by a sergeant, at whose quarters I put up.

“*Mar. 11th.* Marched at eleven o’clock; came 12 miles and encamped, the troops having preceeded us.

Lieutenant Malgares, not being well, took medicine. The village we stayed at last night being the last, we entered the wilderness and the road became rough, small hills running into the river, making valleys, but the bottoms appear richer than those more to the north.

"*Mar. 12th.* Marched at seven o'clock; passed, on the west side of the river, the mountains of Magdalen, and the Black mountains on the east, the encampment of a caravan going out with about 15,000 sheep from the other provinces, from which they bring back merchandise. This expedition consisted of about 300 men, chiefly citizens, escorted by an officer and 35 or 40 troops; they are collected at Sibilleta and separate there on their return. They go out in February and return in March; a similar expedition goes out in the autumn, but during the other parts of the year no citizen travels the road, the couriers excepted. At the pass of the Rio del Norte they meet and exchange packets, when both return to their own provinces. Met a caravan of 50 men and probably 200 horses, loaded with goods for New Mexico. Halted at twelve o'clock, and marched at three. Lt. Malgares showed me the place where he had been in two affairs with the Apaches; one he commanded himself, and the other was commanded by Captain D'Almansa; in the former there were one Spaniard killed, eight wounded, and 10 Apaches made prisoners; in the latter 52 Apaches were wounded and 17 killed, they being surprised in the night. Malgares killed two himself, and had two horses killed under him.



APACHE ARCHERY.
From a painting by Catlin.

“*Mar. 13th.* Marched at seven o'clock; saw many deer. Halted at eleven o'clock and marched at four o'clock. This day one of our horses threw a young woman and ran off, as is the habit of all Spanish horses, if by chance they throw their rider; many of the dragoons and Malgares pursued him. Being mounted on an elegant horse of Malgares', I joined in the chase, and notwithstanding their superior horsemanship overtook the horse, caught his bridle and stopped him, when both of the horses were at nearly full speed. This act procured me the applause of the Spanish dragoons, and it is astonishing how much it operated on their good will.

“Marched at ten o'clock, and halted at a mountain; distance 10 miles. This is the point from which the road leaves the river for a two days' journey bearing due south, the river here taking a turn south-west; by the river it is five days to where the roads meet. We marched at four o'clock, and eight mules crossed the river to the west side; two mules fell in the water. Unfortunately they carried the stores of Lieutenant Malgares, by which means we lost all our bread, an elegant assortment of biscuits, etc. Distance 18 miles.”

In crossing the Rio Grande here, instead of following the main road Malgares avoided what was known as the *Jornada del Muerte*, literally a journey of the dead, passing, as it did, over arid table-lands and a barren, perilous mountain range, without water. Rough as was their route on the west side, it was beguiled by much talk concerning the *Mescalera* Apaches, through whose

country they were travelling, and of whom Lieutenant Malgares told many things, which Pike elsewhere communicated to his government, and are here worth telling.

“Malgares related an instance when he was marching with 140 men and they were attacked by a party of Apaches, both horse and foot, who continued the fight for four hours. Whenever the Spanish dragoons would make a charge, the Apaches' cavalry would retreat behind the infantry, who met the Spaniards with a shower of arrows, who immediately retreated; and even the gallant Malgares spoke of the Spanish cavalry's breaking the Apaches' infantry as a thing not to be thought of.

“Malgares assured me that if the Apaches had seconded the efforts and bravery of their chieftain, the Spaniards must have been defeated and cut to pieces; that in various instances he rallied his men and brought them up to the charge, and that when they fled, he retired indignantly to the rear. Seeing Malgares very actively engaged in forming and bringing up the Spaniards, the Apache chieftain rode out ahead of the party and challenged him to single combat with his lance. This my friend refused, as he said that the chief was one of the stoutest men he knew; carried a remarkably heavy lance, and rode a very fine charger; but one of his corporals, enraged to see the Spaniards braved by this savage, begged permission to meet the 'infidel.' His officer refused this request and ordered him to keep his ranks; but he reiterating the request, his superior

in a passion told him to go. The Indian chief had turned his horse to rejoin his party, but seeing an enemy advancing, he turned, gave a shout, and met him at full speed. The dragoon thought to parry the lance of his antagonist, which he in part effected; but not throwing it quite high enough, it entered his neck before and came out at the nape, when he fell dead to the ground, and his victorious enemy gave a shout of victory, in which he was joined by all his followers. This enraged the Spaniards to such a degree that they made a general charge, in which the Indian cavalry again retreated, notwithstanding the entreaties of their gallant leader.

“In another instance a small smoke was discovered on the prairie; three poor savages were surrounded by 100 dragoons and ordered to lay down their arms; they smiled at the officer’s demand, and asked him if he could suppose that men who had arms in their hands would ever consent to become slaves. The officer, being loath to kill them, held a conference for an hour; when, finding that his threats had as little effect as his entreaties, he ordered his men to attack them at a distance, keeping out of the reach of their arrows, and firing at them with their carabines, which they did, the Indians never ceasing to resist as long as life remained.

“In a truce which was held a Spanish captain was ordered to treat with some of the bands. He received their deputies with hauteur, and they could not come upon terms. The truce was broken, and the Indians retreated to their fastnesses in the mountains. In a day or two this same officer pursued them. They were

in a place called the Door in the Mountain, where but two or three dragoons could enter at a time, and there were rocks and caves on the flanks behind which the Indians secreted themselves until a number of the Spaniards had come in. Then the Indians sounded a trumpet; the attack began, and continued on the side of the Apaches until the Spanish captain fell, when the Indian chief caused the firing to cease, saying that the man who had so haughtily spurned the proffered peace was now dead. On this occasion they deviated from their accustomed rule of warfare, and made a prisoner of a young officer, who, during the truce, had treated them with great kindness, and sent him home safe and unharmed.

“Some of the bands have made temporary truces with the Spaniards, and received from them 25 cents per diem each. Those people hang round the fortifications of the country, drink, shoot, and dissipate their time; they are haughty and independent. Great jealousy exists between them and the Spaniards. An officer was under trial, when I was in the country, for anticipating an attack on his fortress by attacking the chiefs of the supposed conspiracy, and putting them to death before they had time to mature and carry their plans into execution. The decision of the case I never learned; but those savages who have been for some time about the forts and villages become by far the most dangerous enemies the Spaniards have, when hostile, as they have acquired the Spanish language, manners, habits, pass through the populated parts under the disguise of civil-

ized and friendly Indians, commit murders and robberies and are not suspected. There is in the province of Cogquilla, a partisan by the name of Ralph, who, they calculate, has killed more than 300 persons. He comes into the town under the disguise of a peasant, buys provisions, goes to the gaming-tables, and to mass, and before he leaves the village is sure to kill some person or carry off a woman, which he has frequently done. Sometimes he joins the people traveling on the road, insinuates himself into their confidence and takes his opportunity to assassinate them. He has only six followers, and from their knowledge of the country, activity and cunning, he keeps about 300 Spanish dragoons continually employed. The government has offered \$1,000 for his head.

“Their arms are the bow and arrow, and the lance. Their bow forms two demi-circles, with a shoulder in the middle; the back of it is entirely covered with sinews, which are laid on in so nice a manner, by the use of some glutinous substance, as to be almost imperceptible; this gives great elasticity to the weapon. Their arrow is more than the “cloth yard” of the English, being three feet and a half long, the upper part consisting of some light rush or cane, into which is inserted a shaft of about one foot, made of some hard, seasoned light wood; the point is of iron, bone, or stone, and, when the arrow enters the body, in attempting to extract it the shaft comes out of its socket and the point remains in the wound. With this weapon they shoot with such force as to go through the body of a man at a

distance of 100 yards, and an officer told me that in an engagement with them, one of their arrows struck his shield and dismounted him in an instant. Their other weapon of offense is a lance of 15 feet in length, with which they charge with both hands over their heads, managing their horses principally with their knees. With this weapon they are considered an overmatch for any Spanish dragoon single-handed; but, for want of a knowledge of tactics, they can never stand the charge of a body which acts in concert. They all carry shields. Some few are armed with guns and ammunition taken from the Spaniards. Those, as well as the archers, generally march to war on foot; but the lancemen are always mounted."

The warfare between the Spaniards and the Apaches began, Pike explains, by the Spaniards endeavoring to make slaves of the Indians. When the Apaches resisted they were shipped to Cuba. The outcome was the refusal of the Apaches to take or give quarter. Other Indian tribes were more docile and became slaves of the State. Pike relates of their subjection:

"I was myself eye-witness of a scene which made my heart bleed for those poor wretches, at the same time that it excited my indignation and contempt, that they would suffer themselves, with arms in their hands, to be beaten and knocked about by beings no ways their superiors, unless a small tint of complexion could be supposed to give that superiority. Before we arrived at Santa Fé, one night, we were near one of the villages where resided the families of two of our Indian horse-

men. They took the liberty to pay them a visit in the night. Next morning the whole of the Indian horsemen were called up, and because they refused to testify against their imprudent companions, several were knocked down from their horses by the Spanish dragoons with the butt of their lances; yet, with the blood streaming down their visages, and arms in their hands, they stood cool and tranquil—not a frown, not a word of discontent or palliation escaped their lips. Yet what must have been the boiling indignation of their souls at the indignities offered by the wretch clothed with a little brief authority! The day of retribution will come in thunder and in vengeance.

“Mar. 16th. Marched at seven o’clock, and halted at twelve. Passed on the east side the Horse Mountain, and the Mountain of the Dead. Came on a trail of the appearance of 200 horses, supposed to be the trail of an expedition from the province of Biscay, against the Indians.

“Mar. 17th. Marched at ten o’clock, and at four in the afternoon crossed the river to the east side; saw several fresh Indian tracks; also, the trail of a large party of horses, supposed to be Spanish troops in pursuit of the Indians. Marched down the river 26 miles; fresh sign of Indians, also of a party of horses. Country mountainous on both sides of the river.

“Mar. 21st. Marched in the morning and arrived at the Passo del Norte at eleven o’clock, the road leading through a hilly and mountainous country. We put up at the house of Don Francisco Garcia, who was a

merchant and a planter; he possessed in the vicinity of the town 20,000 sheep, and 1,000 cows. We were received in a most hospitable manner by Don Pedro Roderique Rey, the Lieutenant Governor, and Father Joseph Prado, the vicar of the place. This was by far the most flourishing place we had been in."

Pike is now at El Paso, where the Rio Grande passes from the mountains to the plains. Although he does not mention it he has doubtless crossed the river to the Spanish settlement, which we now know as Ciudad Juarez, dating from 1680, while the Texan town of El Paso, as late as 1849 had only three houses.

CHAPTER VIII

THROUGH OLD MEXICO TO THE PRESIDIO GRANDE

MARCH 22D—MAY 31ST, 1807.

“*Sunday, Mar. 22d.* Remained at the Passo.

“*Mar. 23d.* Mass performed; left the Passo at three o'clock, to Fort Elisiaira, accompanied by the lieutenant-governor, the vicar, and Allencaster, a brother of the governor. Malgares, myself, and the doctor took up our quarters at the house of Capt. —, who was then at Chihuahua; but his lady and sister entertained us in a very elegant and hospitable manner. They began playing cards and continued until late the third day. Malgares, who won considerably, would send frequently \$15 or \$20, from the table to the lady of the house, her sister, and others, and beg their acceptance, in order that the goddess of fortune might still continue propitious; in this manner he distributed \$500.

