

RAMSEY COUNTY
History
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All Under \$11,000—
The Growing Pains of
Two 'Queen Annes'

Page 25

Spring, 2001

Volume 36, Number 1

The Life and Times of Cloud Man

A Dakota Leader Faces His Changing World

—Page 4



George Catlin's painting, titled "Sioux Village, Lake Calhoun, near Fort Snelling." This is Cloud Man's village in what is now south Minneapolis as it looked to the artist when he visited Lake Calhoun in the summer of 1836. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr. See article beginning on page 4.

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A Message from the Editorial Board

This issue of *Ramsey County History* opens with a groundbreaking biography and analysis of the Mdewakanton Dakota leader Cloud Man (*Mahpiyawicasta*). Written by Mark Dietrich, an author and historian who has published extensively about Native American peoples in Minnesota in the nineteenth century, this study provides as detailed an account as is possible of Cloud Man's life and his work with the Dakota in encouraging his kinsmen to adopt the farming practices of the white pioneers in the 1830s.

Although the records that survive from this time are fragmented and not as extensive as we would like, Dietrich gives us a compelling portrait of Cloud Man as a leader who truly labored for the best interests of the Dakota people, as he understood those interests. Confronted by the dwindling game population in the area around Fort Snelling and the possible starvation of the Dakota living near Lake Calhoun, especially during the winter months, Cloud Man was willing to try the whites' method of farming. For a brief time between 1829 and 1839, this effort achieved limited success, but Cloud Man's leadership role in this experiment has gone largely unacknowledged. Lieutenant Lawrence Taliaferro, the U.S. government's Indian agent at Fort Snelling, called Cloud Man a "good man." Running through Mark Dietrich's study of Cloud Man is the evidence that confirms that judgment of Cloud Man's character.

The Ramsey County Historical Society thanks the members of the Society's Native American Advisory Board (Gary Cavender, Gavrielle Strong, David Larsen, Linda Owen, Roger Buffalohead, Patty Thompson, Yvonne Leith, Lisa Owen, Dale Weston, Michael Scullin, Angela Cavender, and Leonard Wabasha) for their guidance in publishing Dietrich's manuscript and the helpful comments and observations they made prior to its publication.

Rounding out this issue of our magazine is Bob Garland's delightful account of the "growing up" of two adjacent houses that two members of his family, the brothers William and Field Garland, built at 856 and 846 Fairmount in St. Paul in 1890-91. Using architectural plans, building permits, contractors' invoices, and family papers, Garland takes us through all the changes, both in additions and subtractions, from the original plans that occurred during construction and how these changes affected the final layout and cost of the homes. Today both houses are mature members of the city's housing stock, but they continue to demonstrate the high quality of construction that was routinely done in the 1890s.

John M. Lindley, Chair, Editorial Board

A 'Good Man' in a Changing World

Cloud Man, the Dakota Leader, and His Life and Times

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following article illuminates, perhaps for the first time, the life and times of Cloud Man, an almost-forgotten leader among the Dakota, who played an important role in the history of the Twin Cities region where many of his descendants still live. In consulting a wide range of sources, author Mark Dietrich has drawn together much of the scattered information that has remained unknown to the general reading public. It should be remembered, however, that throughout Cloud Man's lifetime the Dakota did not possess a written language. Dietrich and other writers have been forced to draw upon the accounts of European-American traders, army officers, politicians, missionaries, and others who began to penetrate the Minnesota region early in the nineteenth century. Cloud Man's story, told here from their point of view, inevitably reflects some of the prejudices, misperceptions, and ignorances of that time. For example, paying scant attention to a vibrant culture and spirituality, many of these early writers chose to portray the Dakota as a poor,*

dependent, and ignorant people. Accounts of white attempts to introduce European-style farming into Indian culture often ignore the fact that the Dakota probably were aware of well-developed Indian agricultural communities in the Ohio River valley long before European-Americans arrived at Fort Snelling. Despite such shortcomings in the available written sources, Cloud Man's story, as it is told here, is an important contribution to the record of a special time, place, and people in the region's history.

Ramsey County History is much indebted to the following members of the Ramsey County Historical Society's Native American Advisory Board who, at RCHS's request, read and commented upon Mark Dietrich's manuscript: Roger Buffalohead, David Larsen, Patty Thompson, Mike Scullin, Dale Weston, Leonard Wabasha, and Babara Feezor Buttes. Their suggestions, incorporated into the story of Cloud Man, help illuminate the life and times of this important Dakota leader.

Mark Dietrich

In 1829 when Cloud Man (*Mahpiyawicasta*), a Mdewakanton Dakota leader, settled with his band at Lake Calhoun in what is now south Minneapolis, he did so as part of a well-intentioned effort to encourage the Native American people of the Minnesota region to turn to farming as a stable means of feeding their people.

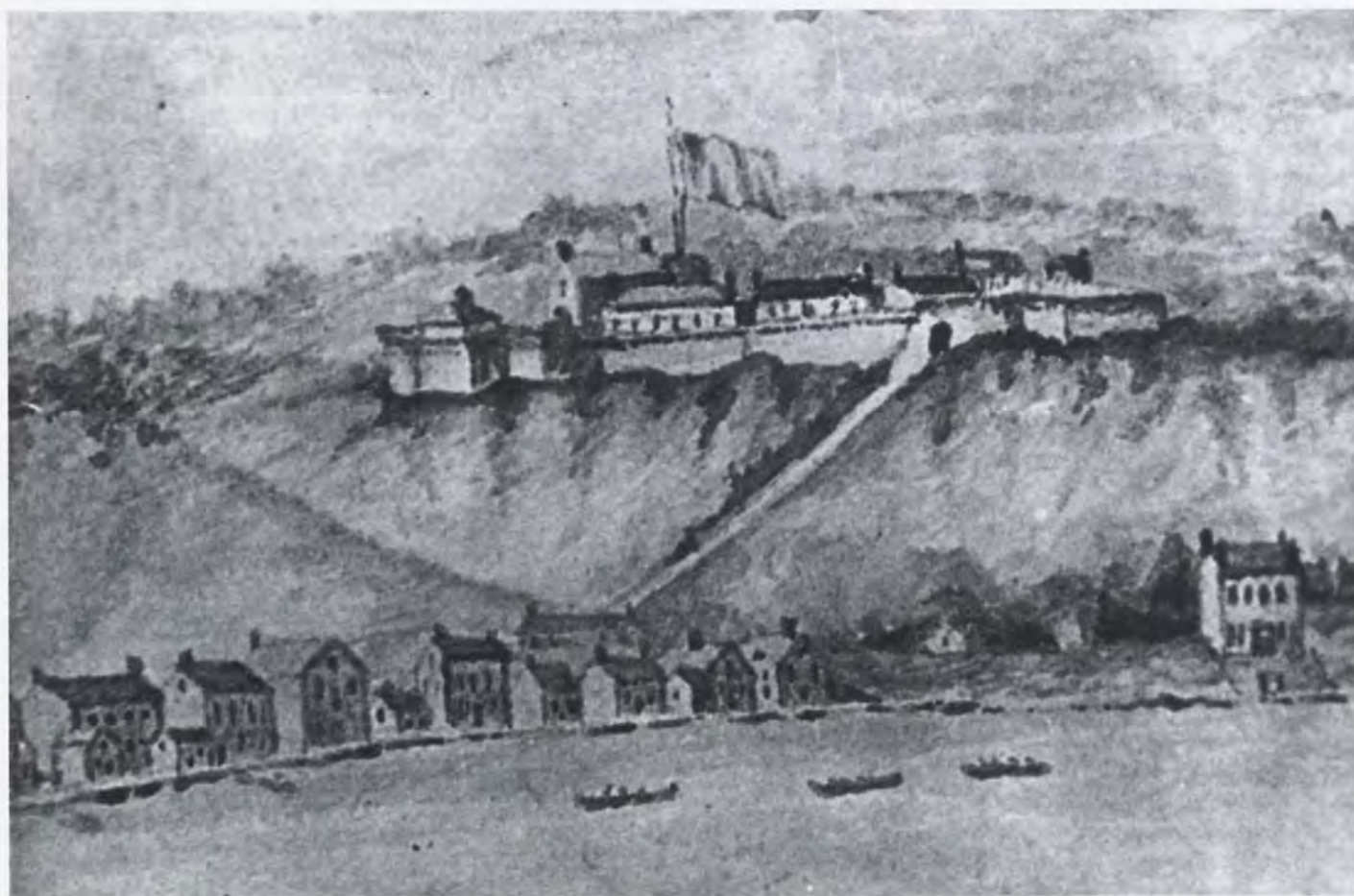
Cloud Man's farming experiment was sponsored by Lawrence Taliaferro, the United States government's Indian agent for the region whose headquarters lay just beyond the walls at Fort Snelling. It came at a time when the game that had sustained the Dakota's hunting and gathering culture was disappearing under the pressure of continued fur-trapping and the arrival of squatters on Dakota lands. The small crops the Indian women grew were not enough to supplement their diets and banish hunger from their villages. Under Taliaferro's guidance, a few of the Dakota saw farming and the use of the plow as the way to increase their food supply. In 1821 and again in 1826, Black Dog seems to have expressed some interest in acquiring a plow. In 1828 Little Crow (*Cetanwakanmani*), the Dakota leader at Kaposia, his village

across the Mississippi from present-day South St. Paul, asked Taliaferro for a plow but the agent failed to respond and the first furrows were not plowed there until 1834.

In the meantime, in 1829, Cloud Man joined in the establishment of the experimental farming village at Lake Calhoun that Taliaferro named Eatonville after John H. Eaton, Secretary of War in Washington. For ten years, almost alone among the Mdewakanton Dakota leaders, Cloud Man maintained the community for his people. He learned the use of the plow to help them increase their yields of corn and other crops to prevent starvation. He was one of the few Dakota chiefs (a title assigned Dakota leaders by their earlier British allies) to open his village to Protestant missionaries—Gideon and Samuel Pond and Jedediah Stevens. Although he forged ties of kinship with Americans in the region, his personal relationships often were marred with sadness. Each of his three daughters married, according to Dakota custom, traders and soldiers who later moved on, leaving them and their mixed-blood children behind. Thus Cloud Man's grandchildren carried such names as Lamont, Eastman, and Taliaferro.

When the always-tentative peace between the Dakota and Ojibwe bands in central and northern Minnesota broke down, Cloud Man's son-in-law, brother-in-law, and nephew were killed in the ensuing conflict. Finally, in 1839 the Lake Calhoun experiment failed, due in part to its proximity to Ojibwe territory and the threat of attack. Cloud Man moved his people to a village he established in Oak Grove, now part of Bloomington. That same year, Taliaferro resigned as Indian agent, and Stevens abandoned the Lake Harriet mission. Nothing remained of Eatonville.

In 1851 Cloud Man was one of the signers of the treaty at Mendota ceding Mdewakanton lands to the federal government, followed by the resettlement of the Dakota people on reservations along the Minnesota River in western Minnesota. Cloud Man, now more than sixty years old, spent the next years on the Dakota reservation near Shakopee. However, when the Dakota Conflict of 1862 brought about the removal of the Dakota from Minnesota, Cloud Man was interned by the Americans at Fort Snelling. While there, he died and was buried near the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers south of the fort.



Fort Mackinac in 1839, as sketched by C. F. Davis. From *Mackinac Island—Its History in Pictures* by Eugene T. Petersen, published by Mackinac State Historic Parks in 1973. Cloud Man might have been with the British-Indian force that captured the American-held fort for the British in 1812.

Cloud Man's Early History

Cloud Man was not the only Dakota leader to bear that name. As historian Rhoda Gilman noted in the Fall, 2000, issue of *Ramsey County History*, "There were actually two Dakota leaders of the same name. They lived at about the same time and both were involved with Lawrence Taliaferro and the missionaries. The [Cloud Man] who headed the farming village at Lake Calhoun was Mdewakanton; there also was a Sisseton Cloud Man who lived near Lac Qui Parle." She added that when the Mdewakanton Cloud Man signed the treaty at Mendota, his name was translated as "Man of the Sky." At that time, she noted, Cloud Man was living at Good Road's village near Shakopee.

The Mdewakanton Cloud Man was descended from the Mantanton Dakota, who had left the region of Lake Mille Lacs in the late 1600s and occupied the

area around Mendota. In the 1750s the band was mingled with the Mdewakanton Dakota, who moved from Mille Lacs to St. Peter's, the confluence of the St. Peter's [Minnesota] and Mississippi Rivers. Together they numbered not more than 2,000 people. At this time the Dakota were often in conflict with the Ojibwe, or Chippewa, who were moving into central Minnesota from their major villages on the southern shores of Lake Superior. Cloud Man's father and uncle were renowned warriors. His father probably was living with the main remnant of the Mantanton band, led by *Chetanwakanmani* (Hawk that Hunts Walking), better known as Little Crow, grandfather of the Little Crow who led the Dakota Conflict in 1862. *Chetanwakanmani* undoubtedly was not a "French nobleman," as Charles A. Eastman later thought, but Eastman might have been right in saying that Cloud Man's mother

was the daughter of a Mantanton chief and a descendant of the seventeenth century chief Fills the Pipe Again (*Akepagidan*). Their main village in the late 1700s was at a site known as "White Rock"—present-day St. Paul.¹

Cloud Man's name has been variously translated as Cloud Man, Man in the Clouds, Man of the Sky, or Sky Man (*marpiya* usually is translated as cloud; *wicasta* means man). His birthdate, too, is a mystery. Cloud Man himself guessed that he was born around 1795. However, other accounts indicate a birth date a decade or more earlier. Perhaps an estimate of 1785 would be credible. Of his immediate family, little else is known; his wife's name was *Chasapawin*, according to Ellen H. Weston, whose source was Amos Omar Weston, David Weston's son and Cloud Man's grandson. He had a sister who eventually married *Wakute* (Shooter), the stepson of the great chief Red Wing.^{1a}

A Skilled Hunter

Like most young Dakota men, Cloud Man was raised to believe that his purpose in life was to be a good provider for his family, mainly through hunting. The customary work of the Dakota women was to raise corn and vegetables, and the roles of the two sexes were rigid. A man who dug in the ground was seen as "a woman" by other men. Cloud Man therefore was trained to become a skilled hunter. At the age of seventeen he probably obtained his *wotawe*—his weapons and a medicine sack containing his sacred items for maintaining contact with the spirits. With these he was ready to join the arduous and dangerous expeditions into Ojibwe country.

