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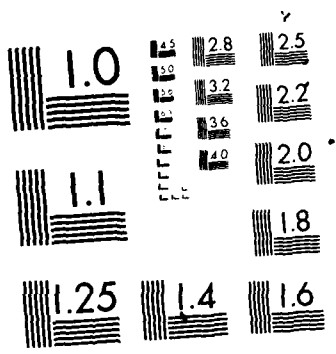
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Prairie du Chien: A Historical Study

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BY

EDGAR S. OERICHBAUER

Prepared under the supervision of Joan E. Freeman, Project Director

Funded by the Department of the Army
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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

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FOREWORD

A literature and record search for locations of prehistoric and historic sites in the Prairie du Chien area, Crawford County, Wisconsin, was undertaken by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers in accordance with Contract No. DACW37-76-C-0071. This contract called for the search in order to assess the cultural resources present on St. Friole Island (4th Ward, City of Prairie du Chien) and the adjacent mainland in the City. This assessment is necessary because of Corps plans, in cooperation with the City of Prairie du Chien, to remove and relocate residents of the floodplain area in the City. Since the removal or destruction of residences can destroy or partially destroy archeological-historical sites, it was deemed necessary to locate and evaluate such sites prior to Corps action.

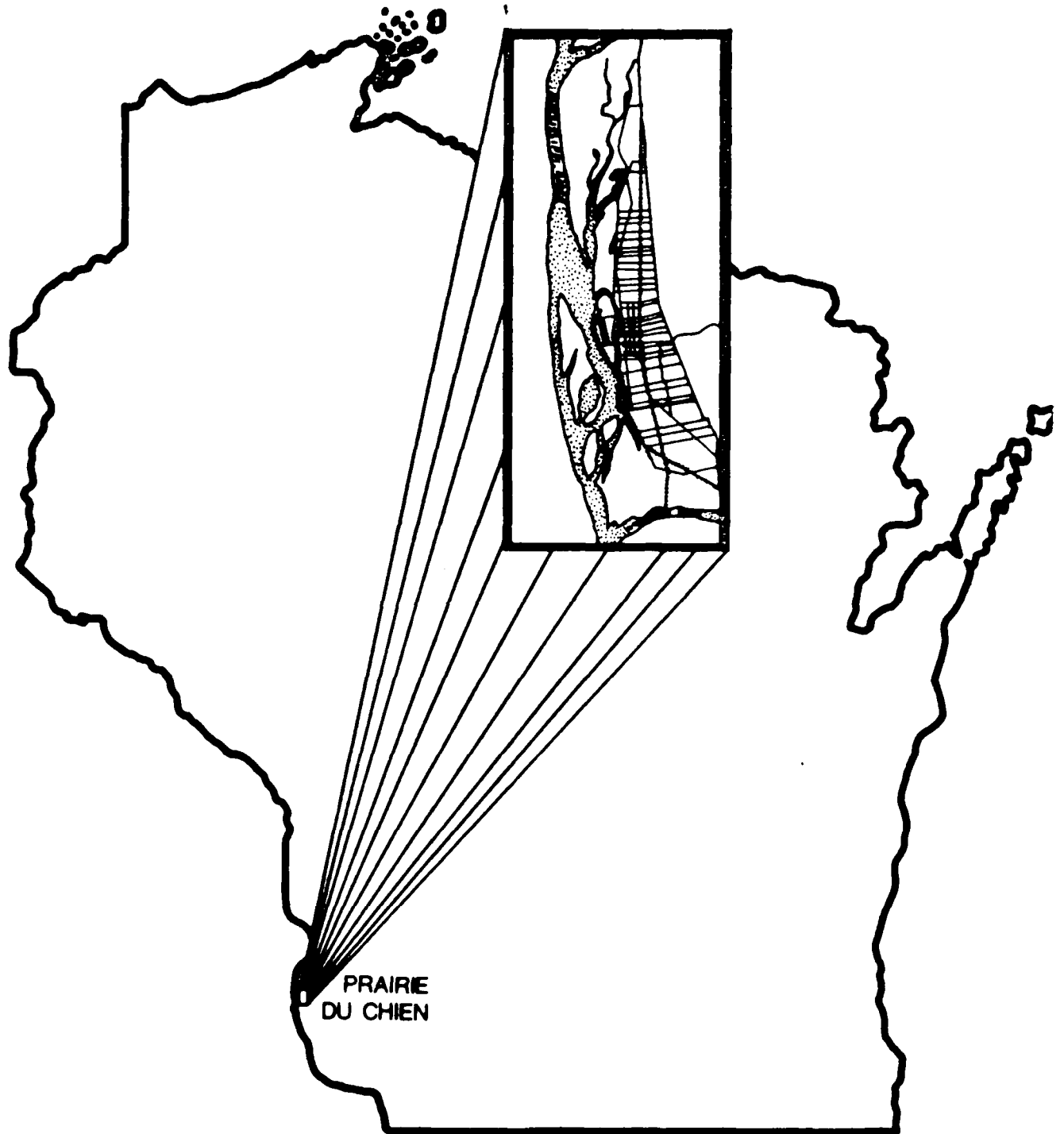
It has long been known that Prairie du Chien is a historically important area. This fact has been recognized by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin through its acquisition of historic houses on St. Friole Island (Villa Louis, Brisbois House, and Rolette House). The National Park Service has also recognized the importance of the area by placing historic houses on the National Register of Historic Places (Rolette House) and by designating others as National Historic Landmarks (Villa Louis, Brisbois House, Astor Fur Warehouse, and the Dousman Hotel).