“Around this fort were a great number of Apaches, who were on a treaty with the Spaniards. These people appeared to be perfectly independent in their manners, and were the only savages I saw in the Spanish dominions whose spirit was not humbled—whose necks were

not bowed to the yoke of their invaders. With those people Malgares was extremely popular. I believe he sought popularity with them and all the common people, for there was no man so poor or so humble, under whose roof he would not enter; when he walked out, I have seen him put a handful of dollars in his pocket, and give them all to the old men, women, and children before he returned to his quarters; but to equals he was haughty and overbearing. This conduct he pursued through the whole provinces of New Mexico and Biscay, when at a distance from the seat of government; but I could plainly perceive that he was cautious of his conduct as he approached the capital. I here left a letter for my sergeant.

“Mar. 26th. Divine service was performed in the morning, in the garrison, at which all the troops attended under arms. At one part of their mass, they present arms; at another, sink on one knee and rest the muzzle of the gun on the ground, in signification of their submission to their divine master. At one o’clock, we bid adieu to our friendly hostess, who was one of the finest women I had seen in New Spain. At dusk arrived at a small pond made by a spring which arose in the center, called the Ogo mall a Ukap, and seemed formed by providence to enable the human race to pass that route, as it was the only water within 60 miles on the route. Here we overtook Sergeant Belardie with the party of dragoons from Senora and Biscay, who had left us at Fort Elisiaira, where we had received a new escort. Distance 20 miles.

Mar. 27th. Arrived at Carrical at twelve o'clock. Distance 28 miles; the roads well watered and the situation pleasant. The father-in-law of our friend commanded six or seven years here. When we arrived at the fort, the commandant, Don Pedro Rues Saramende, received Robinson and myself with a cold bow and informed Malgares that he could repair to the public quarters. To this Malgares indignantly replied that he should accompany us, and turned to go, when the commandant took him by the arm, made many apologies to him and us, and we at length reluctantly entered his quarters. Here for the first time I saw the gazettes of Mexico, which gave rumors of Colonel Burr's conspiracies, the movements of our troops, etc.; but which were stated in so vague and undefined a manner as only to create our anxiety without throwing any light on the subject.

Mar. 30th. Marched before seven o'clock; the front arrived at water at eleven o'clock; the mules, at twelve. The spring on the side of the mountain, to the east of the road, is a beautiful situation. I here saw the first ash timber I observed in the country. This water is 52 miles from the Warm Springs. Yesterday and to-day saw cabrie. Marched 15 miles further and encamped without wood or water; passed two other small springs to the east of the road.

Mar. 31st. Marched early and arrived at an excellent spring at ten o'clock. The roads from Senora, Tanos Buenaventura, etc., join about 400 yards before you arrive at this spring.

“Arrived at the village of [hiatus] at night, a large and elegant house for the country; here were various labors carried on by criminals in irons. We here met a Catalonian, who was but a short time from Spain, whose dialect was such that he could be hardly understood by Malgares, and whose manners were much more like those of a citizen of our Western frontiers than of a subject of a despotic prince.

“*April 1st.* In the morning Malgares despatched a courier with a letter to the Commandant-general Salcedo, to inform him of our approach, and also one to his father-in-law.

“*Apr. 2d.* When we arrived at Chihuahua, we pursued our course through the town to the house of the general. I was much astonished to see with what anxiety Malgares anticipated the meeting with his military chief. Having been on the most arduous and enterprising expedition ever undertaken by any of his Majesty's officers from these provinces, and having executed it with equal spirit and judgment, yet was he fearful of his meeting him with an eye of displeasure. He appeared to be much more agitated than ourselves, although we may be supposed to have also had our sensations, as on the will of this man depended our future destiny, at least until our country could interfere in our behalf. On our arrival at the general's, we were halted in the hall of the guard until word was sent to the general of our arrival, when Malgares was first introduced. He remained some time, during which a Frenchman came up and endeavored to enter into conversation with us,



Neal A. Truslow

"WHEN WE ARRIVED AT CHIHUAHUA, WE PURSUED OUR COURSE THROUGH THE TOWN TO THE HOUSE OF THE GENERAL."

but was soon frowned into silence, as we conceived he was only some authorized spy. Malgares at last came out and asked me to walk in. I found the general sitting at his desk; he was a middle-sized man, apparently about 55 years of age, with a stern countenance; but he received me graciously and beckoned to a seat.

“He then observed, ‘You have given us and yourself a great deal of trouble.’

“*Captain Pike.* ‘On my part entirely unsought, and on that of the Spanish government voluntary.’

“*General Salcedo.* ‘Where are your papers?’

“*Captain Pike.* ‘Under charge of Lieutenant Malgares.’

“Malgares was then ordered to have my small trunk brought in, which being done, a Lieutenant Walker came in, who is a native of New Orleans, his father an Englishman, his mother a French woman, and who spoke both languages equally well, also Spanish. He was a lieutenant of dragoons in the Spanish service, and master of the military school at Chihuahua. This same young gentleman was employed by Mr. Andrew Ellicot, as a deputy surveyor on the Florida line between the United States and Spain, in the years 1797 and '98. General Salcedo then asked him to assist me in taking out my papers, and requested me to explain the nature of each; such as he conceived were relevant to the expedition he caused to be laid on one side, and those which were not of a public nature on the other; the whole either passing through the hands of

the general or of Walker, except a few letters from my lady. On my taking these up, and saying they were letters from a lady, the general gave a proof that, if the ancient Spanish bravery had degenerated in the nation generally, their gallantry still existed, by bowing; and I put them in my pocket. He then informed me that he would examine the papers, but that in the meanwhile he wished me to make out and present to him a short sketch of my voyage, which might probably be satisfactory. This I would have positively refused, had I had an idea that it was his determination to keep the papers, which I could not at that time conceive, from the urbanity and satisfaction which he appeared to exhibit on the event of our interview. He then told me that I would take up my quarters with Walker, in order, as he said, to be better accommodated by having a person with me who spoke the English language; but the object, as I suspected, was for him to be a spy on our actions and on those who visited us.

“Robinson all this time had been standing in the guard-room, boiling with indignation at being so long detained there, subject to the observations of the soldiery and gaping curiosity of the vulgar. He was now introduced, by some mistake of one of the aides-de-camp. He appeared and made a slight bow to the general, who demanded of Malgares who he was. He replied, ‘a doctor who accompanied the expedition.’ ‘Let him retire,’ said the governor; and he went out.

“The general then invited me to return and dine with him, and we went to the quarters of Walker,

where we received several different invitations to take quarters at houses where we might be better accommodated; but, understanding that the general had designated our quarters, we were silent.

“We returned to dine at the palace, where we met Malgares, who, besides ourselves, was the only guest. He had at the table, the treasurer Truxillio, and a priest called Father Rocus.”

The inventory of papers taken from Pike, now captain, as he had been promoted on leaving Bellefontaine, signed by Juan Pedro Walker and Francisco Valesco, is found in a Congressional report, and contains a complete list of all he had with him. In a letter to General Wilkinson written at Chihuahua, he says it would have been impossible for him to have attempted any deception concerning them, since Walker, the Englishman, would have detected it. The papers he had left with Sergeant Meek he had ordered him to retain by force. This order the sergeant obeyed to the letter, killing a Spaniard to do it, for which act, Governor Cordero alludes to him as “intractable.” Meek was never able to join his commander again, but carried his notes safely through, and these with the copies of courses and distances made by Dr. Robinson aided Pike in his subsequent reports.

While in Spanish territory, Pike was forbidden pen and ink. Nevertheless he still kept his journal, made observations, and took courses, on small pieces of paper which he secreted in the gun-barrels of his men, and thus brought them, although in a mutilated state, safely out

of Mexico. Meanwhile he gave constant attention to everything that took place, and collected through his eyes a great deal of valuable material for his government. As it happened, unfortunate as at the time it seemed, the capture of these papers by Governor Salcedo proved to be a piece of good fortune for their owner; since they disclosed no evidence that Pike was in any way, through General Wilkinson, implicated in the conspiracy of Aaron Burr.

“Apr. 3d. Employed in giving a sketch of our voyage for the general and commandant of those provinces. Introduced to Don Bernardo Villamil; Don Alberto Mayner, lieutenant-colonel, and father-in-law to Malgares; and Don Manuel Zuloaga, a member of the secretary’s office, to whom I am under obligations of gratitude, and shall remember with esteem. Visited his house in the evening.

“Apr. 4th. Visited the hospital, where were two officers, who were fine-looking men, and I was informed had been the gayest young men of the province. They were moldering away by disease, and there was not a physician in his Majesty’s hospitals who was able to cure them; but after repeated attempts, all had given them up to perish. This shows the deplorable state of medical science in the provinces. I endeavored to get Robinson to undertake the cure of these poor fellows, but the jealousy and envy of the Spanish doctors made it impracticable.

“Sunday, Apr. 5th. Visited by Lieutenant Malgares, with a very polite message from his Excellency, delivered

in the most impressive terms, with offers of assistance, money, etc., for which I returned my respectful thanks to the general. Accompanied Malgares to the public walk, where we found the secretary, Captain Villamil, Zuloaga, and other officers of distinction. We here likewise met the wife of my friend Malgares, to whom he introduced us. She was, like all the other ladies of New Spain, a little *en bon point*, but possessed the national beauty of eye in a superior degree. There was a large collection of ladies, amongst whom were two of the most celebrated in the capital—Señora Maria Con. Caberairi, and Señora Marguerite Vallois, the only two ladies who had spirit sufficient, and their husbands generosity enough, to allow them to think themselves rational beings, to be treated on an equality, to receive the visits of their friends, and give way to the hospitality of their dispositions without restraint. They were consequently the envy of other ladies, and the subject of scandal to prudes; their houses were the rendezvous of all the fashionable male society; and every man who was conspicuous for science, arts, or arms, was sure to meet a welcome. We, as unfortunate strangers, were consequently not forgotten. I returned with Malgares to the house of his father-in-law, Lieutenant Colonel Mayner, who was originally from Cadiz, a man of good information.

“*Apr. 6th.* Dined with the general. Writing, etc. In the evening visited Malgares and the secretary. After dinner wine was set on the table and we were entertained with songs in the French, Italian, Spanish, and

English languages. Accustomed as I was to sitting some time after dinner I forgot their siesta, or repose after dinner, until Walker suggested the thing to me and we retired.

“Apr. 7th. Dined at Don Antonio Caberairi’s in company with Villamil, Zuloaga, Walker, etc. Sent in the sketch of my voyage to the general. Spent the evening at Colonel Mayner’s with Malgares.

“Apr. 8th. Visited the treasurer, who showed me the double-barreled gun given by Governor Claiborne, and another the property of Nolan.

“Apr. 9th. In the evening I was informed that David Fero was in town and wished to speak to me. This man had formerly been ensign in my father’s regiment, and was taken with Nolan’s party at the time the latter was killed. He possessed a brave soul, and had withstood every oppression, since being made prisoner, with astonishing fortitude. Although his leaving the place of confinement, the village of St. Jeronimie, without the knowledge of the general, was in some measure clandestine, yet a countryman, an acquaintance and formerly a brother soldier, in a strange land, in distress, had ventured to see me—could I deny him the interview from motives of delicacy? No; forbid it humanity. Forbid it, every sentiment of my soul.

“Our meeting was affecting, tears standing in his eyes. He informed me of the particulars of their being taken, and many other circumstances since they had been in this country; I promised to do all I could for him consistent with my character and honor, and their

having entered the country without the authority of the United States. As he was obliged to leave town before day, he called on me at my quarters, when I bid him adieu, and gave him what my purse afforded, not what my heart dictated.”