The Mdewakanton particularly competed with the Mississippi, Mille Lacs, Snake, and St. Croix River Ojibwe, who often intruded into Dakota hunting territory. In 1836 Cloud Man described some of his experiences for Gideon Pond. After his uncle was fatally wounded in battle, Cloud Man said, he determined to avenge him, and due to his bravery he was raised to the rank of a "head soldier"—the virtual general of his band. Once, he said, he and ten others fought off a band of 100 Ojibwe without losing a man. "There," he commented, "the Great Spirit fought for us." He said too that times of conflict made their hearts hard. Cloud Man's own record, he said, was six Ojibwe killed. But after Fort Snelling was established at St. Peter's and Lawrence Taliaferro arrived, he stopped fighting. "Had it not been for that I should have killed many more, or have been killed myself ere this," he added. However, Cloud Man was not entirely the "pacifist" historian Thomas Hughes portrayed him to be in a short biography of the chief. Cloud Man himself apparently told Samuel Pond in 1836 that he wished he might die on the battlefield.²

Gideon Pond recorded one of Cloud Man's hunting stories in his *Dakota Friend* newspaper:

One day after an unsuccessful hunt, Cloud Man was sitting on a hill and enjoying smoking his pipe, when he spied a black bear. He decided not to kill the animal outright, but to run the bear down and prove his

endurance and courage! Stripping off his clothes he began performing a feat which he knew would be greatly respected by his people. Cloud Man pursued the bear and succeeded in catching up with it. When the bear began to tire, it headed for an area of scrub trees, where further pursuit would be difficult. Cloud Man, being skilled in long distance running, picked up the pace and headed the bear off and kept it from getting into the woods. After a further period of chase around the prairie, the bear finally succumbed to exhaustion and Cloud Man shot it. He took the carcass to his village where it was used in a festival, and religious rites were paid to the bear's spirit, the Dakota believing that every animate and inanimate object had a spirit which must be propitiated to avoid some retribution.³

Cloud Man also talked of his service, and that of other Dakota patriots, with the British during the War of 1812. The Dakota were asked by other Eastern tribes to join the Menominees, Winnebagoes, Sac, and Fox in protecting British headquarters at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Cloud Man, along with Hawk That Hunts Walking and Black Dog, probably participated in the subsequent British-Indian capture of Fort Mackinac from the Americans in the summer of 1812. The following year the Dakota traveled to a campaign against the American forts Meigs and Stephenson in the Ohio country. Again, in the summer of 1814 Cloud Man most likely was on hand with British forces during the fight to retake Prairie du Chien from the Americans. By the time the war ended late that year, Cloud Man had received several medals from British leaders and he wore them proudly until the Americans offered to exchange them for American flags and medals—a symbolic switch in loyalty from the British "Great Father" to the American.⁴

Meanwhile, the Mantanton band, of which Cloud Man probably was a part, had begun to integrate with other bands. Even before the war, White Bustard (*Mahgosau*) had taken one group to a new location four miles up the St. Peter's [Minnesota] River. He apparently was the father of Drifter (*Kahboka*), also referred to as Afloat, or Man Who Floats on the Water. After White Bustard died

in 1820, his son succeeded him as chief of the band of about twenty-five people. Black Dog married Little Crow's sister, joined White Bustard's band, and became their leading civil chief—in spite of Drifter's claims and the fact that White Bustard was not a hereditary chief. (This was a British concept. Neither before nor after British influence did a chief assume his leadership post through heredity.)

Black Dog's band consisted of about forty families, or thirty lodges, with Cloud Man's among them. Black Dog soon appointed Cloud Man his head soldier. It was a respected position in Dakota society, which he apparently held for a decade, and it reflected his standing as a warrior who had been decorated by the British. As a head soldier, Cloud Man was the second most prominent man in his village. He would use his office to keep order in the village, police communal hunts, support Black Dog's civil policies, and help carry them out.⁵

A Changing Society

Life for Cloud Man and other Mdewakanton people began to change after 1819 when the United States government sent Colonel Henry Leavenworth and 100 men to build a fort at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. Camping initially at Mendota, Leavenworth crossed the river the following spring and began a cantonment near Camp Coldwater, named for a nearby spring. Leavenworth soon was succeeded by Colonel Josiah Snelling. Along with the soldiers came Lawrence Taliaferro, the first Indian agent to be assigned to the region. He was a young Virginian, proud, and dedicated to his work. His main efforts were directed toward keeping peace among the tribes and promoting their assimilation into American society. The Mdewakanton found themselves under constant pressure from him to take up white ways, particularly agriculture. As game declined, traditional subsistence ways became difficult for the bands and their chiefs: Little Crow I at Kaposia, Pinichon at Old Village, Black Dog and Drifter at Oanaska (Long Avenue) who had to consider Taliaferro's message. It was around this time too that Taliaferro

induced the chiefs, including Black Dog and Cloud Man, to give up their British medals and their allegiance to the British king. However, the medals were so highly prized that Cloud Man held one back.⁶

It seems probable that Cloud Man was married by 1810. His wife, *Chasapawin*, was from a prominent Wahpeton Dakota family in western Minnesota and the sister of the later Wahpeton chief, Big Curly Head (*Upihdega*), and of Red Bird, a medicine man and shaman. But she was noted for her ill temper. Samuel Pond knew of one occasion where she cut a valuable buffaloskin lodge to pieces. Cloud Man and his wife had about seven children in all—at least three daughters and several sons. The daughters were Day Sets (*Anpetuinajinwin*), Hushes Still the Night (*Hanyetmrihnayyewin*) and Stands Sacredly (*Wakaninajin*). One daughter married a fellow Dakota, Badger (also known as *Nika* and *Rupacokamaza*). Cloud Man's sons included Seeing Stone and, apparently, Smoky Day (*Anpetusota*) and Red Boy (*Hoksidanduta*). Among his nephews were Red Bird's sons, including the famous John Other Day (*Anpetutokeca*), and Chief Wakute's son, *Capaduta* (Scarlet Beaver), who also became a chief.⁷

As early as 1821, Black Dog demonstrated a willingness to raise more food for his people through agriculture, including the use of a plow with harnessed horses. In 1826 he reiterated his interest to Taliaferro, asking for a plow and harness, and assistance in adopting the whites' farming methods. For some reason, however, Black Dog, who was growing old, never started a farm.⁸

Cloud Man undoubtedly was influenced by Black Dog's desire to begin farming on a greater scale than the Dakota women could manage with their crude hoes, which made breaking the ground tedious and difficult. However, Cloud Man continued to resist and hunted far from the village for buffalo and other game. He called on Taliaferro before leaving for the distant Missouri River in September 1827; Taliaferro referred to him as "a good man." When Cloud Man returned in January 1828, he



Lawrence Taliaferro, the United States' Indian agent at Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1839. Minnesota Historical Society photo.

called again and told the agent he would give up his last British medal.⁹

In the fall of 1828 Cloud Man led another hunting party west in search of game. Samuel Pond wrote, "During the trip they were caught in a blizzard and had no choice but to lie down and let it pass over them. While trapped by the snow, Cloud Man thought upon a hunter's life and decided that if he survived he would follow Taliaferro's advice and raise corn. After almost three days the blizzard passed and Cloud Man and his comrades poked through their snow coffins to find refuge nearby. He then told Taliaferro of his determination to try farming for a living."¹⁰

Cloud Man's susceptibility to Taliaferro's influence undoubtedly was also increased by Taliaferro's kinship through his marriage to Cloud Man's daughter (either Day Finishes or Hushes the Night) in about 1826–27. Hence, Cloud Man called the agent "son-in-law." In 1828 Taliaferro married Eliza Dillon of Pennsylvania, but a year before she came west, Taliaferro's Dakota daughter was born; he named her Mary L. Taliaferro.¹¹

Establishment of Eatonville

On April 15, 1829, Cloud Man came to the agency to formally request a plow and horses. The agent gave him a plow and a harness, but told the chief to use his own horse. The site for the project, Lake Calhoun, was known to the Dakota as "The Lake of the Loons" (*Mde Medoza*). Taliaferro also hired Philander Prescott to plow at that location, furnishing him with a team of horses and two yoke of oxen. Prescott was a trader who had married Spirit of the Moon (*Naginowenah*), the daughter of Flying Man, or *Keeiyah*, and Flying Man joined Cloud Man. Prescott later wrote that only his "old father-in-law" and another "old man, Man of the Clouds," were willing to go, due to fear of Ojibwe attack at that exposed site.¹²

Two weeks later, on May 2, 1829, Taliaferro arrived at Lake Calhoun to lend his own hand to the project. He wrote that he spent part of the day breaking the chief's horse to the plow and harness; he returned on May 19 to give Cloud Man more instruction. He also hired three men to begin collecting logs to build a log village as a permanent Indian camp, and a barn to hold the band's equipment and produce. He asked the Secretary of War for \$600–800 for the project, but it is not known if he received the money. In September Taliaferro made a reference in his journal to the "present infant colony of agriculturalists together with their implements of husbandry."¹³

Additions to the Band

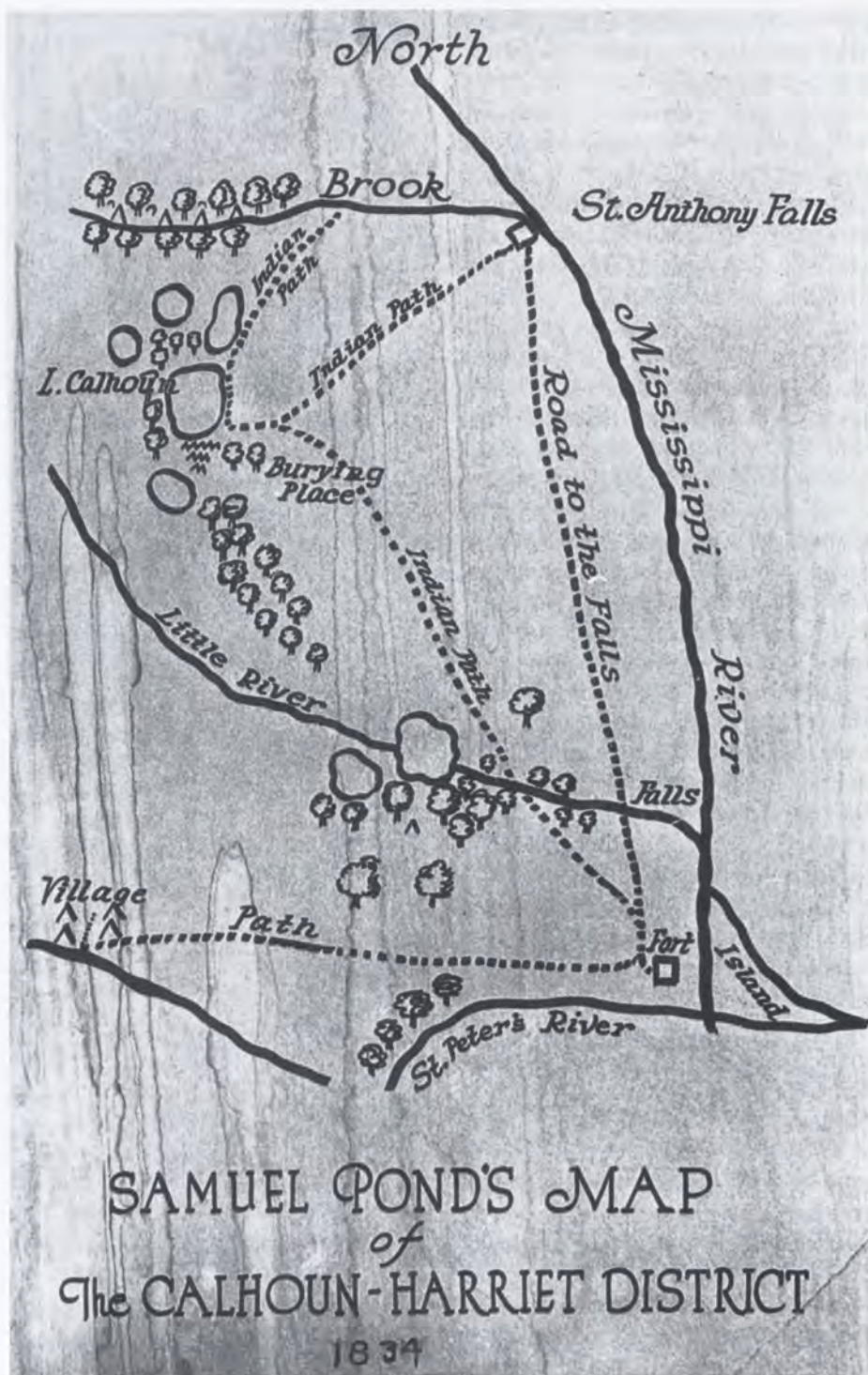
Progress was slight the first year. Prescott wrote that they plowed for about a month in the rooty ground and managed to raise "some corn." As time went on, however, the efforts began to pay off in increased harvests, not only of corn, but also squash, potatoes, cabbage, and pumpkins. Taliaferro sent the group provisions from time to time, but because Prescott also was cutting logs to rebuild the Indian council house, which had burned down, he was not giving all his time to farming. The following year, more families joined Cloud Man. The newcomers included his brother-in-law, Red or Scarlet Bird (*Zitkadanduta*), who became his head

soldier; Red Bird's brother; Whistling Wind (*Tatechandishkah*); and Cloud Man's son-in-law, Badger (or *Nika*).

To keep up with the increased demand for food, Prescott and a teamster assistant plowed eighty acres of land. Cloud Man sent the women and children into the fields after the crops were planted to scare away the red-winged blackbirds that flocked to scratch for the corn kernels. That fall the crop was bountiful enough to keep the band fed through the winter of 1830–31.^{13a}

About this time, Taliaferro appointed Cloud Man the civil chief of the small group, considering him the most able man for the position. Cloud Man was well-prepared for the job, having been a head soldier of Black Dog's band, as well as founder of the community. His duties as a civil chief were to exemplify a father's care for his children; he was expected to be personally generous, wise, brave, and above all a peacemaker. He also represented his people in council with other Dakota chiefs, other tribes, and federal government officials, particularly the agent and the military officers at Fort Snelling. With Cloud Man as their official leader, the new band was even more united in its determination to make a better living for themselves through agriculture. In April, 1831 Taliaferro consulted with the chief about the farming operation, and Cloud Man apparently asked that the plow and hoes be repaired. When Taliaferro visited the site on May 1 he found "most of them at work, cutting [*sic*] down trees, grubbing [*sic*] out the roots &c. what was more encouraging, some few of the men were at this unusual kind of labour for them. They *laughed* when they saw me. I praised them in every agreeable way that could be conveyed to them in their language."