These are readily visible sites, but what of the archeological sites? These sites are not easily seen, covered as they are by soil build up, sod, and houses. Never before has anyone carefully searched published and unpublished records (books, maps and manuscripts) for locations of archeological sites. Since this search has never been made, there has never been an assessment of the importance of these sites. The record search by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin will be of use to the Corps of Engineers in its present project and any future projects in the Prairie du Chien area. The report will also be useful to the State Historic Preservation Officer and other state and federal agencies in any future plans for the Prairie du Chien area.

I would like to express my appreciation to many people who helped in this work. First I wish to thank Ed Oerichbauer who undertook this project because of his great interest in historic archeology and his fascination for the fur trade in the Upper Midwest. A number of people in the Environmental Resources Branch, St. Paul District, Corps of Engineers were of particular help: Jan Streiff, formerly the Branch archeologist; Dan Bowman, the present archeologist; and Roger Lake.

And last, my thanks to Wendy Smith and Bob Fay who helped in many ways in assembling the report.

Joan E. Freeman
Project Director



PRAIRIE
DU CHIEN

Location of Prairie du Chien

INTRODUCTION

One of the most romantic and picturesque, and at the same time most historically important points of the early Northwest, was Prairie du Chien. Vincennes and Detroit and Mackinac have received wide publicity at the hands of the chronicler and the novelist; while Prairie du Chien, that spot amidst the most resplendent scenes of Nature and with a background as colorful and hoary as any of the wild Northwest, has been allowed to sink into comparative oblivion. Old Fort Crawford has been occasionally studied and written up; and a general history of Prairie du Chien has appeared (Scanlan 1937), but the appealingly romantic and historically detailed story of Prairie du Chien itself, long before the walls of Fort Crawford were erected, awaits the inspired pen of a modern Prescott or Parkman.

Even the age of this village which had such a long and intimate relationship with the history of the Northwest, seems wrapped up in a haze of mystery. It is doubtless one of the oldest dwelling spots, now occupied, in North America. Geological research proves it to have been undisturbed by the glacial drift in the ice age, hence habitable in earliest times, and its location at the junction of two natural travel routes, the Wisconsin and Mississippi river valleys, together with numerous traces of prehistoric mounds, are evidence of its early occupation.

Like their successors, the fur traders, the prehistoric Indians participated in a vast trade network. These Indian traders were middlemen

in the Hopewellian Interaction Sphere, distributing goods from as far west as the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic seaboard and Gulf Coast.

From the late 1600s to the late 1840s, the area of Prairie du Chien was again a major trade center. This trade was in furs which were in great demand by the affluent and fashion-minded societies of Europe, Asia and later the United States. The Indian again took part in the trade (supplying raw furs to the traders in exchange for products (trade goods) which were "supposedly" technologically superior over those utilitarian and aesthetic items he already possessed), but this time the trade, with its large profits was controlled by the French, then British, then the Americans. From its inception, the fur trade was of paramount importance in the upper Mississippi valley; it was responsible for exploration, Indian and white interaction, and a cause of constant strife between the major European powers seeking control of the new found continent - North America. But more importantly, it was the contributing factor that made Prairie du Chien historically significant.