Captain Phillip Nolan, “well known for his athletic exertions and dexterity in catching wild horses,” as he is described by a traveller of his time, was taken prisoner and killed by the Spaniards in 1801, and his men retained as prisoners by the Spaniards. Concerning these, and particularly Fero, Pike was as good as he promised, and addressed the following letter to General Salcedo:

“SIR:

“I hope your Excellency may not attribute it to presumption or a disposition to intrude, when I address you on a subject foreign to my official duties, and on which I can only speak as an individual; for I should feel myself wanting in humanity, and that attention which every man owes to his fellow-creatures in distress, should I remain silent, more especially when those who are compatriots, and some of them former companions, are now in a strange country, languishing out their days far from their friends and relations, with scarcely a dawn of hope remaining of ever again being blessed with a view of their native homes. It is scarcely necessary to add that I allude to the unfortunate companions of Nolan, who, having entered the territories of his Catholic Majesty in a clandestine manner, equally in violation

of the treaties between the two governments, the laws of the United States, and those of Spain, could not be reclaimed or noticed by their own country. Yet, from every information I have received on the subject, the men of the party were innocent, believing that Nolan had passports from the Spanish governor to carry on the traffic of horses. I pretend not to justify the many irregularities of their conduct since [they have been] in the Spanish dominions; but hope that these may be viewed with an eye of clemency, as the men are most of them very illiterate, possessing scarcely any part of an education.

“David Fero was formerly a subaltern in a company of infantry of the United States commanded by my father at the time I served as a volunteer, but left the service, as I have been informed, owing to some irregularities of conduct. His having been once my companion entitles him at present to my particular attention; yet I will here mention to your Excellency a circumstance which may appear, if known, in an unfavorable light, viz.: About 15 days past I was informed Fero was in town, and that he desired to see me. I was extremely mortified at receiving the information, as I conceived he must have left his post in a clandestine manner; yet I could not find it in my heart to refuse the interview, which I gave, but determined at the same time to inform you of the circumstance, conceiving that you could not look on it as a matter of much criminality.

“But to conclude, I have to beg of your Excellency, if it be in your power and consistent with the line of con-

duct you conceive proper to pursue, to inform me if anything can be done toward restoring these poor fellows to their liberty, friends, and country; and in a particular manner I intercede for Fero. If it is out of the power of the general to grant them leave to return to the United States, I beg to know if there be any objection to my taking letters to their fathers, wives, etc. I should not have addressed this letter to the general, had I not conceived the fate of those men to be at his disposal, as he had suffered one of them to join the service of his Catholic Majesty; neither do I request the honor of any than a verbal reply, as I write in the character of an individual, not as an officer of the United States.

“I am, Sir,

“With high consideration,

“Your humble, obedient servant,

“Z. M. PIKE.

“His Excellency,

“General Nimesio Salcedo.”

There seems to have been no answer to this letter beyond Salcedo's verbal reply that he had found the men in prison, and he had brought them to Chihuahua, where he had their irons removed. He had then reported their case to the King of Spain, whose orders he awaited. True to his promise, as soon as Pike arrived at Nachitoches he sent a letter to the newspapers of the United States concerning the prisoners, hoping in this manner to inform their families of their welfare.

Elsewhere Pike gives a description of the city Chihuahua at this time: "Its population may be estimated at 7000. It is an oblong square, on the east side of a small stream which discharges into the River Conchos. On its south extremity is a small but elegant church. In the public square stands the principal church, royal treasury, town-house, and the richest shops. At the western extremity is another church for the military, a superb hospital belonging formerly to the Jesuits' possessions, the church of the monks of St. Francis, St. Domingo, the military academy, and *cuartel del tropa*. On the north-west were two or three missions, very handsomely situated on a small stream which comes in from the west. About one mile to the south of the town is a large aqueduct which conveys the water round it, to the east, into the main stream below the town, in the center of which is raised a reservoir for the water, whence it is to be conducted by pipes to the different parts of the city, and in the public square is to be a fountain and *jet d'eau*, which will be both ornamental and useful. The principal church at Chihuahua was the most superb building we saw in New Spain. Its whole front was covered with statues of the apostles and the different saints, set in niches of the wall, and the windows, doors, etc., were ornamented with sculpture. I never was within the doors, but was informed by Robinson that the decorations were immensely rich. Some men, whom we supposed entitled to credit, informed us that the church was built by a tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents laid on each ingot of gold or silver taken out of the mines in the vicinity

in years. Its cost, with decorations, was \$1,500,000 and when it was finished there remained \$300,000 of the fund unappropriated. At the south side of Chihuahua is the public walk, formed by three rows of trees whose branches nearly entwine over the heads of the passengers below. At different distances there are seats for persons to repose on. At each end of the walks there were circular seats, on which, in the evening, the company collected and amused themselves with the guitar, and songs in Spanish, Italian, and French, adapted to the voluptuous manners of the country. In this city, as well as all others of any consideration, there are patrols of soldiers during the night, who stop every person at nine o'clock and examine them. My countersign was 'Americans.'"

From the privations of the Arkansas and the perils of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the enforced hospitalities of the Spaniards was a brief space in point of time. The change could not have been unwelcome to the young commander. His days and nights were spent in riding in a coach with his friend Malgares, dining with Colonel Mayner, drinking port with the Vallois, visiting Secretary Villamil, and various afternoons at the hospital and gay Caberaries. Meanwhile he used his eyes and ears to advantage and later was able to give the following lively account of his friends, the enemy:

"Their women have black eyes and hair, fine teeth, and are generally brunettes. I met but one exception to this rule, at Chihuahua—a fair lady, who, by way

of distinction, was called 'the girl with light hair.' They are all inclining a little to *en bon point*; but none or few are elegant figures. Their dress generally is short jackets and petticoats and high-heeled shoes, without any head-dress. Over the whole dress they have a silk wrapper, which they always wear and, when in the presence of men, affect to bring over their faces, but from under which you frequently see peeping a large sparkling black eye. As we approached the Atlantic and our frontiers, we saw several ladies who wore the gowns of our countrywomen, which they conceived to be much more elegant than their ancient costume. The lower class of the men are generally dressed in broad-brimmed hats, short coats, large waistcoats, and small clothes always open at the knees (owing, as I suppose, to the greater freedom it gives to the limbs on horseback), a kind of leather boot or wrapper bound round the leg somewhat in the manner of our frontiersmen's leggings, and gartered on. The boot is of a soft, pliable leather, but not colored. In the eastern provinces the dragoons wear, over this wrapper or boot, a sort of jack-boot made of sole-leather, to which are fastened, by a rivet, the spurs, the gaffs of which are sometimes near an inch in length; but the spurs of the gentlemen and officers, although clumsy to our ideas, are frequently ornamented with raised silver-work on the shoulders, and the straps embroidered with silver and gold thread. They are always ready to mount their horses, on which the inhabitants of the internal provinces spend nearly half the day. This description will apply

generally to the dress of all the men of the provinces for the lower class; but in their cities, among the more fashionable, they dress after the European or United States modes, with not more variation than we see in our cities from one six months to another.

“Both men and women have remarkably fine hair, and pride themselves in the display of it. Their amusements are music, singing, dancing, and gambling. The latter is strictly prohibited, but the prohibition is not much attended to. The dance of —— is danced by one man and two women, who beat time to the music, which is soft and voluptuous, but sometimes changing to a lively, gay air. The dancers exhibit the motions of the soul by gestures of the body, snapping the fingers, and sometimes meeting in a stretched embrace. The fandango is danced to various figures and numbers. The minuet is still danced by the superior class only. The music made use of is the guitar, violin, and singers, who, in the first-described dance, accompany the music with their hands and voices, having always some words adapted to the music.

“Their games are cards, billiards, horse-racing, and cock-fighting, the first and last of which are carried to the most extravagant lengths, losing and winning immense sums. The present commandant-general is very severe with his officers in these respects, frequently sending them to some frontier post in confinement for months, for no other fault than having lost large sums at play. At every town of consequence is a public walk, where the ladies and gentlemen meet and sing

songs, which are always on the subject of love or the social board. The females have fine voices, and sing in French, Italian, and Spanish, the whole company joining in the chorus.

“In their houses the ladies play the guitar, and generally accompany it with their voices. They either sit down on the carpet cross-legged, or loll on a sofa. To sit upright in a chair appeared to put them to great inconvenience; although the better class would sometimes do it on our first introduction, they soon took the liberty of following their old habits. In their eating and drinking they are remarkably temperate. Early in the morning you receive a dish of chocolate and a cake; at twelve you dine on several dishes of meat, fowls, and fish, after which you have a variety of confections, and indeed an elegant dessert; then drink a few glasses of wine, sing a few songs, and retire to take a siesta, or afternoon’s nap, which is taken by rich and poor. About two o’clock the windows and doors are all closed, the streets deserted, and the stillness of midnight reigns throughout. About four o’clock they rise, wash, and dress, and prepare for the dissipation of the night. About eleven o’clock some refreshments are offered, but few take any, except a little wine and water and candied sugar.

“The government has multiplied the difficulties of Europeans intermarrying with the Creoles, or Metifs to such a degree that it is difficult for such a marriage to take place. An officer wishing to marry a lady not from Europe is obliged to acquire certificates of the

purity of her descent 200 years back, and transmit it to the court, when the license will be returned; but should she be the daughter of a man of the rank of captain or upward this nicety vanishes, as rank purifies the blood of the descendants.

“Sunday, Apr. 19th. In the evening at a fandango.

“Apr. 20th. - We this day learned that an American officer had gone on to the city of Mexico. This was an enigma to us inexplicable, as we conceived that the jealousy of the Spanish government would have prevented any foreign officer from penetrating the country; and why the United States could send an authorized agent to the viceroyalty, when the Spanish government had at the seat of our government a chargé d'affaires, served but to darken the conjectures. The person alluded to was Mr. Burling, a citizen of Mississippi Territory whose mission is now well known to the government. We likewise received an account of a commercial treaty having been entered into between Great Britain and the United States, which by the Dons was only considered as the preliminary step to an alliance offensive and defensive between the two nations.

“Apr. 21st. Presented the commanding general with a letter for General Wilkinson, which he promised to have forwarded to the governor of Texas.

“Apr. 22d. Spent the day in reading and studying Spanish; the evening at Captain Villamil's.

“Apr. 23d. Dined at Don Pedro Vallois'; spent the evening with Colonel Mayner; bade him adieu, as he was to march the next day. In the evening received a

letter from the commandant-general, informing me my papers were to be detained, giving a certificate of their numbers, contents, etc.

Apr. 24th. Spent the evening at Zuloaga's with his relations. About sundown an officer of the government called upon me, and told me that the government had been informed that, in conversations in all societies, Robinson and myself had held forth political maxims and principles which, if just, I must be conscious if generally disseminated would in a very few years be the occasion of a revolt of those kingdoms; that those impressions had taken such effect that it was no uncommon thing, in the circles in which he associated, to hear the comparative principles of a republican and a monarchical government discussed, and even the allegiance due, in case of certain events, to the court called in question; that various characters of consideration had indulged themselves in those conversations, all of whom were noted and would be taken care of; but that, as respected myself and companion, it was the desire of his Excellency that while in the dominions of Spain we would not hold forth any conversations whatsoever, either on the subject of religion or politics.

"I replied that it was true I had held various and free conversations on the subjects complained of, but only with men high in office, who might be supposed to be firmly attached to the king, and partial to the government of their country; that I had never gone among the poor and illiterate, preaching up republicanism or a free government; that as to the catholic religion, I had only

combated some of what I conceived to be its illiberal dogmas; that I had spoken of it in all instances as a respectable branch of the Christian religion which, as well as all others, was tolerated in the United States; and that, had I come to that kingdom in a diplomatic character, delicacy toward the government would have sealed my lips; or had I been a prisoner of war, personal safety might have had the same effect; but, being there in the capacity which I was, not voluntarily, but by coercion of the Spanish government, which at the same time had officially notified me that they did not consider me under any restraint whatever; therefore, when called on, I should always give my opinions freely, either as to politics or religion; but at the same time with urbanity, and a proper respect to the legitimate authorities of the country where I was.