The following year, on August 14, 1832 Taliaferro again visited the Lake Calhoun village, accompanied by Major John Bliss, commander at Fort Snelling, and the fort surgeon, Dr. Nathan S. Jarvis. He wrote: "The Indians are engaged in agriculture and much corn is being raised—from 800 to 1000 bushels. 3d year of this establishment—advanced from 8 to 125 souls—one death in three



Samuel Pond's hand-drawn map of the region around Fort Snelling that included Lake Calhoun and Lake Harriet. The "Little River" on the map is Minnehaha Creek. Minnesota Historical Society collections.

years." The death was that of Scarlet Nation (*Oyateduta*), who left a family of five.¹⁴

Many of the newcomers to the Lake Calhoun band were women and children. They were not averse to cultivating the

soil and had suffered greatly from the declining returns of the hunts in other villages nearby. Some of these women were the wives of officers at the fort and received rations from them. They perhaps did not realize that, for the most part, the

men would move on, leaving them behind. At any rate, the band was heavily helped by the whites.

Taliaferro obviously knew why many of these people came to Lake Calhoun, but cared only for the success of his project and was happy with the growth of the band, no matter what the reason. He undoubtedly believed that his "agricultural establishment" would show the Dakota the benefits of borrowing from white culture. In 1832, in a further effort to formalize the new group and give it standing within the Dakota band, Taliaferro noted that he installed Flying Man as "associate chief of Eatonville" and gave him an American chiefs' medal. And when American Fur Company traders tried to repossess goods, such as guns, kettles, and knives, given on credit to Cloud Man's band in the spring of 1833, Taliaferro intervened. He wrote in his journal: "I caused the Indians to retain their guns and kettles, they living in rather a dangerous place." He preferred to suffer the ire of the traders than see his experiment hindered. Furthermore, he was bitter about the traders' opposition to farming and education for the Indians. He quoted one trader as saying that he lost \$500 whenever an Indian learned to read and write. Members of the Cloud Man band were at the time in business with several traders—Alexis Bailly of the American Fur Company and his successor at Mendota, Henry H. Sibley, as well as Benjamin F. Baker and Philander Prescott, who were independent traders.¹⁵

Pond Brothers and Cloud Man

In the summer of 1834 Taliaferro saw another means of helping the Lake Calhoun community in its agricultural efforts. The young brothers, Samuel and Gideon Pond, arrived at Mendota from Connecticut seeking to learn to know the Dakota language and convert the Dakota to Christianity. Samuel Pond was encouraged by Taliaferro to live among Cloud Man's band. Taliaferro was convinced that "civilizing" the Dakota had to precede conversion to Christianity. He wrote:

I hazard nothing in this, for an Indian must be taught all the temporal benefits of this life first; before you ask him to seek for eternal



Samuel Pond, left, and his brother, Gideon. Both photos of the Ponds are from the Minnesota Historical Society.

happiness, teach him to worship the true and living God through the self-evident developments of his mother earth. In fine, let agriculture and the arts precede the preaching of the gospel, after which, Christianity inculcate if practicable.

He saw the Ponds as "two faithful and trustworthy assistants in improveing [*sic*] the condition of the Mdawakanton [*sic*] Sioux." Like Taliaferro, Cloud Man welcomed the Ponds' offer to stay among them and help with the farming. He even advised them to build a cabin of tamarack logs on the east side of Lake Calhoun, where they "would be able to see loons on the water." (The north side of Lake Calhoun was bordered by a swamp with tamarack trees.)

By mid-summer the Ponds had built a two-room cabin of oak logs, with a cellar and a roof of bark. On July 7 Taliaferro hired the two brothers to take charge of Eatonville, writing: "I am to furnish out of my private funds—Hay for the Oxen—belonging to the Indians, & these young men are to have a Charge of them for the Winter—They will *plough* some *this fall* and again in the Spring for the Indians, & go on thereafter to instruct them in the *arts & habits of civilised life*." The agent claimed that the Dakota were

pleased with this arrangement and had asked that the Ponds be supported by any means possible.

Samuel Pond later recorded his impression of the chief: "[Cloud Man was] . . . a man of superior discernment and of great prudence and foresight. He did not hesitate to tell the Dakota that the time had come when nothing but a change in their mode of life could save them from ruin, yet they were very slow to adopt his new notions. He was opposed by many of the other chiefs, and none of them entered heartily into his views."

Gideon Pond had spent a short time at the Little Crow village at Kaposia, but found the Dakota there rather hostile toward him, and so moved to Cloud Man's village, also. Taliaferro hired him to plow for the Indians and gave him a rent-free room at the agency and the use of his interpreter, Scott Campbell. The Ponds then plowed about four acres of land and fenced it with logs. Living about a quarter of a mile away in fourteen bark lodges, Cloud Man's people called on the Ponds for various favors, such as borrowing hatchets or axes. The Ponds also constantly heard "the women and children . . . screaming to drive the blackbirds from their corn."¹⁶



Henry H. Sibley. Minnesota Historical Society photo.

The Lake Harriet Mission

On May 30, 1835, the Reverend Jedediah Dwight Stevens, a Presbyterian minister, arrived at Fort Snelling with his family, including an adopted six-year-old daughter, Jane DeBow, and his niece, Lucy C. Stevens. He planned to begin a formal mission among the Dakota with support from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Although Dr. Thomas Williamson also had arrived to start a mission at Lake Calhoun, Stevens insisted that he be the one to work in the area declaring that he had been planning the venture since 1829. Williamson moved on to Lac qui Parle. Stevens supervised the construction of a house and school on the west side of Lake Harriet, with carpentry help from Gideon Pond, whom he looked upon as a laborer—not quite on the same ministerial level as he. The Ponds soon became unhappy with Stevens' attitude towards them and undoubtedly wished that he had settled near their cabin at Lake Calhoun. Taliaferro, too, was unhappy about Stevens' intentions, privately feeling that it was an interruption of the plans he and the Ponds had for the band. When Stevens asked Taliaferro for an interpreter to teach "a set of ragged half-

starved indolent beings," Taliaferro decided that Stevens' mission was "folly."¹⁷

Stevens and his family moved into their new house on September 18, 1835. After the mission school was almost finished, Stevens suggested that since the Ponds had helped with the mission, they should move from their cabin to the mission house. Reluctantly, they moved to Lake Harriet in the fall of 1835, giving their cow and some of their corn and potatoes. They later learned that Stevens had lied to his mission board, saying that the Ponds had come to him because they were uncomfortably situated at Lake Calhoun. Furthermore, when the *Sioux Spelling Book* the Ponds had developed was published in 1836, it carried J. D. Stevens' byline.

At the end of that winter, Gideon left Lake Harriet and joined the Williamson mission at Lac qui Parle. He later returned in 1838 as a government farmer. For a salary of \$600 per annum he was to plow cornfields, cut hay for the cattle, and build shelters for the animals. Samuel, on the other hand, returned east in the summer of 1836 to study for the ministry, placing him on a more equal footing with Stevens in mission work. Taliaferro greatly regretted the Ponds' departure, seeing it as "a serious loss to the Indians." (Samuel was ordained on March 4, 1837 and then returned to Minnesota.)

In 1836 the boarding school was completed and Stevens arranged for two classes to be taught. Lucy Stevens taught up to twenty Dakota children, who spoke only the Dakota language. Stevens apparently taught the mixed-blood children, who also boarded at the school. They included the children of Henry Sibley (by the daughter of Bad Hail), and Philander Prescott. The courses were mainly reading, writing and sewing. Taliaferro, from time to time, checked on the progress at

the school. On December 30, 1836 the school held a "commencement," with Taliaferro, Sibley, and Major Gustavus Loomis present as inspectors. They found that Stevens was endeavoring to have the Dakota live near his school. He proudly reported that the principal chief's family was attending the Sabbath meetings and that his children were attending the school. Although Stevens was not popular with the Dakota, he appears to have had a good relationship with Cloud Man. Stevens wrote in January, 1837 that the chief "appears more and more favourably disposed toward us, and the object of our mission—says he will cut and draw timber for building him a permanent home near us as soon as the ice will admit of going into the tamarac [*sic*] swamps for it."¹⁸

However, Stevens' progress at the mission was not as glowing as it might have seemed. He had difficulty learning the Dakota language and did not progress very far in speaking it. Without the Pond brothers there, his hopes of converting the Dakota were limited. Members of the band still had to leave the area for long periods of time in the fall and winter to harvest wild rice and hunt for game and were not there to hear the persuasions of the gospel. Furthermore, Dakota culture was not changing as rapidly as Stevens had hoped. On a number of occasions he witnessed the attachment of the Dakota to their ancient customs. In January, 1836, for example, he described a woman of Cloud Man's band whose husband had died. "The principal mourner commenced gashing or cutting her ankles and legs up to the knees with a sharp stone, until her legs were covered with gore and flowing blood; then in like manner her arms, shoulders, and breast. . . . I presume there were more than a hundred long deep gashes in the flesh. I saw the operation. . . ."^{18a}

Lawrence Taliaferro's 1835 map. Obviously, Taliaferro was not a cartographer; nevertheless, his drawing shows, among other sites, Lake Harriet, Lake Calhoun, (Lake Snelling probably is today's Cedar Lake), Fort Snelling, and Henry Sibley's American Fur Company post across the river from Pike Island at Mendota. Taliaferro indicates with squares Cloud Man's village at Lake Calhoun. Perhaps in an effort to impress the War Department, which administered the Indian agencies, he depicted an impressive row of houses on one side of Lake Harriet—wishful thinking on Taliaferro's part. Minnesota Historical Society collections.

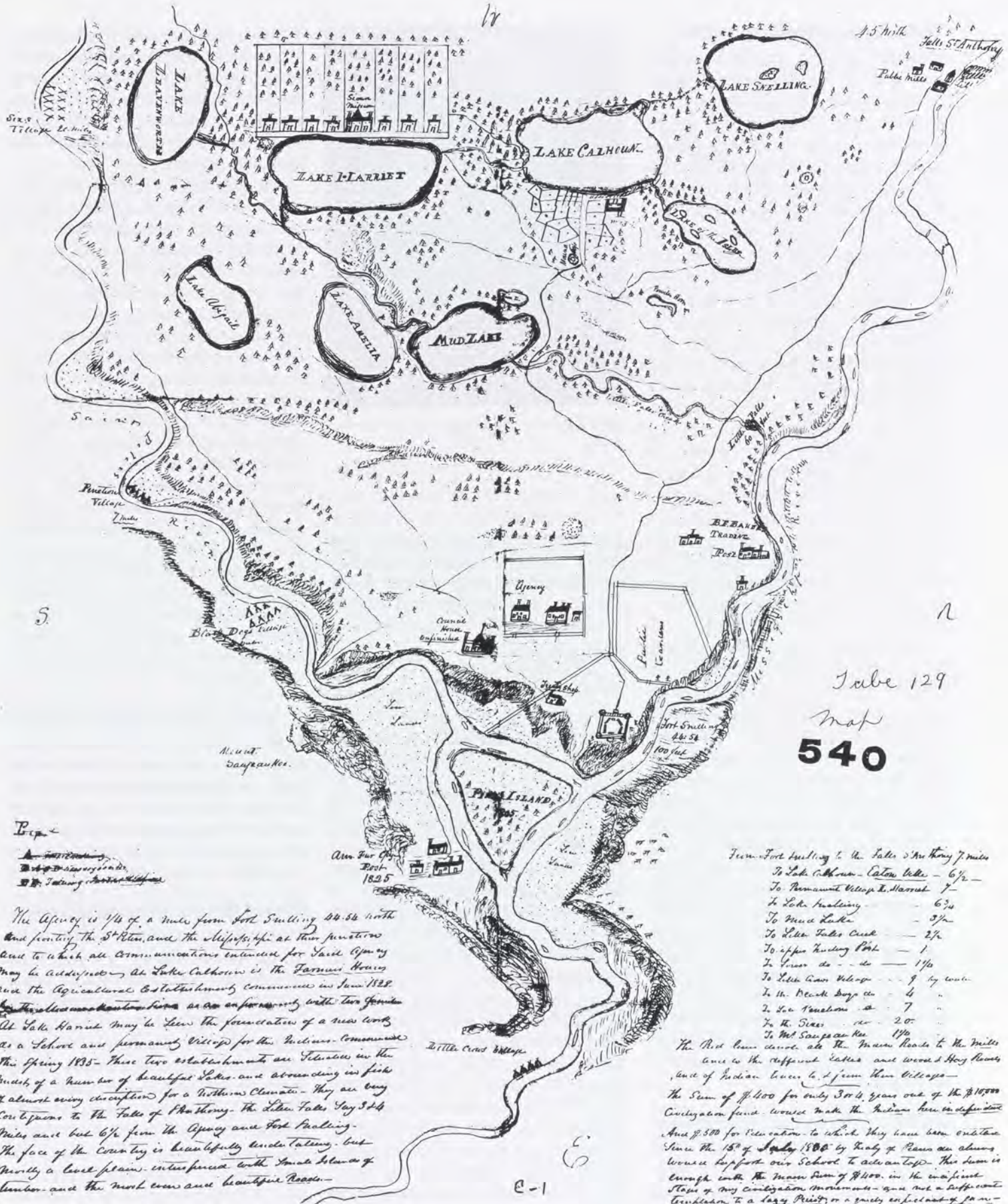


Table 129
Map
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The Agency is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from Fort Snelling 44-44 north and fronting the St. Peter, and the Mississippi at their junction and to which all communications intended for said Agency may be addressed. At Lake Calhoun is the Farmers House and the Agricultural Establishment commenced in June 1822. The village of Little Crow is an an-
 At Lake Harriet may be seen the foundations of a new work as a School and permanent village for the Indians. Commenced this Spring 1835. These two establishments are situated in the midst of a number of beautiful Lakes and abounding in fish of almost every description for a Northern Climate. They are very convenient to the Falls of St. Anthony. The Little Falls are 3 1/2 miles and but 6 1/2 from the Agency and Fort Snelling. The face of the country is beautifully level, rolling, but mostly a level plain, interspersed with small islands of timber and the most trees are beautiful Cedars.

- From Fort Snelling to the Falls of St. Anthony 7 miles
 To Lake Calhoun - Cotton Lake - 6 1/2 -
 To Permanent Village at Harriet 7 -
 To Lake Saelling - 6 1/2
 To Mud Lake - 3 1/2
 To Little Falls Creek - 2 1/2
 To Upper Landing Post - 1
 To Lower do - do - 1 1/2
 To Little Crow Village - 9 by water
 To the Beach beyond do - 4 -
 To the Falls do - 7 -
 To the Sixes do - 20 -
 To Mt. Savage on the 1 1/2

The Post has done all the main roads to the Mills and to the different Lakes and wooded Bay Rivers and of Indian travel, &c. from their Villages -
 The sum of \$1000 for only 3000 years out of the \$10,000 Civilization fund would make the Indian here in dependence
 And \$500 for Education to which they have been entitled since the 15th of July 1800 by Treaty of Peace and always would support our School to advantage. This sum is enough with the main sum of \$1000 in the earliest stages of any Civilization Movement - and not a sufficient temptation to a lazy Priest, or a greedy expectant of an -

Taliaferro's Map of 1835

Whatever problems existed for Cloud Man's band, Taliaferro remained excited by the prospects of his project. In 1835 he drew up a map of Fort Snelling and the surrounding region for the War Department (his agency was still under the control of that department), and tried to make evident the cornfields around Lake Calhoun. He also depicted an impressive row of houses on one side of Lake Harriet with the "Sioux Mission" at the center. These log cabins, based on the historical evidence, apparently were wishful thinking on Taliaferro's part, with a view toward deceptively impressing the War Department. The only buildings known to exist at that time were the Stevens' home and a school house. It is true that Cloud Man wanted a permanent home, but apparently no one got around to helping him build one. The only construction taking place in the immediate vicinity was in 1837, when Mary Riggs reported that a shaman of the band, Good Voice (*Howaxte*), was building a log house for himself "not far from the mission house." It is not known if he completed it.

The following year a cabin was built for a "widowed family" of Dakota, also near the mission. An 1839 map of the Fort Snelling military reservation (of which the land was a part) shows three squares—indicating three structures at Lake Harriet. And so, with great exaggeration, Taliaferro wrote to his superiors that the Lake Harriet community shown on his map was "the foundation of a new work as a school and permanent village for the Indians." He asked for financial support and endeavored to convince them that a little money would go a long way towards the civilizing of the Dakota. He invested some of his own money in supplies for the band and also steered treaty money (from the Treaty of 1830) to the new community: \$700 was earmarked for agricultural tools such as plows and hoes.¹⁹

Drifter Assumes Leadership

About the time Stevens arrived, Drifter, and his following from the old White Bustard band, decided to join Cloud Man—or more correctly, take over, the



Seth Eastman. Minnesota Historical Society photo.

band. Among Drifter's followers were Foolish Buffalo, Walking Hoop, Tomah, Four Stars and Walking Leaf, three of the chief's sons, and a daughter and her husband. Drifter obviously wanted to take advantage of the fact that Cloud Man was not a hereditary chief and establish himself as first chief.

Samuel Pond recalled: "A great number of others came including an old man named Karboka, who claimed to be a chief, bringing a good many with him. Between him and *Marpiwicaxta* there was a rivalry. . . ." The rivalry was not only about who would be the first chief of the band, but also over the missionary presence. Drifter later was described as being anti-missionary, although he undoubtedly enjoyed the benefits of the Eatonville arrangement. Both Cloud Man and Drifter were signers of a November 30, 1836 treaty arrangement, but Drifter had gained supremacy. Taliaferro, perhaps reluctantly, recognized Drifter as the first chief of the Lake Calhoun band and Cloud Man acquiesced to the new arrangement in hopes of keeping the community together. The band soon became known to the Mdewakanton as the "Village Back From the River" (*Hey-ataotonwe*), and also as *Tiakape Otanwe*, "Village Whose Houses Have Roofs." The band eventually needed a burial ground, which usually was on the top of a

hill. One such hill, east of Cloud Man's village became their burial site. A typical burial site would have a number of scaffolds that held the remains of the dead, wrapped in blankets or buffalo skins; nearby were poles with cloth attached to them, like flags.²⁰

On August 8, 1835 Cloud Man, Drifter, and Flying Man, went to see the agent to request further assistance. Cloud Man reported on the history of their endeavors: "My father, . . . we have been now four years going on pretty well. You first put us where we are in 1828—seven winters ago. We were but few then, only two families. Now we are 45 [families] in all and more coming. You have done us great charity and we know it and feel it and come now to say we thank you. We wish to do well. We want you to ask the Great Father to assist you, for in doing this we get the benefit. We want some persons to help us to put up strong houses [barns], and to build houses underground [root cellars] like the white people so that our women can put our corn and potatoes where they will be safe for the winter. We [also] had now rather have houses than not, as we wish to stop hunting as our game is all gone nearly and live like the white people."

Cloud Man also pleaded on behalf of the band's children, many of whom had been left behind by their white military fathers: "We have many children and we wish you to assist us to manage them. You have been with us so long that you can now do as you please with our people, and none can say anything, for what you will do will be right. . . ."²¹

Cloud Man's Grandchildren

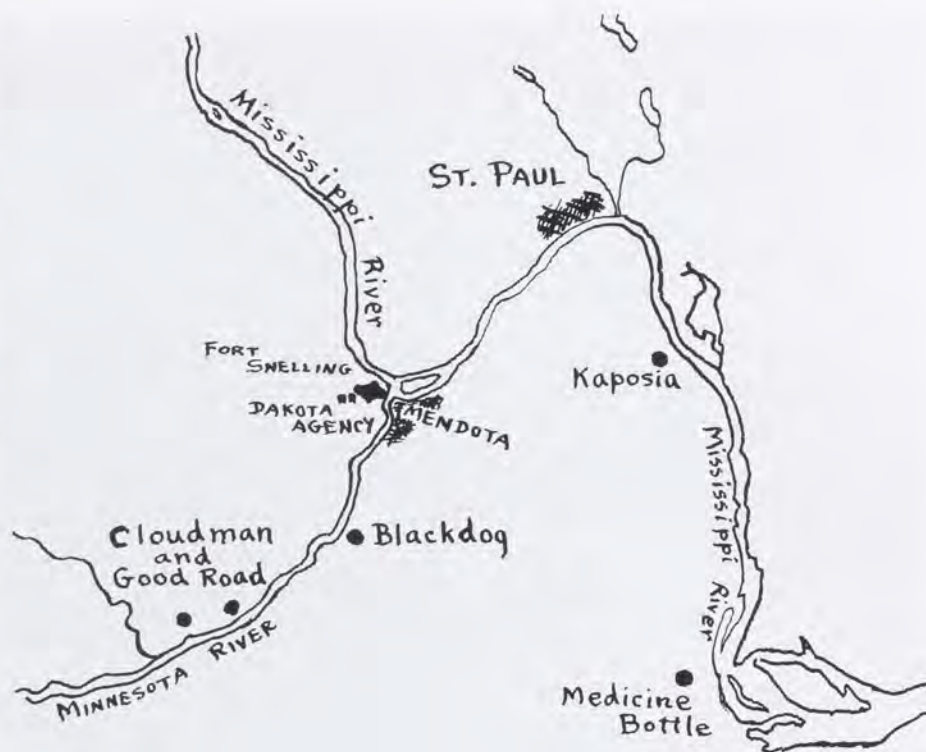
The young mixed-blood children were becoming—literally—a growing concern. Not only did Taliaferro have a child by one of Cloud Man's daughters, but Daniel Lamont had one (Jane) by another, and Cloud Man's third daughter, Stands Sacredly, had a child (Mary Nancy, or *Wakantankawin*—Great Spirit Woman) fathered by Captain Seth Eastman in about 1830. In fact, trader Alexis Bailly began to refer to Cloud Man in his credit books as "Eastman's father-in-law." Another child, Elizabeth Williams, apparently also was related to Cloud

Man, but her father, presumably named Williams, has not been further identified. Another mixed-blood child in the band was William Brown. Eventually, Stevens and his family tried to care for and educate these children.

He wrote: "We have a child in our family belonging to a supposedly U.S. In. Ag., Major T., and most of the officers who were here formerly . . . [s]oldiers and traders [also] have children . . . with the several bands in this vicinity." Taliaferro still had legal care of some of the children, including his daughter Mary, Jane Lamont, Mary Nancy Eastman, and Elizabeth Williams. According to Charles Eastman, Seth Eastman also exhibited some concern for his offspring; it was said that on his last visit to the child he could not restrain himself from weeping. Apparently he arranged with Henry Sibley's store to provide whatever Stands Sacredly wanted for her child. During his stay in Washington in 1837 Taliaferro saw to it that his daughter, Mary, listed as age eleven in 1837, received a claim of land as a mixed-blood under the Treaty of 1837. He also asked for justice for the "orphans"—Jane Lamont, Nancy Eastman, Winona Culbertson, William Brown, and a few others.²²

Fashionable Tourist Spot

The growing "agricultural establishment" began to attract white visitors, due to its proximity to the fort and the beauty of the scenery en route. English explorer George W. Featherstonhaugh took time out from his journey up the Minnesota River, to visit the Dakota community on October 17, 1835. Describing Lake Calhoun as a "pretty sheet of water," he wrote, "There is an Indian village near it, consisting of numerous Indians belonging to various bands." He noted that the Pond brothers had aided the Indians in the raising of maize and "pulse" [peas or beans]: "From about thirty acres of land they had harvested about 800 bushels of maize the present season, all of which they put into *caches*. When I visited the place the Indians were out trapping musk-rats. . . ." Proceeding to Lake Harriet, Featherstonhaugh found missionary Stevens' little house in a beautiful grove near the lake: "[Stevens] . . . told me that



Map of Mdewakanton Dakota villages that clustered about Fort Snelling at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers during the 1840s and early 1850s. Cloud Man's village at Lake Calhoun was off to the west in this map by Edward J. Lettermann. Ramsey County Historical Society collections.

he proposed to 'christianize' all the Indians, and to establish a village of them near to his house."²³

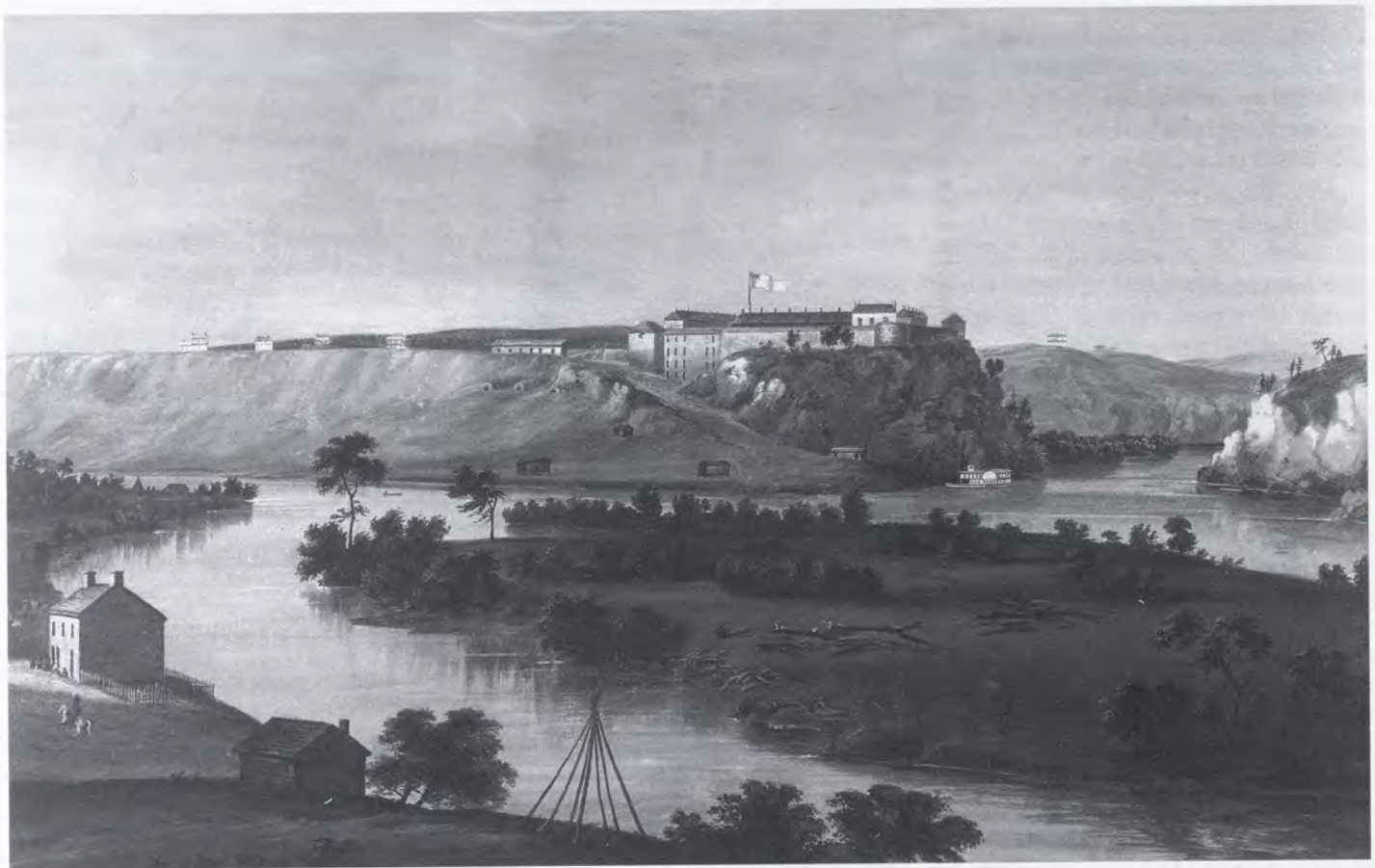
In the summer of 1836 one of the visitors to Lake Calhoun was the famous artist, George Catlin. On July 4 Catlin attended one of the Dakota's lacrosse games and on July 9 witnessed the dance of a number of Ojibwe. He took time out to paint a scene of lodges at Cloud Man's village. He also painted portraits of Taliaferro and Black Dog. No portrait of Cloud Man, however, is known to exist.²⁴

In June, 1837 two new missionaries—Stephen and Mary Riggs—arrived in Dakota country and stayed for a time at Eatonville before going on to distant Lac qui Parle. Riggs noted that the Lake Calhoun village consisted of about twenty lodges, including both bark-lodge cabins and buffalo-skin tipis. On one occasion the Riggses visited Cloud Man's cabin, but the chief was not home; his daughters, however, allowed them to enter. One of the other chiefs, probably Flying Man, called on them and said that his was a very bad country, but that Riggs' home

country was a good one, and he was glad that Riggs had come to live "in a bad country" with the Dakota.