“He replied, ‘Well, you may then rest assured your conduct will be represented in no very favorable point of view to your government.’

“I replied, ‘To my government I am certainly responsible, and to no other.’

“He then left me. I immediately waited on some of my friends and notified them of the threat, at which they appeared much alarmed. We went immediately to consult (Malgares), who, to great attachment to his friends, joined the most incorruptible loyalty to his government. Our consultation ended in a determination only to be silent, and watch events.

“We suspected Walker to be the informant, but, whether just in our suspicion or not, I will not pretend

to determine; for Robinson and myself frequently used to hold conversations in his presence purposely to have them communicated; but at last he discovered our intentions, and told us that if we calculated on making him a carrier of news, we were mistaken; that he despised it.

“Apr. 25th. At eleven o'clock we called on his Excellency, but was informed that he was engaged. About three o'clock I received a message from him by Lieutenant Walker, informing me he was surprised I had not returned, and to call without ceremony in the evening; which I did, and presented him with a letter. He then also candidly informed me my party would not join me in the territory of the king of Spain, but that they should be attended to punctually, and forwarded on immediately after me; and requested that I should give orders to my serjeant to deliver up all his ammunition, and dispose in some manner of the horses he had in charge. I stated in reply that, with respect to ammunition, I would give orders to my serjeant to deliver, if demanded, all they possessed, more than was necessary to fill their horns; but, as to the horses, I considered their loss was a charge that must be adjusted between the two governments, and therefore should not give any directions concerning them, except as to bringing them on as far and as long as they were able to travel. He then gave me an invitation to dine with him on the morrow.

“Sunday, Apr. 26th. Dined at the general's. In the evening went to Malgares', Zuloaga's and others.

Wrote to my sergeant and Fero; to the latter of whom I sent \$10, and to the others \$161.84, to purchase clothes for the party. We had been some time suspicious that the doctor was to be detained; but this evening he likewise obtained permission to pursue his journey with me, which diffused general joy throughout the party.

Apr. 27th. Spent the day in making arrangements for our departure, writing to the sergeant, etc.

"I will here mention some few anecdotes relative to [Walker], with whom we boarded during our stay in Chihuahua. When we came to the city we went to his quarters, by order of the general, and considered ourselves as guests, having not the least idea that we should be charged with board, knowing with what pleasure any American officer would receive and entertain a foreign brother soldier situated as we were, and that we should conceive it a great insult to be offered pay under similar circumstances. But one day, after we had been there about a week, he presented to me an account for Robinson's and my board, receipted, and begged, if the general inquired of me, that I would say I had paid it. This naturally led me to demand how the thing originated. He with considerable embarrassment observed that he had taken the liberty to remark to the general that he thought he should be allowed an extra allowance, in order to be enabled to treat us with some little distinction. The general flew into a violent passion, and demanded if I had not paid him for our board? To which the other replied, No, he did not expect pay of us. He

ordered him immediately to demand pay, to receive it, sign a receipt, and lodge it in his hands; and added that he would consult me if the thing was done. This he never did; yet I took care, every Sunday after that, to deposit in the hands of Walker a sum which was considered the proportion for Robinson and myself. Malgares and several others of the Spanish officers having heard of the thing, waited on us much mortified, saying with what pleasure they would have entertained us had not the designation of the general pointed out his will on the subject.

“[Walker] had living with him an old negro, the only one I saw on that side of St. Antonio, who was the property of some person who resided near Natchez, and who had been taken with Nolan. Having been acquainted with him in the Mississippi country, he solicited and obtained permission for old Cæsar to live with him. I found him very communicative and useful. The day I arrived, when we were left alone, he came in, looked round at the walls of the room, and exclaimed, ‘What, all gone.’ I demanded an explanation, and he informed me that the maps of the different provinces, as taken by Walker, and other surveyors, had been hung up against the walls; but that the day we arrived they had all been taken down and deposited in a closet which he designated.

‘ He gave various reasons for having left the United States and joined the Spanish service; one of which was, his father having been ill-treated, as he conceived, by G. at Natchez. At Chihuahua he had charge of the mili-

tary school, which consisted of about 15 young men of the first families of the provinces; also of the public water-works of the city, on a plan devised by the royal engineer of Mexico; of the building of a church; of the casting of small artillery, fabrication of arms, etc. Thus, though he had tendered his resignation, they knew his value too well to part with him, and would not accept of it, but still kept him in a subordinate position, in order that he might be more dependent and more useful. Although he candidly confessed his disgust at their service, manners, morals, and political establishments, yet he never made a communication to us which he was bound in honor to conceal; but on the contrary fulfilled the station of informer which in that country is considered no disgrace, with great punctuality. In this city the proverb was literally true that 'walls have ears'; for scarcely anything could pass that his Excellency did not know in a few hours.

"In the evening I was notified to be ready to march the next day at three o'clock.

"*Apr. 28th.* In the morning Malgares waited on us, and informed us he was to accompany us some distance on the route. After bidding adieu to all our friends, we marched at a quarter past three o'clock, and encamped at nine o'clock at a stony spring; passed near Chihuahua, a small ridge of mountains, and then encamped in a hollow.

"As we were riding along Malgares rode up to me and informed me that the general had given orders that I should not be permitted to make any astro-

nomical observations. To this I replied that he well knew I never had attempted making any since I had been conducted into the Spanish dominions.

“When about to make my journal, Malgares changed color, and informed me it was his orders I should not take notes; but added, ‘you have a good memory, and when you get to Cogquilla you can bring it all up.’ At first I felt considerably indignant, and was on the point of refusing to comply; but thinking for a moment of the many politenesses I had received from his hands induced me merely to bow assent with a smile. We proceeded on our route, but had not gone far before I made a pretext to halt, established my boy as a vedet, sat down peaceably under a bush, and made my notes. This course I pursued ever after, not without some very considerable degree of trouble to separate myself from the party.

“Arrived at the fort of St. Paul at eleven o’clock, situated on a small river of the same name. At the time we were there the river was not wider than a mill stream; but sometimes it is 300 yards wide, and impassable. Distance 30 miles.

“*Apr. 30th.* Marched at six o’clock, and at eleven arrived at the river Conchos—24 miles; beautiful green trees on its banks. I was taken very sick at half-past ten o’clock. Arrived at night at a small station on the river Conchos, garrisoned by a sergeant and 10 men from Fort Conchos, 15 leagues up said river. Distance 43 miles.

“*May 1st.* Marched up the Conchos to its confluence with the river Florida, 15 leagues from where

we left the former river, and took up the latter, which bears from the Conchos S. 80 and 50 E. On its banks are some very flourishing settlements, and they are well timbered. A poor miserable village is at the confluence. Came 10 miles up the Florida to dinner, and at night stopped at a private house. This property, or plantation, was valued formerly at \$300,000, extending on the Florida, from the place where we slept on the 30th of April, 30 leagues up said river. Distance 45 miles.

“Finding that a new species of discipline had taken place, and that the suspicions of my friend Malgares were much more acute than ever, I conceived it necessary to take some steps to secure the notes I had taken, which had been clandestinely acquired. In the night I arose, and after making my men charge all their pieces well, I took my small books and rolled them up in small rolls, tore a fine shirt to pieces, and wrapped it round the papers, and put them down in the barrels of the guns, until we just left room for the tompons [tampions], which were then carefully put in; the remainder we secured about our bodies under our shirts. This occupied about two hours, but was effected without discovery and without suspicions.

“*May 2d.* Marched early, and in $4\frac{1}{4}$ hours arrived at Guaxequillo, situated on the river Florida, where we were to exchange our friend Malgares for Captain Bar-elo, who was a Mexican by birth, born near the capital and entered as a cadet at Guaxequillo near 20 years past, and who, by his extraordinary merits, being a Creolian,

had been promoted to a captaincy, which was even by himself considered his ultimate promotion. He was a gentleman in his manners, generous and frank, and I believe a good soldier.

“*Sunday, May 3d.* At Guaxequillo the captain gave up his command to Malgares. At night the officers gave a ball, at which appeared at least sixty women, ten or a dozen of whom were very handsome.

“*May 4th.* Don Hymen Guloo arrived from Chihuahua, accompanied by a citizen and a friar, who had been arrested by order of the commandant-general, and was on his way to Mexico for trial.

“*May 6th.* Marched at five o'clock; ascended the river four miles, when we left it to our right and took off S. 60° E., eight miles. Our friend Malgares accompanied us a few miles, to whom we bade an eternal adieu, if war does not bring us together in the field of battle opposed as the most deadly enemies, when our hearts acknowledge the greatest friendship. Halted at ten o'clock and marched again at four. No water on the road; detached a Spanish soldier in search of some, who did not join us until twelve o'clock at night. Encamped in the open prairie; no wood; no water, except what the soldier brought us in gourds. The mules came up at eleven o'clock at night. Distance 30 miles.

“*May 7th.* Marched very early; wind fresh from the south. The punctuality of Captain Barelo as to hours was remarkable. Arrived at half past nine o'clock at a Spring, the first water from Guaxequillo. The mules did not unload, but continued nine miles

to another spring at the foot of a mountain with good pasturage round it; mountains on each side all day.

“May 9th. Marched between four and five o'clock and arrived at Pelia at eight. This is only a station for a few soldiers, but is surrounded by mines. At this place are two large warm springs, strongly impregnated with sulphur, and this is the water obliged to be used by the party who are stationed there. Here we remained all day. Captain Barelo had two beeves killed for his and my men, and charged nothing to either. Here he received orders from the general to lead us through the wilderness to Montelovez, in order that we should not approximate to the frontiers of Mexico, which we should have done by the usual route to Patos, Parras, etc.

“Sunday, May 10th. Marched past one copper mine, now diligently worked. At this place the proprietor had 100,000 sheep, cattle and horses, etc. Arrived at the Cadena, a house built and occupied by a priest. It is situated on a small stream at a pass of the mountains, called by the Spaniards Door of the Prison, from its being surrounded by mountains. The proprietor was at Sumbratto, distance six days march. This hacienda was obliged to furnish accommodations to all travellers.

“May 11th. Marched and arrived at Maupemie at eight o'clock, a village situated at the foot of a mountain of minerals, where they worked eight or nine mines. The mass of the people were naked and starved wretches. The proprietor of the mines gave us an ele-

gant repast. Here the orders of Salcedo in regard to the change of route were explained to me by the captain. I replied that they excited my laughter, as there were disaffected persons sufficient to serve as guides should an army ever come to this country.

“Came on three miles further, where were fig-trees and a fruit called by the French, La Grain, situated on a little stream which flowed through the gardens, and formed a terrestrial paradise. Here we remained all day sleeping in the shade of the fig-trees, and at night continued our residence in the garden. We obliged the inhabitants with a ball, who expressed great anxiety for a relief from their present distressed state, and a change of government.

“*May 12th.* Was awakened in the morning by the singing of the birds and the perfume of the trees around. I attempted to send two of my soldiers to town but they were overtaken by a dragoon and ordered back; on their return I again ordered them to go, and told them if a soldier attempted to stop them to take him off his horse and flog him. This I did, as I conceived it was the duty of the captain to explain his orders relative to me, which he had not done; and I conceived that this would bring on an explanation. They were pursued by a dragoon through the town, who rode after them, making use of ill language. They attempted to catch him but could not. As I had mentioned my intention of sending my men to town after some stores to Captain Barelo, and he had not made any objections, I conceived it was acting with duplicity to send men to watch

the movements of my messengers. I therefore determined they should punish the dragoon unless the captain had candor sufficient to explain his reasons for not wishing my men to go to town, in which wish I should undoubtedly have acquiesced; but as he never mentioned the circumstance, I was guardedly silent, and the affair never interrupted our harmony.