Riggs noted that Stevens was not successful in converting the Dakota of the band, writing: "The Dakotas did not yet care to hear the gospel. The Messrs. Pond had succeeded in teaching one young man to read and write, and occasionally a few could be induced to come and listen to the good news." Mary Riggs was concerned as well that even with the crop production, the Dakotas were very poor at other times of the year. She wrote: "Some Indian women came in yesterday bringing strawberries, which I purchased with beans. Poor creatures, they have very little food of any kind at this season of the year. . . ."²⁵

In June, 1838 other distinguished whites came to the village, including General Henry Atkinson and English novelist Captain Frederick Marryat. The latter wrote, "I went out about nine miles to a Sioux village on the banks of a small lake. Their lodges were built in cottage fashion, of small fir poles and covered



Fort Snelling in 1844, from a water color and gouache painting by John Casper Wild. Taliaferro's Indian agency is the long low building at the top of the hill just outside the fort. Henry H. Sibley's house is on the far left (with the fence). Minnesota Historical Society photograph of the original painting, which is in its collection.

inside and out with bark, with a hole, in the center, for the smoke to escape. I entered one of these lodges; the interior was surrounded by a continuous bed placed round three of the side, about three feet from the floor and on this platform was a quantity of buffalo skins and pillows; the fire was in the center. . . . A missionary resides at the village and has paid great attention to the small band under his care." Taliaferro visited on June 1 and found Stevens "engaged in ploughing for the Indians."²⁶

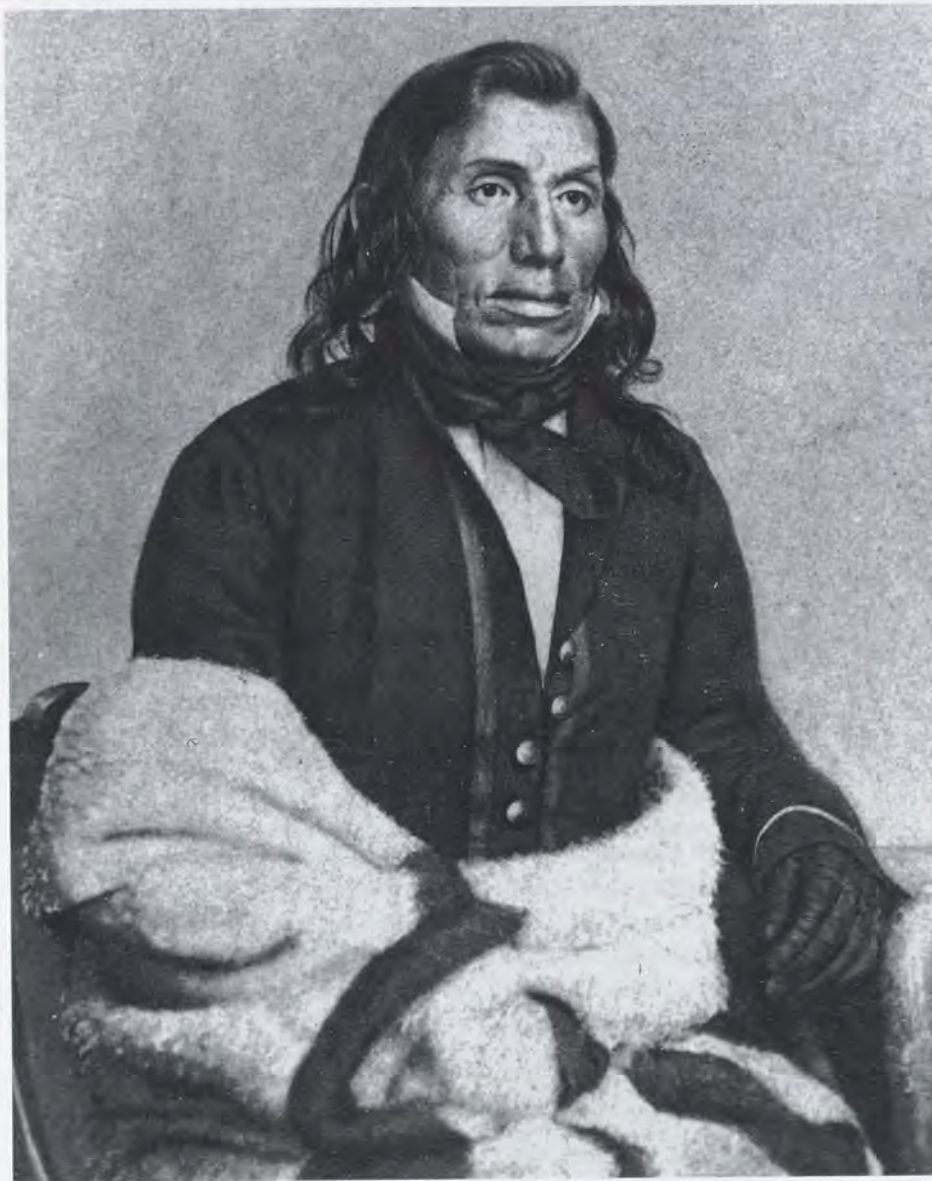
A Trip to Washington

Although Cloud Man's band had been fairly successful in growing corn to augment their hunting, by 1837 other Mde-wakanton were starving much of the time. Game was hunted in the surrounding region, and if the bands traveled very far to

the north they were in danger of attack by the Ojibwe and if they went too far to the south (in Iowa), they could be attacked by Sac and Fox. The American Fur Company's traders urged the Mde-wakanton leaders to sell some of their land to obtain annuities from the government, and cash to pay off their credits. The chiefs felt that they had no choice but to make a deal with the government. Taliaferro, on the other hand, hoped that treaty benefits would keep the tribe from starvation and give them some amount of financial freedom from the traders. He gathered a delegation of chiefs and headmen, including Cloud Man and Drifter, and took them to Washington in August, 1837.

The chiefs met with Secretary of War Joel Poinsett and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Carey A. Harris in late September. They were offered \$1 million in goods

and services and annuities for all of their land claims east of the Mississippi River (five million acres)—land claimed by the Mantanton Dakota since 1680. The chiefs asked for more money, but the white officials held firm and finally the chiefs agreed to sign the treaty on September 29. Cloud Man's name, improperly translated, appears as "White Man" on the treaty documents. The officials then gave the chiefs new hats, coats, scarves, blankets, and leggings. Taliaferro afterwards wrote that the treaty was "all that will save them [the Mde-wakanton] from starvation and want in the future—I know it will be the death blow to the influence of the trade & they are doing all they can to defeat its ratification. . . . But it won't do—we will succeed & our poor foolish Indians will be happy at last."²⁷



Little Crow (Taoyateduta) who was the reluctant leader of the Dakota Conflict in 1862. J. E. Whitney photograph, Minnesota Historical Society collections.

A Cloud Man Rebuke

While the chiefs were in town, they were called to a meeting with a delegation of Sac and Fox, headed by Keokuk and Black Hawk. The Dakota were bitter about the hostilities between the tribes and Taliaferro's constant pressure not to retaliate for wrongs committed against them. Although the Sac and Fox attacks were on the Dakota people as a whole, rather than specifically Cloud Man's band (the main sufferers being the Wahpekute Dakota), on October 5 Cloud Man addressed the group on behalf of his fellow chiefs:

My ears are always open to good counsel, but I think my Great Father should take a stick and bore the ears of these people. They appear to shut their ears when they come into the council. I always thought myself and my people would be made happy by listening to your advice. But I begin to think the more we listen, the more we are imposed upon by other tribes. Had I been foolish and given foolish course to my young men, you would not have seen me here today. I might have been at home doing mischief, seeking to revenge what these people have provoked. I have been struck by these men eight times and have lost many of my people. . . . Grown

men like these ought to be men of sense, but I do not believe they have any sense. I cannot place any confidence in them. I have more confidence in that little child (pointing to the son of Keokuk) than in all these large grown men.²⁸

Trouble with the Ojibwe

Upon his return Cloud Man must have been surprised by the number of Dakota who were flocking to his village. A count of the band in 1838 indicated that seventy-three families were present, or 221 people in all. But in the spring of 1838 they were shocked by the news that Hole-in-the-Day, the famed Ojibwe chief of the Crow Wing region, had killed some Wahpeton, some of whom were related to Cloud Man through his wife. The Mdewakanton had met in council with the Ojibwe almost yearly for two decades to keep the peace, and they could not understand why Hole-in-the-Day had committed this crime. However, Hole-in-the-Day, although at peace with the Mdewakanton, wanted revenge against the Wahpeton for relatives they had killed. Some of the leading Wahpeton went down to Fort Snelling to complain. On July 16, 1838 Cloud Man complained as well, telling Taliaferro that the Ojibwe had caused him not only the loss of relatives, but also prevented his tribe from hunting in the north, and his people were hungrier than ever. He warned that the band would soon be reduced to killing their own cattle if they received no help. On August 14 Cloud Man's predictions came true: Taliaferro heard that the band had killed four head of cattle; he therefore had to procure a young yoke of oxen for Stevens to break in as replacements. Meanwhile, Stevens lamented the warfare for another reason: since both Cloud Man and Red Bird were related to the deceased Wahpeton, they were spending most of their time in war dances and planning revenge.²⁹

Despite of worsening affairs with the band, Taliaferro continued to do what he could to support them. In August, 1838 he went to Lake Harriet with several men to build a log house for an Indian family, presumably Cloud Man's, as the chief had asked for a house several times in

recent years. However, the treaty annuities were late in arriving and the Indians continued to go hungry, in spite of rations from Taliaferro. Finally, on October 15, 1858, Taliaferro was able to pay the bands their money, as well as the long overdue settlement from the Lieutenant Zebulon Pike Treaty of 1805, which benefited the Lake Calhoun band to the extent of \$300.³⁰

In June 1839, to the great dismay of the Mdewakanton, Hole-in-the-Day, with about a thousand of his people, arrived at Fort Snelling for a council with military officials. The agent encouraged the Mdewakanton leaders to make use of the opportunity to meet the Ojibwe in council. They did so and made peace, only to be shocked a day later when two Pillager



Alexander Ramsey, first governor of Minnesota Territory. Minnesota Historical Society photo.

Ojibwe killed and scalped Cloud Man's son-in-law, Badger, near Lake Harriet. A son of Cloud Man, who was with Badger, escaped and brought the alarm to the village. Young Jane DeBow found herself pulled back from the tumult by Gideon Pond who prevented her from seeing the "mourning squaws tearing out their hair and gashing their flesh [with knives]."

Red Bird, as head soldier and relative of the victim, wanted immediate revenge and sent runners to all the neighboring villages to raise a war party. After a force

of about 150 men had been assembled, they pursued the main contingent of Ojibwe, who were proceeding towards Lake Mille Lacs, unaware of what the Pillagers had done. In a surprise attack at the Rum River on July 3, some 100 Ojibwe were killed. The Dakota dead were fewer, but included Red Bird, Red Bird's son (who was about fifteen years old), and several other men of the Cloud Man band, who died later. Cloud Man and others went through the customary mourning process, wearing old clothes, rubbing ashes on their faces and leaving their hair bedraggled. Seventy Ojibwe scalps were hung on poles in the center of Cloud Man's village in preparation, according to Dakota custom, for a "scalp dance," actually "Dance in Praise of One" (who had taken the scalp). The dances continued for a month, causing Gideon Pond to comment: "It seemed as if hell had emptied itself here." Jane DeBow memorized one of the scalp dance songs she heard:

*You Ojibwe, you are mean,
We will use you like a mouse,
We have got you and
We will strike you down,
My dog is very hungry,
I will give him the Ojibwe scalps.³¹*

Stevens Leaves the Mission

Matters at Lake Calhoun were in turmoil due to the renewed warfare with the Ojibwe. Many felt that their village was too exposed to Ojibwe ambush and wanted to leave the area. On August 6 the chiefs met with Taliaferro, and he encouraged them to return to the village to care for their crops, which were being consumed by blackbirds. The chiefs replied (whether Drifter or Cloud Man Taliaferro did not say):

My father, we listen to you. We never intended to give up our place or corn. We stopped here for a few days after our troubles with the Ojibwe. We shall return on tomorrow as you seem to desire & advised us to do. . . . We intend to go & take care of our corn, but we are in a poor way to defend ourselves against the Chippewas in case we are attacked. We have not ten guns & not one charge of powder and ball.

They asked Taliaferro to extend them

some annuity credit with Henry Sibley so they could acquire twelve guns with powder and lead for their defense; Taliaferro granted the request. For the time being, the Indians fortified their village and awaited the ripening of their crops. They were described as walking "in fear and trembling." Stevens tore down the Pond cabin to use the logs for breastworks.³²

The band eventually harvested a "heavy crop of corn and potatoes." But Cloud Man was greatly discouraged about the prospects for his children and grandchildren. If they moved away from Lake Calhoun, would Taliaferro and the whites at the fort still help to support them? Was Stevens planning to stay among them? Stevens wrote:

The chief called on me one day with whom I had a long talk on the subject [of my residence among them]. He appeared very friendly, as he always has to us. I understood him to say that he was pleased to have white men come and live with them a long time—that he did not like to have them come and stay a little time and then go away. He said two white men came among them and married his two eldest daughters, staid [sic] a short time and left them—that was not good—several Frenchmen had done the same—he did not like it.

Cloud Man also complained about the Ponds, who had helped them, but then proved unreliable, as far as he was concerned, as they moved from one place to another. He was happy with Stevens, however. Stevens replied—untruthfully—that he would "live and die with the Sioux." The following day, Cloud Man visited Henry Sibley's warehouse at Mendota and reiterated to Sibley that he wanted Stevens to stay at his village and educate his children.^{32a}

In spite of Cloud Man's wishes, Stevens already had made arrangements to leave the mission. He had learned that his Mission Board was about to ask for his resignation and furthermore, Taliaferro had hired him in July, 1839 as government farmer for the Wapahasha band near Winona, Minnesota. Stevens visited Wapahasha's village in mid-July for a week and then returned on August 4 to cut hay and take his stock downriver. The Lake Harriet mission was turned over to the Ponds. However, there was no elation



"Indians Travelling," painted by Seth Eastman during his second tour of duty at Fort Snelling around 1850. Under the terms of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, the Dakota were moved onto reservations in southern and western Minnesota. Photograph of the Eastman painting from the collection of W. Duncan MacMillan. Courtesy of W. Duncan MacMillan and the Afton Historical Society Press.

on Samuel Pond's part. On November 14 he informed his Mission Board that there was little chance of continuing the mission and school at Lake Calhoun, because, since the war, the Lake Calhoun Dakota "had no taste for religious instruction." In later years Pond reflected on his years with Cloud Man's band:

We were not in a situation to hold regular meetings with the Indians until we were settled at Bloomington [Oak Grove], but we talked . . . to them on religious subjects in season and out of season whether they would hear or whether they would forbear. . . . A few of them we believed were converted, but not many.

As the band scattered that fall for the hunts, some of the mixed-blood children were transferred to the school at the Methodist mission at Kaposia, among them Mary Taliaferro, Hannah Taliaferro (see 11fn), and Elizabeth Williams. Taliaferro, who had planned to resign soon, wrote to Samuel Pond in August, asking if his daughter could stay with the Ponds and stating that he would be willing to pay her room, board, and tuition. Pond apparently declined, although he later took in Mary Nancy Eastman.³³

The Agent's Resignation

Cloud Man and his people heard the rumor on August 8 that Taliaferro, who had been among them for twenty-one years, was planning to leave. Cloud Man, along with Flying Man, Drifter, and several other Dakota leaders, went to the agency to ask if this was true. Cloud Man, as Taliaferro's father-in-law, was asked to speak for the group:

My father, we have had strange feelings pass over us within a few days—a little bird whispered as we came along to your house this day and our hearts were sorely distressed at the sound—a sound which . . . was in our path. . . . This sound was borne upon ten winds and soon after a dark cloud flew over our path & for a while we could not see—we were as blind men walking on strange grounds.

My father, I am deputed to give you this news as we all heard it—we hope it is not so, for we know of no cause on our part why we should be discarded & left worse off than when first we heard the sound of your voice—a voice that gives us peace, plenty & good council and our children know it.

My father, the chiefs & braves present wish to learn from your own lips, if the Bird we

have heard speak this day, speaks truth. My father, are you going to leave your children & see them *no more*—you, who have been our only true, faithful *friend* for nearly twenty years? Speak my father, but say you will not desert us . . . when you have done so much good for us and our women and children. We know no man can or would do for us what you have done. We can never part with you; we had rather die than see you go off never to return back to us.

After a time the agent interrupted the chief and said plainly that what they had heard was true: he already had informed the "Great Father" of his decision and he could not revoke it. This was a devastating psychological blow to Cloud Man—not only because of the Eatonville experiment, but also because Taliaferro was his "son-in-law" who now was leaving Cloud Man's daughter and grandchild. Even Drifter was greatly affected by the news and later told the agent, "If you hold to this opinion [about leaving], we shall ask our Great Father to *hold* you & send you back to us. Things will go wrong. . . . We talk hard but we don't blame you."^{33a}

Move to Oak Grove

Cloud Man's determination to stay at Lake Calhoun now proved impossible. Stevens and his family were gone, Taliaferro was resigning, and the band was under threat of Ojibwe attack. Perhaps most conclusively, Major Joseph Plympton, commandant at Fort Snelling, decided about that time that whites and Indians alike should not be living on the military reservation whose boundaries lay to the west and north of Lake Harriet, enclosing the site of Cloud Man's village. Cloud Man's band would be left with no further support for the agricultural experiment at Lake Calhoun. In fact, Taliaferro's replacement, Amos Bruce, decided that the band should remove to the Credit River, on the south side of the Minnesota River. However, Cloud Man and his people were opposed to going to Credit River. Other Dakota opposed the intrusion there, even though the Ponds were hired to plow land at that location. Instead, Cloud Man sought refuge at Oak Grove, six miles up the Minnesota River from Fort Snelling. Due to this, in July, 1840 Samuel Pond received permission to follow the band to that location; he soon established the Oak Grove Mission, and his brother was hired as the government farmer for the band.

Gideon Pond could not have been optimistic about his task. He described the new location as being "on a narrow strip of land on the bank of the St. Peters [Minnesota] from 10 to 30 rods in width, destitute of timber for building, flooded in high water, and cut off from the main land by an impassable swamp and lake, 10 or 12 miles in length." Certainly the site did not bode well for agriculture, although it afforded some protection from surprise attack. Pond reported too that the band had divided. Drifter and his anti-missionary following encamped two miles away from Cloud Man's group. Drifter's people even drove off Pond's oxen, but when the military threatened to imprison them if the oxen were not returned, Drifter returned the property. Gideon Pond, however, refused to plow for them that year. Then, on April 8, 1841 Drifter and one of his sons were ambushed near Camp Coldwater by Ojibwe

and killed. He was survived by at least one other son, known as Drifter II, or Joseph Graham.³⁴

In August, 1841 the chiefs were called to Traverse des Sioux to meet with Wisconsin Governor James D. Doty. He asked them to sign a treaty giving up much of their land for reservations on the Minnesota River. The chiefs signed (though Cloud Man does not seem to have been among them). Samuel Pond wrote discouragingly—"The Sioux sold all their land." But the treaty was defeated by Congress, much to the pleasure of the Dakota, who'd had second thoughts about the matter. Meanwhile, the Dakota were greatly disturbed over another attack by Hole-in-the-Day in 1842. The Ojibwe drew the men of Kaposia into an ambush south of St. Paul and killed a dozen or more. In the peace council held at Fort Snelling in 1843, Cloud Man was among the Dakota chiefs who taunted Hole-in-the-Day for his past misdeeds, but then agreed to sign a peace agreement. The scene had to be repeated again in 1850 with Hole-in-the-Day's son.³⁵

Missionary Influence

After settling at Oak Grove, Cloud Man became increasingly influenced by the missionaries. He allowed his granddaughter, Mary Nancy Eastman, to live with Samuel Pond as a foster child. Pond wrote in January, 1841 that he'd had a "half-breed" girl of fourteen living with him for the previous eight months: "She is the granddaughter of a chief [Cloud Man]. She assists me considerably in writing discourses for the Indians and often seems herself very anxious for the salvation of her soul and those of her relatives." Ten years later, she was seen during the treaty councils at Traverse des Sioux by newspaperman James Goodhue. He wrote: "There is in one of the Indian lodges a very beautiful girl, the daughter of an officer of the U.S.A. . . . She has acquired an English education at the mission school. . . . She writes a beautiful hand, but is bashful to converse much with those who visit her. She is dressed like civilized women and with much taste. . . ." Also, in 1848 Cloud Man's granddaughter, Jane Lamont, was a teacher at the Oak Grove mission

school, but few children were attending because of tribal opposition to the missionary's work.³⁶

Cloud Man stood out among many of his contemporaries on the then-raging discussion of issues concerning religion, missionaries, and education. He had come to view the Dakota religion in a lesser light than Christianity. He told Samuel Pond that he regarded many of the tribe's medicine men as imposters, and when a Medicine Dance (*Wakan Wacipi*) was held near Mendota in 1844, he refused to attend. Cloud Man was derided for his view. Pond reported that the Dakota "were very angry. . . . They reproached the chief for listening to us."

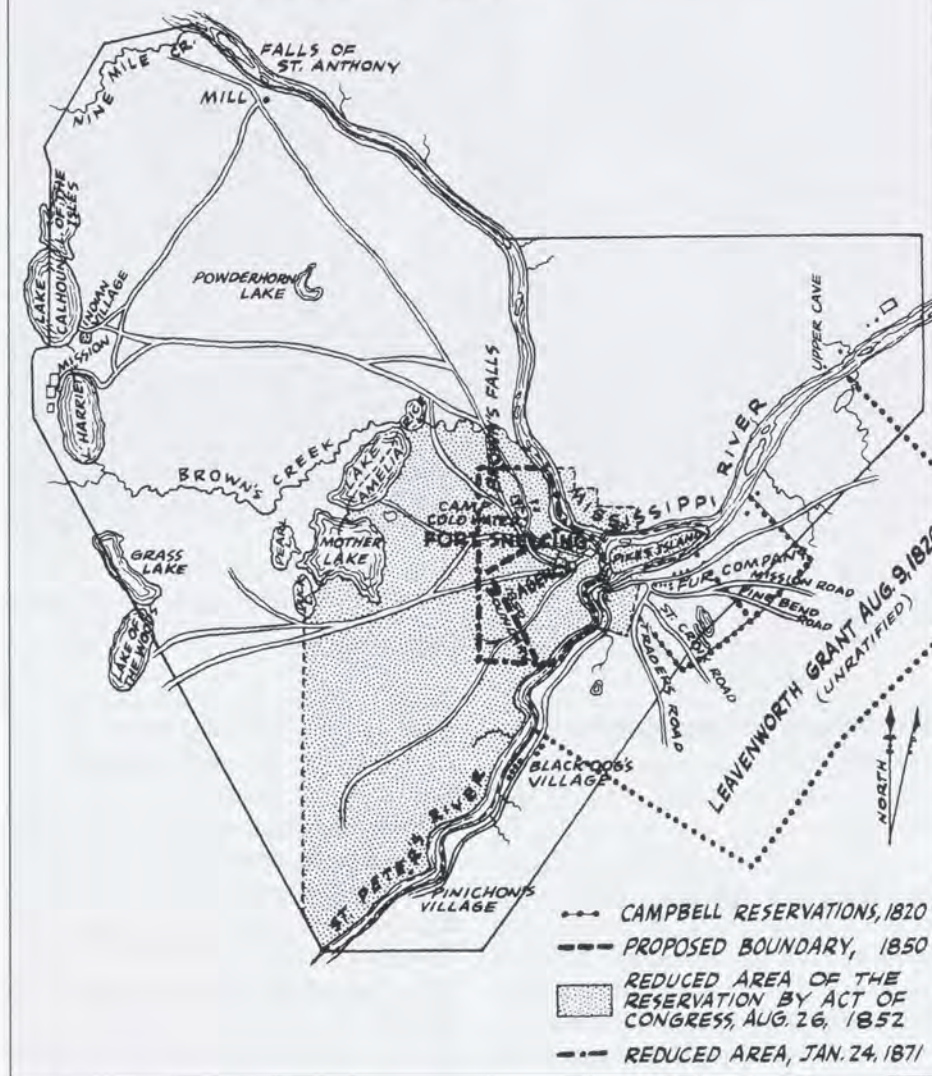
Cloud Man also continued to ignore the traders' rumors about the Dakota education fund money. The traders said that \$5,000 a year of the treaty money was being paid to support the missionaries rather than the Dakota, that if the Dakota opposed the mission work they would receive the money in cash (of course, then the Dakota would have more money to pay their credits). But those of Cloud Man's people who believed the rumors threatened to whip the children who attended the mission school. A year later, in July, 1845 Cloud Man and his head soldier, Star, also took an unpopular stand against whiskey drinking, refusing to drink with some of the other men. The men took offense at this and threatened to kill the chief. In fact, the chief's brother-in-law, Whistling Wind, was involved in whiskey trafficking at Lac qui Parle. But Cloud Man, Star (*Wicanrpitanka*), and Traveling Hail (*Wasuhiyayedan*), were determined to stop drinking and signed temperance pledges in 1849. In spite of Cloud Man's pro-white tendencies, people continued to join his band which by 1849 numbered an all time high of 229.^{36a}

Anti-Missionary Factionalism

The decline of the Cloud Man band in terms of their commitment to blending their culture with that of the Americans soon was obvious to all. In August, 1848 Gideon Pond complained to his Missionary Board that most of the leading men at the Oak Grove village were hostile toward Christianity—all except for Cloud

MAP OF THE FORT SNELLING MILITARY RESERVATION

SURVEYED BY LIEUTENANT JAMES L.
THOMPSON IN 1839.



Map showing the changing boundaries of the Fort Snelling military reservation which, by 1839, placed Cloud Man's village within the reservation. Minnesota Historical Society collections.

Man. The chief tried to convince them otherwise, saying "They must become civilized or perish from off the face of the earth." But the education fund problem had not been settled and in July, 1849 Bad Hail, the tribal speaker, demanded that the government pay the Dakota their treaty money. Gideon Pond regretted that during a council Bad Hail and others had prevented Cloud Man from speaking his mind. Later, Cloud Man told Pond that when it came time for him to speak in

favor of the missionaries "his heart was not strong."

When Pond's preaching attracted several women of the band, there were renewed threats by the anti-missionary faction. Pond reported: "The great men appear to fear that if they let [the churchgoers] . . . alone all the common people will go away and believe on Jesus. It is reported that Red Boy (*Hoksidanduta*) said that whereas the missionaries were getting away with all the money, the clothes

should be torn from all who came to our meetings on the Sabbath." Conversions therefore were few. In fact, Gideon Pond wrote one story which indicated that the Dakota continued to cling to their traditional religion. While at Oak Grove, Black Boy's grandson died at the Mission House. Afterward, Black Boy (*Hoksidansapa*) stood on the brow of the bluff and addressed the spirit world: "Friends, pause and look this way, say ye, the grandson of Black Boy is coming."³⁷

While at Oak Grove, Cloud Man also faced an all-too-precarious food shortage. Mary Eastman (wife of Captain Seth Eastman, who returned to Fort Snelling in 1848) wrote of seeing Star and his wife Winona at the fort. The couple had a child only three days old who was "shriveling with hunger." When asked about the child's condition, Winona said that she could not feed the baby as she had not eaten since it was born. Gideon Pond also complained that many of the young men spent their winters hunting Ojibwe rather than deer and so came back starving. Also, the whiskey trade in St. Paul was booming and many of the Indians spent their annuity money on alcohol, rather than food supplies. In the fall of 1849, Philander Prescott reported that the Cloud Man band had better success with their crops—forty-five acres plowed, 1,350 bushels of corn raised, and most of it preserved by boiling the corn before it was ripe and scraping it into bags where it would keep for several years. But the crop of 1851 was destroyed by another flood of the Minnesota River.³⁸

The Treaty of 1851

Necessity, plus the urging of the traders and the new territorial governor of Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey, brought the Mdewakanton to Mendota in 1851 to make a new treaty. The leaders mainly signed the agreement, by which they gave up all of their Minnesota lands in exchange for a reservation and the money from the Treaty of 1837. Cloud Man, Star, Iron Elk (*Herekamaza*), Red Boy and Smoky Day—were among the signers of the agreement, knowing that they soon would have to move. The treaty had designated two strips of land

along the river in southern and western Minnesota as reservations. These were known as the Upper Sioux Reservation in Yellow Medicine County and the Lower Sioux Reservation in Redwood County.

In late December, Cloud Man and a few of his followers visited Colonel John H. Stevens, whose white frame house was the first in present-day Minneapolis. The chief said that "he could not expect to see his white friends in this neighborhood in the future, as his band would soon move for the winter into the hunting grounds of the big woods, and when spring came, should follow the Dakota to their reservation on the upper Minnesota River." Stevens wrote that he gave the chief and his family food.³⁹

The following year the chiefs were asked to sign an amended version of the treaty that stated that they would not own their reservations. The chiefs balked at this, saying that they wanted a permanent home and did not want the government to send them to the western prairies to starve them to death. To make matters worse, the Mdewakanton were short of food again. High water on the Minnesota River had caused Cloud Man's cornfields to be abandoned; and the corn crops planted on twenty additional acres failed due to bad seed and poor plowing. However, Governor Alexander Ramsey used this to try to coerce the chiefs into signing the treaty; he also withheld their annuities.