“We marched at five o’clock; came on 15 miles and encamped without water. One mile on this side of the little village the road branches out into three. The right-hand one by Pattos, Paras, Saltelo, etc., is the main road to [the city of] Mexico and San Antonio. The road which we took leaves all the villages a little to the right, passing only some plantations. The left-hand one goes immediately through the mountains to Montelovez, but is dangerous for small parties on account of the savages; this road is called the route by the Bolson of Maupeme, and was first traveled by Monsieur de Croix, afterward viceroy of Peru. In passing from Chihuahua to Texas, by this route, you make in seven days what it takes you 15 or 20 by the ordinary one; but it is very scarce of water, and your guards must either be so strong as to defy the Apaches, or calculate to escape them by swiftness; for they fill those mountains, whence they continually carry on a predatory war against the Spanish settlements and caravans.

“We this day passed on to the territories of the Marquis de San Miquel, who owns from the mountains of the Rio del Norte to some distance in the kingdom of Old Mexico.

“*May 13th.* Came on to the river Brasses, on which was the Ranche de St. Antonio, part of the marquis’ estate. My boy and self halted at the river Brasses to water our horses, having ridden on ahead, and took their bridles from their mouths in order that they might drink freely, which they could not do with Spanish bridles. The horse I rode had been accustomed to being held by his master in a peculiar manner when bridled, and would not let me put it on again for a long time; in the meantime my boy’s horse ran away, and it was out of our power to catch him again. But when we arrived at the Ranche, we soon had out a number of boys, who brought in the horse and all his different equipments, which were scattered on the route. This certainly was a strong proof of their honesty, and did not go unrewarded. In the evening we gave them a ball on the green, according to custom. We here learned that one peck of corn, with three pounds of meat per week, was the allowance given a grown person.

“*May 14th.* Did not march until half past four o’clock [p. m.]. About nine o’clock an officer arrived from St. Rosa with 24 men, with two Apaches in irons. They were noble looking fellows, of large stature, and appeared by no means cast down by their misfortunes, although they knew their fate was transportation beyond the sea, never more to see their friends and relations.

“Knowing as I did the intention of the Spaniards toward those people, I would have liberated them if in my power. I went near them, gave them to understand

we were friends, and conveyed to them some articles which would be of service if chance offered.

“This day the thermometer stood at 30° Réaumur $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit. The dust and drought of the road obliged us to march in the night, when we came 15 miles and encamped without water. Indeed, this road which the general obliged us to take is almost impassable at this season for want of water, whilst the other is plentifully supplied.

“*May 15th.* Marched early and came on five miles, when we arrived at a pit dug in a hollow, which afforded a small quantity of water for ourselves and beasts. Here we were obliged to remain all day in order to travel in the night, as our beasts could enjoy the benefit of water. Left at half past five o'clock and came on 15 miles by eleven o'clock, when we encamped without water or food for our beasts. Passed a miserable burnt-up soil. Distance 20 miles.

“*Sunday, May 17th.* Marched; about seven o'clock came in sight of Paras, which we left on the right and halted at the hacienda of St. Lorenzo, a short league to the north of said village. At the hacienda of St. Lorenzo was a young priest, who was extremely anxious for a change of government, and came to our beds and conversed for hours on the subject.

“*May 18th.* Marched early and came through a mountainous tract of country, well watered, with houses situated here and there amongst the rocks. Joined the main road at a Hacienda belonging to the Marquis de San Miquel; good gardens and fruit; also a fine stream.

The mules did not arrive until late at night, when it had commenced raining.

"*May 19th.* Did not march until three o'clock, the captain not being very well. Here he determined to take the main road, notwithstanding the orders of General Salcedo. Came on 10 miles. Met a deserter from Captain Johnston's company. He returned, came to camp, and begged me to take him back to his company; but I would not give any encouragement to the scoundrel—only a little change, as he was without a farthing.

"*May 20th.* Came to the Hacienda of Pattos by nine o'clock. This is a handsome place, where the Marquis de San Miquel frequently spends his summers, the distance enabling him to come from Mexico in his coach in 10 days. Here we met the Mexican post-rider going to Chihuahua. Don Hymen, who had left us at Paras, joined in a coach and six, in which we came out to a little settlement called the Florida, one league from Pattos due south. Distance 18 miles.

"The Hacienda of Pattos was a square inclosure of about 300 feet, the building being one story high, but some of the apartments were elegantly furnished. In the center of the square was a jet d'eau, which cast forth water from eight spouts, extended from a colossean female form. From this fountain all the neighboring inhabitants got their supply of water. The marquis had likewise a very handsome church, which, with its ornaments, cost him at least \$20,000; to officiate in which, he maintained a little stiff superstitious priest.

In the rear of the palace, for so it might be called, was a fish-pond in which were immense numbers of fine fish. The population of Florida is about 2,000 souls. This was our nearest point to the city of Mexico.

“*May 22d.* Marched at three o’clock; came on 16 miles to a small shed, and in the afternoon to la Rancho, eight miles to the left of the main road, near the foot of the mountain, where was a pond of water, but no houses. Some Spanish soldiers were here. We left Patos mountain on our right and left, but here was a cross mountain over which we were to pass in the morning.

“The Marquis maintains 1,500 soldiers to protect his vassals and property from the savages. They are all cavalry, as well dressed and armed as the king’s, but are treated by the king’s troops as vastly inferior.

“*Sunday, May 24th.* Marched at an early hour and came through the mountains, where there was scarcely any road, called the Mountain of the Three Rivers. At the 13th mile joined the main road, which we had left to our right on the 22nd instant, and in one hour after came to the main Mexican road from the eastern provinces; thence north-west to the Rancho, nine miles from Montelovez whence the captain sent in an express to give notice of our approach.

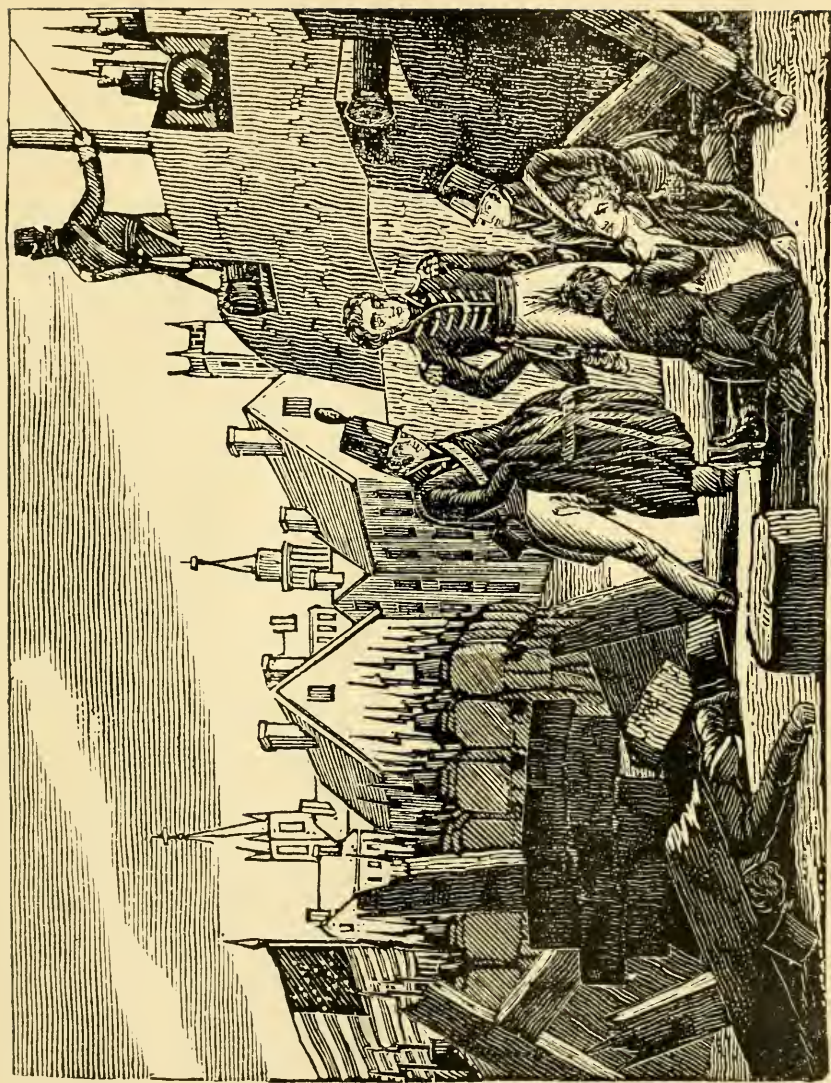
“*May 25th.* In the afternoon Lieutenant Adams, commandant of the company of Montelovez, arrived in a coach and six to escort us to town, where we arrived about five o’clock. In the evening visited Captain de Ferrara, commandant of the troops of Cogquilla, and inspector of the five provinces.

“Lieutenant Adams, who commanded this place, was the son of an Irish engineer in the service of Spain. He had married a rich girl of the Passo del Norte, and they lived here in elegance and style, for the country. We put up at his quarters and were very hospitably entertained.

“*May 26th.* Made preparations for marching the next day. I arose early, before any of our people were up, and walked nearly round the town; and from the hill took a small survey, with my pencil and a pocket compass which I always carried with me. Returned and found them at breakfast, they having sent three or four of my men to search for me. The Spanish troops at this place were remarkably polite, always fronting and saluting when I passed. This I attributed to their commandant, Lieutenant Adams.

“*May 27th.* Marched at seven o'clock, after taking an affectionate leave of Don Hymen, and at half past twelve arrived at the Hacienda of Don Melcher, situated on the same stream of Montelovez.

“Don Melcher was a man of very large fortune, polite, generous, and friendly. He had in his service a man who had deserted from Captain Lockwood's company, first regiment of infantry, by the name of Pratt. From this man he had acquired a considerable quantity of crude indigested information relative to the United States, and when he met with us his thirst after knowledge of our laws and institutions appeared to be insatiable. He caused a fine large sheep to be killed and presented to my men.



VICTORY OF YORK, U. C. DEATH OF GENERAL PIKE.

From a contemporaneous print in the N. Y. Public Library.

“May 28th. Marched early and arrived at Encina Hacienda at ten o’clock. This place was owned by Don Barego.

“When we arrived at the Hacienda of Encina, I found a youth of 18 sitting in the house quite genteelly dressed, whom I immediately recognized from his physiognomy to be an American, and entered into conversation with him. He expressed great satisfaction at meeting a countryman, and we had a great deal of conversation. He sat at a table with us and partook of a cold collation of fruits and confectionery; but I was much surprised to learn, shortly after we quit the table, that he was a deserter from our army; on which I questioned him, and he replied that his name was Griffith; he had enlisted in Philadelphia, arrived at New Orleans, and deserted as soon as possible; the Spaniards had treated him much better than his own countrymen, and he should never return. I was extremely astonished at his insolence, and mortified that I should have been betrayed into any polite conduct toward the scoundrel. I told him that it was astonishing he should have had the impertinence to address himself to me, knowing that I was an American officer. He muttered something about being in a country where he was protected, etc.; on which I told him that if he again opened his mouth to me, I would instantly chastise him, notwithstanding his supposed protection. He was silent; I called up one of my soldiers and told him in his hearing, that if he attempted to mix with them to turn him out of the company; which they executed by leading him to the door

of their room a short time after, when he entered it. When dinner was nearly ready, I sent a message to the proprietor, that we assumed we had no right to say whom he should introduce at table, but that we should think it a great indignity offered a Spanish officer to attempt to set him down at the same board with a deserter from their army; and that if the man who was at the table in the morning were to make his appearance again, we should decline to eat at it. He replied that it was an accident which had produced the event of the morning; that he was sorry our feelings had been injured, and that he would take care he did not appear again while we were there.

“Our good friend Don Melcher here overtook us, and passed the evening with us.

“This day we passed the last mountains, and again entered the great Mississippi valley, it being six months and 13 days since we first came in sight of them. Distance 20 miles.”

This devious journey by which Pike and his party were brought out of Mexico led him southward from Chihuahua, cutting through the northeast corner of the province of Durango, and from thence northeast through the province of Coahuila, crossing the Brazos River and afterward the Rio Grande at Eagle Pass, near which is the present town of Ciudad Porfirio Diaz.

CHAPTER IX
THROUGH TEXAS TO LOUISIANA

JUNE 1ST—JULY 1ST, 1807

“*Monday, June 1st.* Arrived at the Presidio Rio Grande at eight o’clock. This place was the position to which our friend Barelo had been ordered, and which had been very highly spoken of to him; but he found himself miserably mistaken, for it was with the greatest difficulty we obtained anything to eat, which mortified him extremely.

“When at Chihuahua, General Salcedo had asked me if I had not lost a man by desertion, to which I replied in the negative. He then informed me that an American had arrived at the Presidio Rio Grande in the last year; that he had at first confined him, but that he was now released and practicing physic; and that he wished me to examine him on my arrival. I therefore had him sent for; the moment he entered the room I discovered he never had received a liberal education, or had been accustomed to polished society; I told him the reason I had requested to see him, and that I had it in my power to serve him if I found him a character worthy of interference.

“He then related the following story; that his name was Martin Henderson; that he was born in Rockbridge County, State of Virginia; that he had been brought up a farmer; but, that coming early to the State of Kentucky and to Tennessee, he had acquired a taste of frontier life, and that in the spring of 1806, himself and four companions had left the Saline in the district of Saint Genevieve, Upper Louisiana, in order to penetrate through the woods to the province of Texas; that his companions had left him on the White river, and that he had continued on; that in swimming some western branch his horse sunk under him, and it was with difficulty he made the shore with his gun. Here he waited two or three days until his horse rose, and he then got his saddle-bags; but all his notes on the country, courses, etc., were destroyed. He then proceeded on foot for a few days, when he was met by 30 or 40 Osage warriors, who, on his telling them he was going to the Spaniards, were about to kill him; but on his saying he would go to the Americans, they held a consultation over him, and finally seized on his clothes and divided them between them; then his pistols, compass, dirk, and watch, which they took to pieces and hung in their noses and ears; then they stripped him naked, and round his body found a belt with gold pieces sewed in it; this they also took, and finally seized on his gun and ammunition, and were marching off to leave him in that situation; but he followed them, thinking it better to be killed than left in that state to die by hunger and cold. The savages after some time halted, and one pulled off an

old pair of leggings and gave him, another mockinsons, a third a buffalo robe, and the one who had carried his heavy rifle had by this time become tired of his prize, they never using rifles; they counted him out 25 charges of powder and ball, then sent two Indians with him, who put him on a war-trace, which they said led to American establishments; and as soon as the Indians left him he directed his course as he supposed for Saint Antonio. He then killed deer and made himself some clothes. He proceeded on and expended all his ammunition three days before he struck the Grand Road, nearly at the Rio Grande. He further added that he had discovered two mines, one of silver and the other of gold, the situation of which he particularly described; but that the general had taken the samples from him. That he would not attempt to pass himself on us for a physician, and hoped, as he only used simples and was careful to do no harm, we would not betray him. He further added that since his being in the country he had made, from information, maps of all the adjacent country; but that they had been taken from him.

“I had early concluded that he was an agent of Burr’s and was revolving in my mind whether I should denounce him as such to the commandant, but feeling reluctant from an apprehension that he might be innocent, when one of my men came in and informed me that the man was Trainer, who had killed Major Bashier in the wilderness between Natchez and Tennessee, when he was his hireling. He shot him when taking a nap at noon, through the head with his own pistols. The Governor

of the State, and the Major's friends offered a very considerable reward for his apprehension, which obliged him to quit the State; and with an Amazonian woman, who handled arms and hunted like a savage, he retreated to the source of the White river; but, being routed from that retreat by Captain Maney, of the United States army and a party of Cherokees, he and his female companion bore west; she, proving to be pregnant was left by him on the desert, and I was informed arrived at the settlements on the Red river, but by what means is to me unknown. The articles and money taken from him by the Osages were the property of the deceased major. I then reported the circumstances to Captain Barelo, who had him immediately confined, until the will of Governor Cordero should be known, who informed me, when at San Antonio that he would have him sent to some place of perpetual confinement in the interior. Thus vengeance has overtaken the ingrate and murderer, when he least expected it.

“In the evening we went to see some performers on the slack-rope, who were in no way extraordinary in their performances, except in language which would bring a blush on the cheek of the most abandoned of the female sex in the United States.

“*June 2nd.* In the day time were endeavoring to regulate our watches by the compass, and in an instant that my back was turned some person stole it. I could by no means recover it, and I had strong suspicions that the theft was approved, as the instrument had occasioned great dissatisfaction.

“This day the captain went out to dine with some monks, who would have thought it profanation to have had us as their guests, notwithstanding the priest of the place had escorted us round the town and to all the missions; we found him a very communicative, liberal, and intelligent man. We saw no resource for a dinner but in the inventive genius of a little Frenchman who had accompanied us from Chihuahua, where he had been officiating one year as cook to the general, of whom he gave us many interesting anecdotes, and in fact was of infinite service to us; we supported him and he served as cook, interpreter, etc. It was astonishing with what zeal he strove to acquire news and information for us; and as he had been four times through the provinces, he had acquired considerable knowledge of the country, people, etc. He went off and in a very short time returned with table-cloth, plates, a dinner of three or four courses, a bottle of wine, and a pretty girl to attend on the table. We inquired by what magic he had brought this about, and found that he had been to one of the officers and notified him that it was the wish of the commandant that he should supply the two Americans with a decent dinner, which was done; but we took care to compensate them for their trouble. This we explained to Barelo in the evening, and he laughed heartily.

“We parted from the captain with regrets and assurances of remembrance. Departed at five o'clock, escorted by Ensign —— and —— men; came on to the Rio Grande, which we passed, and encamped

at a Rancho on the other side. Distance seven miles.

“*June 3d.* The mosquitoes, which had commenced the first night on this side of Montelovez, now became very troublesome. This day saw the first horse-flies; saw some wild horses; came on in the open plain, and in a dry time, when there was no water. Distance 30 miles.

“*June 5th.* After losing two horses in passing the river, the water having fallen so that we forded, we crossed and continued our route. Passed two herds of wild horses, which left the road for us. Halted at a pond on the left of the road, 15 miles, where we saw the first oak since we left New Mexico, and this was scrub oak. Passed many deer yesterday and to-day. Came on to a small creek at night, where we met a party of the company of Saint Fernandez returning from the line. Distance 31 miles.

“*June 6th.* Marched early and met several parties of troops returning from Texas where they had been sent to re-enforce, when our troops were near the line. Immense number of cross-roads made by the wild horses. Killed a wild hog, which on examination I found to be very different from the tame breed, smaller, browner, with long hair and short legs; they are to be found in all parts between Red river and the Spanish settlements.

“Passed an encampment made by the Lee Panes, met one of said nation with his wife. In the afternoon struck the woodland, which was the first we had been

in from the time we left the Osage nation. Distance 13 miles."

By the Lee Panes is to be understood the Lipans, a branch of the Apaches, and speaking the same language. The party has been following the old Spanish trail crossing the Nueces River, which Pike spells "Noisseur" and the Medino—the later name for "Mariano"—and is now about to enter San Antonio. This town had been an ecclesiastical and military center for the Spaniards since 1720. It has always retained its military distinction; and since the massacre of Texans by the Mexicans at the Alamo in 1836 is regarded as the Thermopylæ of Texas.

"*Sunday, June 7th.* Came on 15 miles to the river Mariano—the line between Texas and Cogquilla—a pretty little stream, Rancho. Thence in the afternoon to Saint Antonio. We halted at the mission of Saint Joseph; received in a friendly manner by the priest of the mission and others.

"We were met out of Saint Antonio about three miles by Governors Cordero and Herrera, in a coach. We repaired to their quarters, where we were received like their children. Cordero informed me that he had discretionary orders as to the mode of my going out of the country; that he therefore wished me to choose my time, mode, etc.; that any sum of money I might want was at my service; that in the meantime Robinson and myself would make his quarters our home; and that he had caused to be vacated and prepared a house immediately opposite for the reception of my men. In the

evening his levee was attended by a crowd of officers and priests, among whom were Father M'Guire and Dr. Zerbin. After supper we went to the public square, where might be seen the two governors joined in a dance with people who in the daytime would approach them with reverence and awe.

"We were here introduced to the sister of Lieutenant Malgares' wife, who was one of the finest women we saw. She was married to a Captain Ugarte, to whom we had letters of introduction.

"*June 9th.* A large party dined at Governor Cordero's who gave as his toast, 'The President of the United States—Vive la.' I returned the compliment by toasting 'His Catholic Majesty.' These toasts were followed by 'General Wilkinson.' One of the company then gave 'These gentlemen; their safe and happy arrival in their own country; their honorable reception, and the continuation of the good understanding which exists between the two countries.'

"*June 10th.* A large party at the governor's to dinner. He gave as a toast, 'My companion, Herrera.'

"*June 11th.* Preparing to march to-morrow. We this evening had a conversation with the two governors, wherein they exhibited an astonishing knowledge of the political character of our Executive, and the local interests of the different parts of the Union.

"*June 12th.* One of the captains from the kingdom of Leon having died, we were invited to attend the burial, and accompanied the two governors in their coach, where we had an opportunity of viewing the

solemnity of the interment, agreeably to the ritual of the Spanish church, attended by the military honors which were conferred on the deceased by his late brethren in arms.

“[As I ascertained to-day,] Governor Cordero gave the information of my intended expedition to the commandant-general as early as July, the same month that I took my departure. His information was received via Natchez.

“*June 13th.* This morning there were marched 200 dragoons for the sea-coast, to look out for the English, and this evening Colonel Cordero was to have marched to join them. We marched at seven o'clock, Governor Cordero taking us in his coach about two leagues, accompanied by Father M'Guire, Dr. Zerbin, etc. We took a friendly adieu of Governor Herrera and our other friends at Saint Antonio.

“It may not be improper to mention here something of Father M'Guire and Dr. Zerbin, who certainly treated us with all imaginable attention while at Saint Antonio. The former was an Irish priest, who formerly resided on the coast above Orleans, and was noted for his hospitable and social qualities. On the cession of Louisiana, he followed the standard of 'the king, his master who never suffers an old servant to be neglected.' He received at Cuba an establishment as chaplain to the mint of Mexico, whence the instability of human affairs took him to Saint Antonio. He was a man of chaste, classical taste, observation, and research.

“Don Zerbin formerly resided at Natchez, but in

consequence of pecuniary embarrassments emigrated to the Spanish territories. Being a young man of a handsome person and an insinuating address, he had obtained the good-will of Governor Cordero, who had conferred on him an appointment in the king's hospital, and many other advantages by which he might have made a fortune; but he had recently committed some very great indiscretions, by which he had nearly lost the favor of Governor Cordero, though whilst we were there he was treated with attention.

“I will attempt here to portray a faint resemblance of the characters of the two governors, whom we found at Saint Antonio; but to whose superexcellent qualities it would require a master pen to do justice.