After the chiefs signed, the Cloud Man and Little Crow bands traveled to Rice Lake (fifty miles north of St. Paul) to gather wild rice and cranberries. Some of the warriors, including Star's son, apparently *Mazaiheydan*, killed two Ojibwe during the trip, and when they returned to St. Paul, Ramsey had Star's son and four others imprisoned at Fort Snelling. He said that he would not release them until the chiefs signed a receipt, by which treaty money was transferred to the traders. Cloud Man later testified about the situation: "We waited near two months at the agency for our money, until our children were near starving; we staid [*sic*] until the snow fell. I do not know of any provisions being issued to the Indians." Star added: "They wanted us to die of hunger." Finally, the chiefs capitulated to Ramsey's demands.⁴⁰



Part of the Mdewakanton-Wahpekute delegation that traveled to Washington, D. C., to negotiate the 1858 treaty. Standing are, left to right, Big Eagle, Traveling Hail, and Red Legs; sitting, Medicine Bottle, The Thief, and an unidentified man. Cloud Man was not among them. J. E. Whitney photograph, Minnesota Historical Society collections.

The Reservation Years

Although the Dakota removal was delayed for a time, in the fall of 1853 Cloud Man and his people were marched to the Lower Sioux Reservation at the fork of the Minnesota and Redwood rivers (near today's Redwood Falls). Here their annuity money was distributed and they then returned to a camping ground near Belle Plaine. By this time Cloud Man was "very old," according to his son, David Weston (or Seeing Stone), and he resigned his leadership. For several years Star (or Big Star) was the acting chief of the band. But in 1854 the band split into two divisions, one led by Star and Traveling Hail and the other by Cloud Man and Red Boy. In 1857 the band coalesced with Cloud Man and Red Boy becoming part of the band led by Traveling Hail (though Star seems to have remained chief of a smaller following through 1862). During these years, Cloud Man's band had a summer planting village about three miles south of the agency serving the Lower Dakota and close to the Wapahasha (III) and Wakute (II) bands.⁴¹

Cloud Man never had been a leading chief among the Mdewakanton, although he participated in all major councils and treaty matters. During the 1830s he was overshadowed by more vocal and prominent chiefs, particularly Big Thunder (or Little Crow) and Shakopee II (Six). Cloud Man apparently was not a gregarious orator, as records of his speeches are limited. Also, for about seven years he had endured living in the shadow of Drifter, who had claimed first chieftainship of the band. By the mid-1840s, Cloud Man's support of the missionaries had kept his popularity from rivaling that of Little Crow (*Taoyateduta*), who soon became the tribal speaker. Cloud Man, nonetheless, persisted in following his own course, and thus showed himself a man of character and psychological strength. He gave himself wholeheartedly to the rise of the Eatonville experiment and witnessed its fall. Now, as an old man with little influence, he saw a like-experiment conducted on the reservation again headed for disaster.

With Taliaferro, agricultural issues

were a voluntary matter; now government officials used as much pressure as they could to persuade the Dakota to farm. This divided the tribe into a traditionalist faction, which wanted to continue to hunt for a living, and the farmer, or "progressive," faction, which acquiesced in blending Dakota ways with those of the whites to receive preferential treatment. In spite of the farming efforts and treaty annuities, the tribe still had to hunt to survive. More often than not, the bands spent the winter months in the Big Woods region of central Minnesota, hunting deer or other game. Red Boy led a party of eighty of Cloud Man's band to the Rush River area in the winter of 1856-57 and in three weeks killed 250 deer and other animals. In the winter of 1857-58, the Mdewakanton hunted at Grand Lake; and in 1858-59 some 300 Dakota hunted southwest of St. Cloud, taking 1,000 deer.⁴²

The Dakota Conflict of 1862

Dakota discontent went from bad to worse after the Treaty of 1858. The negotiations were conducted in Washington, where Traveling Hail and Iron Elk represented the Cloud Man band. Pressured into giving up half of their reservation, the tribe at least hoped for more treaty money. However, in 1861 all of the treaty money was swallowed up by the claims of the reservation traders. On top of this, in the spring of 1862 it was learned that the tribe might not receive all of their old annuity money as well. The Mdewakanton warriors formed a Soldiers' Lodge, and in doing so took back political control of the tribe from the chiefs.⁴³

Little is known of Cloud Man personally during this period, except for a reminiscence by his great grandson, Charles A. Eastman. Eastman was about five years old in the spring of 1862 when his relatives took him to make maple sugar. He recalled in later years:

"... I stood one day outside of our hut and watched the approach of a visitor—a bent old man, his hair almost white, and carrying on his back a large bundle of red willow, or kinnikinick, which the Indians use for smoking. He threw down his load at the door and thus saluted us: 'You have indeed perfect weather for sugar-

making.' It was my great grandfather, Cloud Man, whose original village was on the shores of Lakes Calhoun and Harriet. . . . He was the first Sioux chief to welcome the Protestant missionaries among his people, and a well-known character in those pioneer days." Cloud Man warned his relatives that Ojibwe had killed several Dakota (of Red Irons' Sisseton band) on the river.⁴⁴



Probably the Sisseton Cloud Man and not the Mdewakanton leader. Frank B. Mayer papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

In June, 1862 Agent Thomas Galbraith announced that the annuity payment would take place in early July. Thus, the Mdewakanton, probably Cloud Man and his relatives among them, gathered at the Lower Sioux agency to await the paymaster, Clark W. Thompson. When Thompson arrived, however, he asked the chiefs if they would take "greenbacks" instead of the usual gold coin; the chiefs resisted and Thompson returned to St. Paul, promising to come back with the payment money. However, weeks went by and Thompson did not reappear. Meanwhile, the Dakota were worried about their fate if the North lost the then-raging Civil War. To make matters worse, on August 15 agent Galbraith abandoned the Lower Sioux reservation,

taking with him recruits for the Union Army. Although he had issued annuity provisions to the starving Sisseton and Wahpeton bands at Yellow Medicine, he refused to do the same for the Mdewakanton, leaving a situation fraught with pain and suffering.

By chance, on August 17 several members of Red Middle Voice's band killed a number of whites at the Acton settlement in Meeker County. A Soldiers' Lodge, similar to the military police of a modern army, had been active among the Dakota and its members decided to make this the opening of a war upon the whites for not honoring the treaties and leaving them in a starving condition. The Cloud Man band was not consulted about the matter. Traveling Hail, the acting chief, recently had been elected the tribal speaker, and he opposed the war, but he and Cloud Man could not stop it. According to Samuel Pond, Cloud Man was then the last of the old guard of chiefs who had visited Washington in 1837. Now an old man and out of office, "He sat down and wept over the ruin which he could not prevent." Drifter (II), Star's son, *Mazaiheyedan*, and Iron Elk participated in the war and later were held prisoner at Camp Davenport, Iowa.⁴⁵

The Indians' initial attack was made on the Lower Dakota Agency in Redwood County. Old Philander Prescott, who had been instrumental in the founding of Eatonville, was among those killed, in spite of his marriage to Mary Keeiyah. Six weeks later Cloud Man and most of his relatives surrendered to General Henry Sibley at Camp Release, near today's Montevideo, Minnesota. However, Cloud Man's great grandson, *Ohiyesa*, was taken along with most of the Wahpeton to North Dakota. About 1,300 of the surrendered Dakota were brought down to Fort Snelling. A large picketed enclosure was built on the river bottomland and here the Dakota were interned, living in their wornout buffalo skin lodges.

Living conditions were deplorable and disease spread quickly in the crowded lodges. During the winter, about 130 people died, particularly of measles, and Cloud Man was among them. He probably was buried somewhere in the bottomland of the Minnesota River.⁴⁶

Cloud Man's Descendants

The Mdewakanton survivors were removed to Crow Creek in South Dakota in the late spring of 1863. Traveling Hail remained a leader of the refugees. In February, 1867 he went to Washington to represent his people, but he was suffering from dropsy and died on April 25, the day after he returned home.

The Mdewakanton then were removed to the Santee Reservation at Niobrara, Nebraska. Cloud Man's son, David Weston, or Seeing Stone (*Tunkanwanyakapi*), left the reservation and made his home at Flandrau, South Dakota, where an apparent brother, Philip Weston, also lived. David Weston became a catechist for the Episcopal Church.

Cloud Man's other apparent son, Smoky Day (*Anpetusota*), was with the Mdewakanton who did not surrender to the Americans and fled to the Canadian border. He was killed by Ojibwe near Turtle Mountain in the late 1860s. Charles Eastman, who knew him as a tribal historian, wrote that "He was a living book of the traditions and history of his people. Among his effects were bundles of small sticks, notched and painted. One bundle contained the number of his own years. Another was composed of sticks representing the important events of history, each of which was marked with the number of years since that particular event had occurred."

Cloud Man's granddaughter, Mary Nancy Eastman, married Many Lightnings (*Iewakanhdiota*), a Wahpeton, and had five children. In about 1858 she gave birth to her last child, named *Hakadah* (The Pitiful Last), also known as *Ohiyesa* (*Victor*) and Charles A. Eastman. She died some months after his birth, and he was taken to live in Canada after the War of 1862, where he remained until his teen years. At that point, his father, John Eastman, brought him back to the United States where he became a physician and a famous author of books about Indian life.

Cloud Man's other noted granddaughter, Mary L. Taliaferro, married Warren Woodbury, a carpenter and teamster. He died during the Civil War, leaving her with a number of children. She was still living in St. Paul in 1871 when news of

her father's death arrived in late January of that year. Yet another granddaughter, Jane Lamont, married Star Titus, a nephew of the Pond brothers.⁴⁷

The Other Cloud Man

As stated earlier, Cloud Man, the Mdewakanton chief, has been confused with at least one other man by the same name, who lived among the Wahpeton in western Minnesota. Missionary Stephen Riggs wrote of a Cloud Man, or Sky Man of Wahpeton and Mdewakanton descent, who was a son of "Old Eve," a brother of Little Paul Mazakutemani, and born about 1790. His sons (perhaps one by marriage) were Solomon Two Stars (*Wicanpinonpa*) and Amos Ecetukiya (He Who Brings What He Wants). He also had a number of other children (possibly by an earlier wife), including Paints Himself Brown (*Giiciye*), Iron Heart (*Cantemaza*), Light Face (*Itojanjan*), and Sacred Stone that Paints Itself Red (*Tukanshaiciye*). He was a member of the Running Walker (*Inyangmani*) band of Lac qui Parle from the 1830s through the 1850s and eventually became the band's second chief, no doubt because he was the father of Running Walker's wife, Great Banner Woman (*Tawapahatanka*). From as early as 1838, he participated in all important events regarding the Lac qui Parle Wahpeton.⁴⁸

As this Cloud Man's prominence grew, he often was a spokesman for his people. He signed the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851 and in 1852 protested against unilateral payment of treaty money to the traders. In 1856 he joined the Wahpeton and Sisseton Dakota chiefs in protesting the traders' talk of moving the Dakota farther west. In 1857, along with Running Walker, he spoke of his disappointment with the Treaty of 1851. Cloud Man said, "At the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, \$275,000 was to be paid them when they came upon their reservation; they desire to know what has become of it. . . . [E]very white man knows they have been for five years on the reservation and have yet heard nothing of it."⁴⁹

In 1858 Cloud Man split from Running Walker and became chief of his own band of eighty-three people. His village was located some small distance above Stephen

Riggs's Hazelwood Mission community of Indian farmers in Lac qui Parle County. The chief was opposed to the Dakota Conflict of 1862 and, with the help of his sons and Gabriel Renville, tried to frustrate Little Crow's prosecution of it. At one point he wanted to gather up the Dakota living on the Upper Sioux Reservation and attack the hostiles under Little Crow. When this plan did not work out, he went with Mazamani and Paul Mazakutemani to ask the hostiles (unsuccessfully) to give up their captives.⁵⁰

In late September, 1862 Cloud Man fell in with his son-in-law, Running Walker, who was himself Little Crow's father-in-law, and retreated to Devil's Lake, North Dakota. In fact, most of the Wahpeton chose this as preferable to an immediate surrender, thinking that mass hanging might be their fate. Even the Christianized leader, Henok Appearing Cloud, who was closely associated with Cloud Man's son, *Giiciye*, was among those who fled Minnesota. They spent the winter of 1862-63 at Devil's Lake, while Little Crow tried to gain support for the war from other bands in the Dakota confederation, as well as other tribes.

In the spring of 1863, Cloud Man accompanied Little Crow on a trip to the Missouri River. In early May Little Crow decided to see if the Fort Berthold Indians—the Arickara and Hidatsa—would support them in a continuation of the conflict with the whites. However, the Arickaras attacked Little Crow's party and in the rout that followed, Cloud Man and a son reportedly were killed. His band and descendants settled eventually on reservations at Sisseton, South Dakota, and Devil's Lake, North Dakota. His son, Adam Ironheart, became the head of a Dakota enclave at Granite Falls, Minnesota, in the 1880s.⁵¹