“Don Antonio Cordero is about 5 feet 10 inches in height, 50 years of age, with fair complexion and blue eyes; he wore his hair turned back and in every part of his deportment was legibly written ‘the soldier.’ He yet possessed an excellent constitution, and a body which appeared to be neither impaired by the fatigues of the various campaigns he had made, nor disfigured by the numerous wounds received from the enemies of the king. He was one of the select officers who had been chosen by the court of Madrid to be sent to America about 35 years since, to discipline and organize the Spanish provincials, and had been employed in all the various provinces and kingdoms of New Spain. Through the parts we explored he was universally beloved and respected; and when I pronounce him by far the most popular man in the internal provinces, I

risk nothing by the assertion. He spoke the Latin and French languages well, was generous, brave, and sincerely attached to his king and country. Those numerous qualifications advanced him to the rank of colonel of cavalry, and governor of the provinces of Cogquilla and Texas. His usual residence was Montlovez, which he had embellished a great deal, but since our taking possession of Louisiana he had removed to Saint Antonio, in order to be nearer the frontier, to be able to apply the remedy to any evil which might arise from the collision of our lines.

“Don Simon de Herrera is about 5 feet 11 inches high, has a sparkling black eye, dark complexion and hair. He was born in the Canary Islands, served in the infantry in France, Spain and Flanders, and speaks the French language well, with a little of the English. He is engaging in conversation with his equals; polite and obliging to his inferiors, and in all his actions one of the most gallant and accomplished men I ever knew. He possesses a great knowledge of mankind, from his experience in various countries and societies, and knows how to employ the genius of each of his subordinates to advantage. He had been in the United States during the presidency of General Washington, and had been introduced to that hero, of whom he spoke in terms of exalted veneration. He is now lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and governor of the kingdom of New Leon. His seat of government is Mont Elrey; and probably, if ever a chief is adored by his people, it is Herrera. When his time expired last, he

immediately repaired to Mexico, attended by 300 of the most respectable people of his government, who carried with them the sighs, tears, and prayers of thousands that he might be continued in that government. The viceroy thought proper to accord to their wishes *pro tempore*, and the king has since confirmed his nomination. When I saw him he had been about one year absent, during which time the citizens of rank in Mont Elrey had not suffered a marriage or baptism to take place in any of their families, until their common father could be there, to consent and give joy to the occasion by his presence. What greater proof could be given of their esteem and love?

“In drawing a parallel between these two friends, I should say that Cordero was the man of greatest reading, and that Herrera possessed the greatest knowledge of the world. Cordero has lived all his life as a bachelor. Herrera married an English lady in early youth, at Cadiz; one who by her suavity of manners makes herself as much beloved and esteemed by the ladies as her noble husband is by the men. By her he has several children, one now in the service of his royal master.

“The two friends agree perfectly in one point—their hatred to tyranny of every kind; and in a secret determination never to see that flourishing part of the New World subject to any European lord except him whom they think their honor and loyalty bound to defend with their lives and fortunes. But should Bonaparte seize on European Spain, I risk nothing in asserting that

those two would be the first to assert the independence of their country.

“Before I close this subject it may not be improper to relate that we owe it to Governor Herrera’s prudence that we are not now engaging in a war with Spain. This will be explained by the following anecdote, which he related in the presence of his friend Cordero, and which was confirmed by him. When the difficulties commenced on the Sabine, the commandant-general and the viceroy consulted together and mutually determined to maintain inviolate what they deemed the dominions of their master. The viceroy therefore ordered Herrera to join Cordero with 1,300 men, and both the viceroy and General Salcedo ordered Cordero to cause our troops to be attacked should they pass the river Oude. These orders were positively reiterated to Herrera, the actual commanding officer of the Spanish army on the frontiers, and gave rise to many messages which he sent to General Wilkinson when he was advancing with our troops. Finding they were not attended to, he called a council of war on the question to attack or not, when it was given as their opinion that they should immediately commence a predatory warfare, but avoid a general engagement; yet, notwithstanding the orders of the viceroy, the commandant-general, Governor Cordero’s, and the opinion of his officers, he had the firmness or temerity to enter into the agreement with General Wilkinson which at present exists relative to our boundaries on that frontier. On his return he was received with coolness by Cordero,

and they both made their communications to their superiors. 'Until an answer was received,' said Herrera, 'I experienced the most unhappy period of my life, conscious I had served my country faithfully, at the same time that I had violated every principle of military duty.' At length the answer arrived, and what was it, but the thanks of the viceroy and the commandant-general for having pointedly disobeyed their orders, with assurances that they would represent his services in exalted terms to the king. What could have produced this change of sentiment is to me unknown, but the letter was published to the army, and confidence again restored between the two chiefs and the troops.

"The appearance of the Spanish troops is certainly, at a distance, *à la militaire*. Their lances are fixed to the side of the saddle under the left thigh and slant about five feet above the horse. On the right the carbine is slung in a case to the front of the saddle, or pommel, crosswise, the breech to the right hand; and on each side of the saddle, behind the rider, is a pistol; below the breech of the carbine is slung the shield, which is made of sole leather three doubled, sewed together with thongs, with a band on the inside to slip the left arm through; those of the privates are round, and are about two feet in diameter. The officers and non-commissioned officers have their shields oval, bending on both sides, in order to permit the arrow to glance, and they have in general the arms of Spain with Don Carlos IV. gilt on the outside, with various other de-

vices, which add much to the elegance of their appearance on horseback, but are only calculated to be of service against savages who have no fire-arms. The dragoons of the viceroyalty do not make use of the lance or shield, but are armed, equipped, and clothed after the modern manner, as are also the dragoons of the eastern provinces. When they recently expected to be opposed to the American troops they were deprived of the lance and shield, and received the straight cutlass in their stead.

“Their dress is a short blue coat, with red cape and cuffs, without facings, leather or blue cotton velvet small-clothes and waistcoat, the small-clothes always open at the knees, the wrapping-boot with the jack-boot and permanent spur over it, a broad-brimmed, high-crowned wool hat, with a ribbon round it of various colors, generally received as a present from some female, which they wear as a badge of the favor of the fair sex and a mark of their gallantry.

“Their horses are small and slender-limbed, but very active and capable of enduring great fatigue. The equipments of the horses are, to our idea, awkward; but I believe them superior to the English, and they have the advantage over us in the skill of the rider, as well as in the quality of the beast. Their bridles have a strong curb, which gives so great a mechanical force to the bridle that I believe it almost practicable with it to break the jaw of the beast. The saddle is made after the Persian mode, with a high projecting pommel or, as anciently termed, bow, and is likewise raised behind.

This is merely the tree; it is then covered by two or three covers of carved leather and embroidered workmanship, some with gold and silver in a very superb manner. The stirrups are of wood closed in front, carved generally into the figure of a lion's head, or that of some other beast; they are very heavy, and to us present a very clumsy appearance. The horseman, seated on his horse, has a small bag tied behind him, his blankets either under him, or lying with his cloak between his body and the bow, which makes him at his ease. Thus mounted, it is impossible for the most vicious horse ever to dismount them. They will catch another horse with a noose and hair rope, when both are running nearly at full speed, with which they soon choke down the beast of which they are in pursuit; in short, they are probably the most expert horsemen in the world.

“They relieve their guards at night; as soon as they halt the new guard is formed on foot with their carabines, and then marched before the commandant's tent, where the commanding officer of the guard invokes the holy virgin three times; the commanding officer replies, ‘It is well.’ They then retire and mount their horses, and are told off, some to act as guard of the horses, as cavalry, others as guard of the camp, as infantry. The old guards are then paraded and relieved, and the new sentinels take post. Their sentinels are singing half the time, and it is no uncommon thing for them to quit their post to come to the fire, go for water, etc.—in fact, after the officer is in bed, frequently the whole guard comes in;

yet I never knew any man punished for these breaches of military duty. Their mode of attack is by squadrons, on the different flanks of their enemies, but without regularity or concert, shouting, hallooing, and firing their carabines; after which, if they think themselves equal to the enemy, they charge with a pistol and then a lance. From my observation on their discipline I have no hesitation in declaring that I would not be afraid to march over a plain with 500 infantry and a proportionate allowance of horse artillery of the United States army, in the presence of 5,000 of these dragoons. Yet I do not presume to say that an army with that inferiority of numbers would do to oppose them, for they would cut off your supplies, and harass your march and camp, night and day, to such a degree as to oblige you in the end to surrender to them without ever having come to action. If, however, the event depended on one single engagement, it would eventuate with glory to the American arms. The conclusion must not be drawn that I consider they are more deficient in physical firmness than other nations, for we see the savages, 500 of whom on a plain fly before 50 bayonets, on other occasions brave danger and death in its most horrid shapes, with an undaunted fortitude never surpassed by the most disciplined and hardy veterans. It arises solely from the want of discipline and confidence in each other, as is always the case with undisciplined corps, unless stimulated by the godlike sentiment of love of country, of which these poor fellows know so little. The travelling food of the dragoons of New Mexico consists of a very

excellent species of wheat biscuit, and shaved meat well dried, with a vast quantity of red pepper, of which they make bouilli and then pour it on their broken biscuit, when the latter becomes soft and excellent eating. Farther south they use large quantities of parched corn meal and sugar, as practised by our hunters, each dragoon having a small bag. In short they live when on command, on an allowance which our troops would consider little better than starving, never, except at night, attempting to eat anything like a meal, but biting at a piece of biscuit, or drinking some parched meal with sugar and water, during the day.

“*Sunday, June 14th.* When we left Saint Antonio, everything appeared to be in a flourishing and improving state, owing to the examples given to industry, politeness, and civilization by the excellent Governor Cordero and his colleague Herrera; also to the large body of troops maintained at that place in consequence of the difference existing between the United States and Spain.

“Came on to the Saint Marks in the morning; in the afternoon came on 115 miles further, but was late, owing to our having taken the wrong road. Distance 30 miles.

“*June 16th.* Marched early, and at eight o'clock arrived at Red river. Here was a small Spanish station and several lodges of Tancards—tall, handsome men, but the most naked savages I ever saw, without exception. They complained much of their situation. In the afternoon passed over hilly, stony land; occasion-

ally we saw pine timber. Killed one deer. Encamped on a small run. Distance 26 miles.

“*June 17th.* Came on by nine o'clock to a large encampment of Tancards, more than 40 lodges. Their property was as remarkable as their independence. Immense herds of horses, etc. I gave a Camanche and Tancard each a silk handkerchief, and a recommendation to the commandant at Natchitoches. In the afternoon came on three hours and encamped on a hill, at a creek on the right-hand side of the road. Met a large herd of mules escorted by four soldiers; the lieutenant took from them some money which they had in charge. Distance 30 miles.”

Of this tribe Pike subsequently writes:

“The Tancards are a nation of Indians who rove on the banks of Red river, and are 600 men strong. They follow the buffalo and wild horses, and carry on a trade with the Spaniards. They are armed with the bow, arrow, and lance. They are erratic and confined to no particular district; are a tall, handsome people; in conversation they have a peculiar clucking, express more by signs than any savages I ever visited, and in fact language appears to have made less progress. They complained much of their situation and the treatment of the Spaniards; are extremely poor, and, except the Apaches, were the most independent Indians we encountered in the Spanish territories. They possess large droves of horses.”

Concerning these wild horses, which it will be remembered were the causes of the unhappy fate of Captain

Philip Nolan and his men, Pike informs his government: "They are in such numbers as to afford supplies for all the savages who border on the province, the Spaniards, and vast droves for the other provinces. They are also sent into the United States, notwithstanding the trade is contraband. They go in such large gangs that it is requisite to keep an advanced guard of horsemen in order to frighten them away; for should they be suffered to come near the horses and mules which you drive with you, by their snorting, neighing, etc., they would alarm them, and frequently the domestic animals would join them and go off, notwithstanding all the exertions of the dragoons to prevent them. A gentleman told me he saw 700 beasts carried off at one time, not one of which was ever recovered. They also in the night frequently carry off the droves of travelers' horses, and even come within a few miles of St. Antonio, and take off the horses in that vicinity.

"The method pursued by the Spanish in taking them is as follows: They take a few fleet horses and proceed into the country where the wild horses are numerous. They then build a large stone inclosure, with a door which enters a smaller inclosure; from the entrance of the large pen they project wings out into the prairie a great distance, and then set up bushes, etc., to induce the horses, when pursued, to enter into these wings. After these preparations are made they keep a lookout for a small drove, for, if they unfortunately should start too large a one, they either burst open the pen or fill it up with dead bodies, and the others run over them

and escape; in which case the party are obliged to leave the place, as the stench arising from the putrid carcasses would be insupportable; and, in addition to this, the pen would not receive others. Should they, however, succeed in driving in a few, say two or three hundred, they select the handsomest and youngest, noose them, take them into the small inclosure, and then turn out the remainder; after which, by starving, preventing them taking any repose, and continually keeping them in motion, they make them gentle by degrees, and finally break them to submit to the saddle and bridle. For this business I presume there is no nation in the world superior to the Spaniards of Texas.

“*June 18th.* Rode on until half past ten o'clock, when we arrived at the river Brasses. Here is a stockade guard of one corporal, six men and a ferry boat. Swam our horses over; one was drowned, and several others were near it, owing to their striking each other with their feet. We then came on about two miles on this side of a bayou called the little Brasses, which is only a branch of the other, and which makes an impassable swamp at certain seasons between them. Distance 13 miles.

“*June 19th.* Came on through woods and prairies alternating 20 miles to a small creek, Corpus Christi, with well-wooded, rich land. In the afternoon passed a creek which at high water is nearly impassable four miles. Overflows, swamps, ponds, etc. Encamped about one mile on this side, on high land to the right of the road. Met the mail, Indians and others. Distance 30 miles.

“Sunday, June 21st. Came on to the river Trinity by eight o’clock. Here were stationed two captains, two lieutenants, and three ensigns, with nearly 100 men, all sick, one scarcely able to assist another. Met a number of runaway negroes, some French, and Irishmen. Received information of Lieutenant Wilkinson’s safe arrival. Crossed with all our horses and baggage, with much difficulty. Distance 20 miles.

“June 24th. The horses came up this morning; lost six over night. We marched early and in 15 miles came up to the river Angeline, about the width of the Natchez, running N. and S., good land on its borders. Two miles further was a settlement of Barr and Davenports, where were three of our lost horses; one mile further found two more of our horses, where we halted for dinner. Marched at four o’clock, and at half past eight arrived at Nacogdoches, where we were politely received by the adjutant and inspector, Captain Herrera, Mr. Davenport, etc. This part of the country is well watered, but sandy; pine, scrub oak, etc. Distance 27 miles.”

“June 25th. Spent in reading a gazette from the United States, etc. A large party at the adjutant and inspector’s to dinner: 1st toast, ‘The President of the United States, etc.’; 2d, ‘The King of Spain’; 3d, ‘Governors Herrera and Cordero.’

“June 27th. Marched after dinner and came only 12 miles. Was escorted by Lieutenant Guodiana and a military party. Mr. Davenport’s brother-in-law, who was taking in some money, also accompanied us.

“Don Francis Viana, adjutant and inspector of the

Internal provinces, who commanded at Nacogdoches, is an old and veteran officer, and was one of those who came to America at the same time with Colonel Cordero. Possessing a mind of frankness, he unfortunately spoke his opinions too freely in some instances, which, finding their way to court, prevented his promotion. But he is highly respected by his superiors, and looked up to as a model of military conduct by his inferiors. He unfortunately does not possess flexibility sufficient to be useful in the present state of the Spanish kingdoms. He is the officer who caused Major Sparks and Mr. Freeman to return from their expedition on the Red river.

“Sunday, June 28th. Marched early and at nine o'clock crossed the little river called ———, whence we pushed on in order to arrive at the house of a Frenchman, [about nine] miles distant from the Sabine. We stopped at a house on the road, where the lieutenant informed me an American by the name of Johnson lived; but was surprised to find he had crossed the line with his family, and a French family in his place. When we began conversing with them they were much alarmed, thinking we had come to examine them, and expressed great attachment to the Spanish government. They were somewhat astonished to find I was an American officer; and on my companions stepping out, expressed themselves in strong terms of hatred to the Spanish nation. I excused them for their weakness, and gave them a caution. Fine land, well watered and timbered; hickory, oak, sugar-tree, etc. Distance 40 miles.

“June 29th. Our baggage and horses came up about

ten o'clock, when we dispatched them on. Marched ourselves at two o'clock, and arrived at the river Sabine by five. Here we saw the cantonment of the Spanish troops, when they were commanded by Colonel Herrera, in the late affair between the two governments. Crossed the Sabine river and came about one league on this side, to a little prairie, where we encamped. Distance 15 miles.

In crossing the Sabine River Pike and his party are once more in the new American possessions known as the Louisiana Purchase, the Sabine River being, then as now, the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas. He has been following the old Spanish trail, camping near Crockett, Angeline, San Augustine, and is now near Many, where he fixes the site of the "marquee" of General Wilkinson. Here he bids adieu to his Spanish escort. This was commanded by Lieutenant J. Echarria to whom he had been transferred at San Antonio by his good friend, Lieutenant Malgares.

"Parted with Lieutenant Guodiana and our Spanish escort. Here I think proper to bear testimony to the politeness, civility, and attention of all the officers who at different periods and in different provinces commanded my escort, but in a particular manner to Malgares and Barelo, who appeared studious to please and accommodate, all that lay in their power; also, the obliging, mild dispositions evinced in all instances by the rank and file. On the other side of the Sabine I went up to a house, where I found 10 or 15 Americans hovering near the line, in order to embrace an opportunity of

carrying on some illicit commerce with the Spaniards, who on their side were equally eager. Here we found Tharp and Sea, who had been old sergeants in General Wayne's army.

June. 30th. Marched early and came to a house at a small creek, where lived a Dutch family named Faulk, and where we left a small roan horse which had given out. Marched 12 miles further to a large bayou, where had been an encampment of our troops, which I recognized by its form, and took pleasure in imagining the position of the general's marquee and the tents of my different friends and acquaintances. Distance 28 miles.

July 1st. Finding that a horse of Dr. Robinson's, which had come all the way from Chihuahua, could not proceed, was obliged to leave him here. Yesterday and to-day passed many Choctaws, whose clothing, furniture, etc., evidently marked the superiority of situation of those who bordered on our frontiers, to that of the naked, half-starved wretches whom we found hanging round the Spanish settlements. Passed a string of huts, supposed to have been built by our troops, and at a small run a fortified camp but half a mile from the hill where anciently stood the village Adyes. We proceeded to a spring where we halted for our loads. Finding the horses much fatigued, and not able to proceed, we left them and baggage and proceeded. We arrived at Natchitoches about 4 p. m.

“Language cannot express the gayety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft. ‘All hail’ cried I, ‘the ever sacred name

of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!' Was affectionately received by Colonel Freeman, Captains Strong and Woolstoncraft, Lieutenant Smith, and all the officers of the post."

When Pike reached Natchitoches he found there a letter from General Wilkinson, who had believed him dead, until informed otherwise by General Salcedo. The general, in expressing his gratification and his regret that Pike should have missed the source of the Red River, which was part of his errand, writes: "Yet I promise myself that the route over which you have passed will afford some interesting scenes as well to the statesman as the philosopher." This letter concludes with the gratifying statement that "The President mentioned you and your explorations to the source of the great river, in his address to Congress in handsome terms."

To this letter Pike returned an answer relating his Spanish experiences, and it is in keeping with that consideration that he showed for all his companions that he urges the claims of the faithful Baroney still with Sergeant Meek, and the fidelity of his men. To Dr. Robinson he pays the following tribute:

"Dr. Robinson has accompanied me the whole route, is still with me, and I take pleasure in acknowledging I have received important services from him, as my companion in dangers and hardships, counselor in difficulties, and one to whose chemical, botanical, and



TO
BRIG. GEN. Z. M. PIKE U.S.A.
AND HIS OFFICERS,
KILLED IN BATTLE OF
YORK UPPER CANADA,
APRIL 27, 1813.

MONUMENT OVER THE GRAVE OF GENERAL PIKE AT
SACKETT'S HARBOR, N. Y.

mineralogical knowledge the expedition is greatly indebted—in short, Sir, he is a young gentleman of talents, honor, and perseverance, possessing, in my humble opinion, a military turn of mind, and would enter, I believe, in case of an augmentation of the army, if he could obtain a rank above a subaltern.”

The letter concludes:

“I have been obliged to draw money of the Spanish government, which I have to pay to their ambassador at Washington. I supported those of my men who were with me all the time in the Spanish country. Being separated from my baggage and never permitted to have it join me, and having been presented to the commandant-general in a blanket cappot, I was under the necessity of going to very considerable expense to support what I considered not only my honor, but the dignity of our army. This, when a captain’s pay is \$2,400 per annum, was a ruinous thing to my finances; but I hope it may be taken into due consideration.

“After making myself pretty perfect in the French language, I have obtained such a knowledge of the Spanish as to make me confident in asserting, in three or four years I will with ease make myself sufficiently master of the latter, Italian, and Portuguese, to read them all, and speak and write Spanish. The doctor has even exceeded me in that point. I mention this to the general, as I know the interest he takes in the improvement of his military protegee.”

It is apparent that in Pike’s intimacy with the Spanish officers the possible capture of the throne of Spain by

Napoleon was a frequent topic of conversation. In this case Spain would look to the United States, and the independence of Mexico would follow. In such a prospective campaign his experiences in that country would fit him for a leading part. This he outlines in a subsequent report to the Government:

“Twenty thousand auxiliaries from the United States under good officers, joined to the independents of the country, are at any time sufficient to create and effect the revolution. These troops can be raised and officered in the United States, but paid and supplied at the expense of Mexico. It would be requisite that not only the general commanding, but that every officer, down to the youngest ensign, should be impressed with the necessity of supporting a strict discipline, to prevent marauding, which should in some instances be punished with death, in order to convince the citizens that we come as their friends and protectors, not as their plunderers and tyrants. Also, the most sacred regard should be paid not to injure the institutions of their religion; thereby showing them we have a proper respect for all things in any way connected with the worship of the Deity, at the same time that we permit every man to adore him agreeably to the dictates of his own judgment.

“The details requisite for the equipment, organization, etc., of the corps, so as to adapt it to the locality of the country and the nature of the service, could be easily formed, but would be impertinent here.

“Should an army of Americans ever march into the country, and be guided and governed by these maxims,

they will only have to march from province to province in triumph, and be hailed by the united voices of grateful millions as their deliverers and saviors, whilst our national character resounds to the most distant nations of the earth."

Pike's last act at Natchitoches was to keep faith with the unfortunate men of Captain Nolan's party held prisoners by the Spaniards. This he does in a long letter relating the circumstances of their capture and present condition addressed to the "Editors of Gazettes in the States," that their friends might "receive the melancholy assurance of their existence," and the Government interfere in their behalf. This work of benevolence accomplished, Pike left to join his family, and again to take up his career as soldier. The visions of future usefulness and military distinction that Pike outlined in his letter to General Wilkinson he could not foresee were not to be realized against the French or Spaniards on the banks of the Rio Grande, but against the English on the waters of our Northern boundary in the war of 1812. The capture of Fort York, on Lake Ontario, the present site of Toronto, and the dramatic incidents of his death, rounded out his brief life of thirty-six years. The lives of few great Americans present an equal record of patriotic devotion, uprightness of character, personal sacrifice, and ability in dealing with varied and difficult tasks.

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