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Endnotes

1. *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), June 10, 1851; Charles Eastman to H. M. Hitchcock, September 8, 1927, *Minnesota Archaeologist* 12 (January 1946): 7–11.
- 1a. Regarding Cloud Man's age, Thomas Hughes gives 1780 as an approximate date; Johann Kohl also seems to indicate that Cloud Man was born about then. However, Prescott calls Cloud Man "an old man" in 1829—tending to make the chief older than he reputedly thought; Thomas Hughes, *Indian Chiefs of Southern Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1969), p. 34; Johann G. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami, Life Among the Lake Superior Ojibway* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, Borealis Books, 1985), p. 125, and Donald D. Parker, ed. *The Reminiscences of Philander Prescott* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 126; John F. Aiton and Family Papers, Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), St. Paul. On Red Wing, see Mark Diedrich, *Famous Dakota Chiefs, Volume One* (Rochester, Minn.: Coyote Books, 1999).
2. Samuel W. Pond, Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893), p. 137–38; Hughes, *ibid.*, p. 40–41.
3. Printed in *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), February 11, 1852; see also, Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 123–125.
4. Lawrence Taliaferro Journals, September 21, 1821, Lawrence Taliaferro Papers (LTP), MHS, St. Paul.
5. Taliaferro Journals, May 10, September 21, 1821, July 14, 1826, August 11, 1827, LTP.
6. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*. 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1959), 1:259–60; Taliaferro Journal, September 30, 1823, LTP.
7. Hughes, *Indian Chiefs*, p. 43; Eastman to Hitchcock, September 8, 1927; Pond, Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, p. 232, 143. Mary Eastman seems to indicate that Red Boy was a son of Cloud Man, in Mary H. Eastman, *Dacotah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 98. Gary Anderson calls Smoky Day a son of Cloud Man, in Gary C. Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), p. 24. It is also stated that Cloud Man was the father of Winona Bowers, the grandmother of Howard Jones, in Affidavit of Lena Campbell of Welch, Minnesota.
8. Taliaferro Journals, September 26, 1821, May 28, 1826, LTP.
9. Taliaferro Journal, September 8, 1827, January 28, 1828, LTP.
10. Samuel W. Pond, *The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as They were in 1834* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), p. 10.
11. See Rena N. Coen, "Eliza Dillon Taliaferro," *Minnesota History* 52 (Winter 1990): 146–153. It may be that Taliaferro fathered another child, Hannah, by another Dakota woman. See Chauncy Hobart, *A History of Methodism* (Red Wing: Red Wing Printing, 1887), p. 19–20.
12. Parker, ed., *Philander Prescott*, p. 36, 126. Oddly, Taliaferro says that the Eatonville project commenced in June 1828, while Cloud Man's speech indicates that it began in "the winter of 1828," which confuses the issue. However, Prescott says that it was 1829, as does Taliaferro's Journal of April 15, 1829, LTP; James B. Rhoads, *The Fort Snelling Area in 1835, A Contemporary Map*, *Minnesota History* 35 (March 1956): 28.
13. Taliaferro Journal, May 2, 19, 1829, LTP; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1956), 1:185; see also, Julie A. Humann, "The Two Worlds of Jane Gibbs: The Gibbs Farm and the Santee Dakota," *Ramsey County History* 35 (Spring 2000): 4–13.
- 13a. Folwell, *History of Minnesota* 1:185–186; Parker, ed. *Philander Prescott*, p. 126–127; Return I. Holcombe and Lucius Hubbard, *Minnesota in Three Centuries, 1655–1908*, 4 vols. (Mankato: Publishing Society of Minnesota, 1908), 2:2411–242; Taliaferro Journals, Annuity Lists, 1831–1833, LTP. On Red Bird and his shamanistic activities see Stephen R. Riggs, *Tahkoo Wah-kan; or, The Gospel Among the Dakotas* (Boston: Congregational Sabbath School and Publishing Society, 1869), p. 99–101, and Pond, *Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota*, p. 90.
14. Taliaferro Journal, May 1, 1831, August 14, 1832, LTP. On the subject of chieftainship, see the introduction to Mark Diedrich, *Ojibway Chiefs: Portraits of Anishinaabe Leadership* (Rochester, Minn.: Coyote Books, 1999), p. 5–25, much of which is applicable to the Dakota.
15. Gary C. Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650–1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), p. 43; Taliaferro Journal, May 14, 1832, LTP; Nancy Goodman and Robert Goodman, *Joseph R. Brown, Adventurer on the Minnesota Frontier, 1820–1849* (Rochester, Minn.: Lone Oak Press, 1996), p. 115; Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819–1958* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), p. 150. Trader's accounts with members of Cloud Man's band are in NARG 75, Special Files, no. 200, microfilm copy in MHS and in Indian Credit Books, Henry H. Sibley Papers, MHS. Taliaferro's action in 1832 may also be seen as a measure to keep the goodwill of the Mdewakanton leaders, due to the outbreak of the Black Hawk War to the south in Illinois and Wisconsin. However, the Sac and Fox were hereditary enemies of the Dakota and eventually many Mdewakanton joined in the fight on the side of U.S. troops.
16. Hansen, *ibid.*, p. 150–154; Taliaferro Journal, May 23, 1836, LTP; Folwell, *History of Minnesota* 1:186–87; Pond, Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, p. 39–40; Pond, *The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota*, p. 11; Holcombe and Hubbard, *Minnesota in Three Centuries* 2:241. The site of the Pond cabin is marked by a tablet at 35th St. and E. Calhoun Boulevard in south Minneapolis.
17. Taliaferro Journal, June 24, 1836, LTP; Gary C. Anderson, "Introduction," for Pond, *ibid.*, p. xii–xv; Deanne Z. Weber, "Childhood Among the Dakota, Jane Gibbs: 'Little Bird that Was Caught,'" *Ramsey County History* 31 (Spring 1996): 8. Lake Harriet was named for Harriet Leavenworth, the wife of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Leavenworth.
18. Taliaferro Journal, September 3, 1835, May 23, 1836, LTP; Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:193–194; Edward J. Lettermann, *From Whole Log to No Log* (Minneapolis: Dillon Press, Inc., 1969), p. 117; Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*, p. 155. The land occupied by the Stevens' house was later bought by D. E. Dow in 1850—the ruins still present. Lucy L. Morris, et al., ed. *Old Rail Fence Corners* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1976), p. 62. A marker was placed for the mission school near West Lake Harriet Boulevard at 42nd Street. See, *Minnesota, A State Guide* (New York: Hastings House, 1954), p. 192.
18. Folwell, *ibid.*, 1:193–195; Taliaferro Journal, September 4, 1835, July 6, 1838, LTP; J. D. Stevens to David Greene, November 31, 1836, January 2, 1837, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) Papers, copies in MHS, St. Paul; Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 120. On June 12, 1839 Lucy Stevens married a Swiss missionary, Rev. Daniel Gavin, who was working at the Red Wing village. Taliaferro Journal, June 12, 1839, LTP.
- 18a. Stevens to Greene, January 27, 1836, ABCFM Papers.
19. Taliaferro Journal, July 26, 1838, LTP; Willoughby Babcock, "The Taliaferro Map of the St. Peters Indian Agency," *Minnesota Archaeologist* 11 (October 1945): 122; Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, p. 144–145; Maida L. Riggs, ed. *A Small Bit of Bread and Butter* (South Deerfield, MA: Ash Grove Press, 1996), p. 37; Map, 1839, in Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, page after p. 424.
20. Ruth Landes, *The Mystic Lake Sioux: Sociology of the Mdewakantonwon Santee* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 91; Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Company, 1911), p. 549; Paul Durand, *Where the Waters Gather and the Rivers Meet* (Published by the author, 1994), p. 22; Pond, Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, p. 46–47. Drifter's name is often spelled rather curiously, such as "Kockomocko," "Cocomoco," or "Kokomoko." He had seven in his family in 1833. A list of the Cloud Man and Drifter band is in Taliaferro Journals, Annuity Lists 1831–1833, LTP. Drifter and his sons are also mentioned in the Alexis Bailly Credit Books of 1825; see NARG 75, Special File, no. 200, roll 59, copy in MHS.
21. Taliaferro Journal, August 8, 1835, LTP.
22. NARG 75, Special File 200, Register of Claimants, 1837; Stevens to Greene, January 8,

- 1838, ABCFM Papers; Coen, "Taliaferro," p. 150fn; Eastman to Hitchcock, September 8, 1927, p. 9; Coen, "Eliza Taliaferro," p. 150fn; Taliaferro Journal, August 23, 1838, LTP. Daniel Lamont, a Canadian trader-turned U.S. citizen, was apparently married to a daughter of a Sisseton Dakota chief at a slightly earlier period. See Goodman and Goodman, *Joseph Brown*, p. 52, 56.
23. George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnaw Sotor* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1970), 2:10–11.
24. Folwell, *History of Minnesota* 1:119fn.
25. Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux* (Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1880), p. 43–44; Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 118, 120.
26. Taliaferro Journal, June 1, 14, 1838, LTP; Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley* (St. Paul: North Star Pub. Co., 1882).
27. *Niles' National Register* (Washington), October 7, 1837; Chauncy Bush Minute Book, 1837, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Gary C. Anderson, "The Removal of the Mdewakanton Dakota in 1837: A Case for Jacksonian Paternalism," *South Dakota History* 10 (Fall 1980): 328fn.
28. See *Niles' National Register*, October 7, 1837; Bush Minute Book, 1837; Anderson, "The Removal of the Mdewakanton Dakota," p. 325.
29. Taliaferro Journal, July 16, August 3, 14, October 8, 15, 1838, LTP; Thomas S. Williamson to Greene, May 3, 1838, Stevens to Greene, June 26, 1838, ABCFM Papers.
30. Taliaferro Journal, August 3, October 8, 15, 1838, LTP.
31. Gideon Pond's account is in John H. Steven, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People and Early History of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: M. Robinson, 1890), p. 398–99; Taliaferro Journal, July 1, 5, 1839, LTP; Weber, "A Pioneer Child," p. 10; Morris, ed. *Old Rail Fence Corners*, p. 108; Stevens to Greene, July 8, 1839, ABCFM Papers. Mary Eastman says that the first individual killed by Ojibwe was Beloved Hail and that the one who gave the alarm was Red Boy. "Neeh Kaah" is listed on an 1832 annuity roll (just below an entry for Cloud Man) with three in his family. Eastman, *Dacotah*, p. 98. He is also called *Rupacokamaza*, or Iron in the Middle of the Wing.
32. Taliaferro Journal, July 5, 24, August 6, 27, 1839, LTP; Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling*, p. 154; Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 156.
- 32a. Stevens to Greene, September 6, 1839, ABCFM Papers.
33. Taliaferro Journal, July 11, 16, August 4, 1839, LTP; S. Pond to Greene, November 14, 1839, ABCFM Papers; Blegen and Jordan, eds., *With Various Voices*, p. 243; Weber, "Childhood Among the Dakota," p. 10; Hobart, *History of Methodism*, p. 19–20; Coen, "Eliza Taliaferro," p. 150.
- 33a. Taliaferro Journal, August 8, 28, 1839, LTP.
34. Map, 1839, Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, page after p. 424; G. Pond to Greene, August 28, 1840, Samuel Pond to Greene, July 14, 1840, May 8, 1841, ABCFM Papers; Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 156–157, 160–161; Theodore C. Blegen and Philip D. Jordan, eds., *With Various Voices, Recordings of North Star Life* (St. Paul: Webb Publishing Co., 1949), p. 47–48; Richard G. Murphy to Thomas H. Harvey, October 9, 1848, NARG 75, Letters Received (LR), St. Peter's Agency. Cloud Man, Drifter, Walking Hoop, Foolish Buffalo and Tomah petitioned for land for interpreter Scott Campbell, which was deleted from the Treaty of 1837. Petition of Cloud Man's band, December 2, 1839, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency.
35. S. Pond to Greene, September 22, 1841, Thomas Williamson to Greene, May 16, 1843, ABCFM Papers; Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, p. 163–165; Treaty of 1841, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency.
36. S. Pond to Greene, January 1841, ABCFM Papers.
- 36a. Pond, *The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota*, p. 90; Samuel Pond to Greene, February 7, 1844; Pond, Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries*, p. 173; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), August 23, 1849; Murphy to Harvey, October 9, 1848, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency. On the education fund money, see also Amos J. Bruce to John Chambers, September 1, 1843, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency, and Thomas Williamson, Sermon, June 25, 1876, in Manuscripts Relating to Northwest Missions (MRNWM), Grace Lee Nute Papers, MHS, St. Paul. On Whistling Wind, see Martin McLeod to Henry Sibley, Sibley Papers. Other leading men of the Cloud Man band were Big Tomahawk (*Wicunkpitanka*), His Road (*Tacanku*), and His Iron Tomahawk (*Tacunkpimaza*) (Translations by Louie Garcia of Tokio, North Dakota.)
37. Missionaries to ABCFM, August 31, 1848, Gideon Pond to Treat, July 9, 1849, ABCFM Papers; Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 186; *Minnesota Democrat*, February 18, 1852.
38. Eastman, *Dacotah*, p. vii.; Lettermann, *ibid.*, p. 185; Parker, ed., *Philander Prescott*, p. 212; Nathaniel McLean to Alexander Ramsey, September 1, 1851, NARG 75, St. Peter's Agency.
39. Lettermann, *ibid.*, p. 197.
40. 33 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Document*, no. 61, 1853–54, p. 58–59, 326, 327; *Minnesota Pioneer*, September 23, 1852; Parker, ed. *Philander Prescott*, p. 218–219.
41. David Weston, Testimony, in *Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands v. The United States*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901–1907), 2:304; Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Sioux Annuity Rolls, copies in MHS, St. Paul, 1851–57. Star was still alive in the winter of 1859–60, and even up until August 1862, according to Major W. W. Morris to Commissioner, January 17, 1860, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency and *Mankato Weekly Record*, February 21, 1863.
42. On Red Boy and hunting, see *Minnesota Weekly Times* (St. Paul), January 10, 1857, *St. Cloud Visitor*, December 10, 1857, and *St. Cloud Democrat*, December 9, 1858.
43. These matters are outlined more fully in Mark Diedrich, "The Dakota Perspective: 'We Have Been Cheated So Often,'" *Ramsey County History* 34(Spring 1999):25–27; On Iron Elk see Gary C. Anderson and Alan R. Wollworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), p. 66.
44. Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Boyhood* (Eau Claire: E. M. Hale and Company, 1930), p. 35.
45. Diedrich, "The Dakota Perspective," p. 26–27; Pond, *Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota*, p. 63. Information on Traveling Hail is found in Kenneth Carley, "As Red Men Viewed It," *Minnesota History* 38 (September 1962):147. Born in about 1821, Drifter II, or Joseph Graham, later lived at Mendota and then the Birch Coulie Indian Settlement near Morton, Minnesota.
46. Hughes, *Indian Chiefs*, p. 51; Mark Diedrich, *Old Betsy: The Life and Times of a Famous Dakota Woman* (Rochester, Minn.: Coyote Books, 1995), p. 69. Prescott's wife, Mary Keeiyah, died in early April, 1867. Their daughter, Lucy, married Eli Pettijohn. *Minneapolis Chronicle*, April 2, 1867.
47. Lettermann, *Whole Log*, p. 184; Eastman, *Indian Boyhood*, 115; On David Weston, see Hughes, *Indian Chiefs*, p. 43. Traveling Hail's death is reported in J. M. Stone to Denman, May 31, 1867, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency.
48. Stephen R. Riggs, "Dakota Portraits," *Minnesota History Bulletin* 2(1918):547–549; Joe Ironheart to Dana Wright, March 15, 1946, Dana Wright Papers, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck; Taliaferro Journal, June 24, 1838, August 31, 1839, LTP.
49. Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed. *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:589, *Senate Executive Document*, no. 61, p. 30, Petition of Wahpeton leaders, February 15, 1856, NARG 75, LR, St. Peter's Agency. It is presumably this Cloud Man who was sketched at Traverse des Sioux by artist Frank B. Mayer in July 1851.
50. OIA, Sioux Annuity Rolls, 1853–1859; Riggs to Treat, June 12, 1858, MRNWM, Nute Papers; Louis Garcia, "Cantemaza (Iron Heart)," copy in author's papers; Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, p. 186, 192–93, 217.
51. Samuel Brown, Statement, Joseph R. Brown papers, MHS, St. Paul; Mark Diedrich, *The Odyssey of Chief Standing Buffalo* (Minneapolis: Coyote Books, 1988), although the date of his death is now corrected from 1862 to May 1863; Garcia, "Cantemaza"; Joe Ironheart to Wright, March 15, 1946, Wright Papers.



Field Garland's adjoining, and somewhat less elaborate, house at 846 Fairmount. Photo from the author of article beginning on page 25.

R.C.H.S.
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