Like many other small communities with such a long colorful history, Prairie du Chien has more than its share of legends. So much so, that the researcher often finds it difficult to distinguish between fact and fantasy. To complicate matters further, many of these illegitimate facts have made their appearance in historical accounts of Prairie du Chien; and have been perpetuated by pseudo historians who failed to check the authenticity of their source material. Only when the time is taken to sort through the manuscripts in the Archives of the United States,

Canada and Europe, and their secrets revealed, will the true and complete history of Prairie du Chien be known.

History however, is not enough. The archeologist must also do his part to bridge the gap between the known and unknown. What better laboratory could the scientist seek, than an area occupied prehistorically for thousands of years, and historically for three hundred years.

METHODOLOGY

The literature and records search of Prairie du Chien, with special emphasis on St. Friole Island and the main shoreline, was conducted in order to locate and identify significant prehistoric and historic sites in the area. The present location of Prairie du Chien has been an area of human occupation for thousands of years. Historical records exist from the mid 1600s, but the early accounts are sketchy at best and remain incomplete well into the 19th century. To chronicle the thousands of years of prehistoric occupation, and to fill some of the gaps in the early historic accounts, we must rely upon the archeological record. Therefore, both archeology and history were combined in this study to locate, identify and evaluate the importance of the cultural resources in Prairie du Chien.

The following methodology was determined to be the most productive in conducting the literature and records search:

(1). General histories of Prairie du Chien: The logical starting point for this study was to begin with the local historical sources. Only one book which pertains exclusively to Prairie du Chien has ever been published, Prairie du Chien, French-British-American by Peter L. Scanlan (1937). We then checked the back issues of local newspapers, extracting pertinent information. Once we had amassed enough background material we proceeded to the primary source material.

(2). Primary sources: The Archives and Manuscript Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contains more than 15 million

items; all materials concerning Prairie du Chien were examined. Our search uncovered three types of resource material; early maps, personal papers, fur trade records, and the Peter L. Scanlan manuscripts consisting of background material Scanlan used in writing his history of Prairie du Chien.

Our research revealed that a great deal of information is located in repositories outside the state of Wisconsin. Many of the early territorial papers which directly concern Prairie du Chien are located at the Illinois State Historical Society and the Missouri Historical Society. The majority of the fur trade records are located in the historical societies already mentioned and other institutions including the New York Historical Society and the National Archives.

We also learned that a great deal of potential research material is available in the holdings of the National Archives in Washington, D. C. The materials directly concerning Prairie du Chien are in the following collections: Adjutant General's Office (military inspection reports), Army Command Records, Chief of Engineers (reports of the Topographical Engineers), Commissary of General Subsistence, General Land Office Records, Indian Affairs, Inspector General Records, and Secretary of War.

Several letters were written to various divisions of the National Archives soliciting information concerning Prairie du Chien; unfortunately this correspondence was never acknowledged.

One other potentially rich resource was uncovered while in Prairie du Chien. This is the archives located at Campion College. Limited access to these records was granted to us and some information was obtained.

The Records of the Register of Deeds at Prairie du Chien were also checked. It would, unfortunately, take many months of careful search to be able to record all the land transaction in the area with which we are dealing.

(3) Interviews with local collectors of archeological materials: Collectors are almost non-existent in Prairie du Chien with two notable exceptions. Mr. Dallas Valley has been collecting for the last ten years and has amassed an extensive collection from various sites within the project area and the vicinity. Furthermore, he was able to provide us with provenience for artifacts in his collection and with information concerning the locations of sites. Mr. Valley was able to make some of his collection available to us for study and photographic purposes. Mr. Valley is the local authority to contact concerning the location of sites in the Prairie du Chien area.

Mr. Alfred Reed has only been collecting two years and most of his collection is from outside the project area. He did show us several sites on the island, but could not locate the artifacts from these sites. He also allowed us to photograph and record his collection.

(4) Interviews with local historians: Many individuals were interviewed, several were quite knowledgeable and shared their knowledge with us. Mr. Don Munson, curator of Villa Louis, has spent 30 years of his life researching the early history of Prairie du Chien and the history of the Mississippi River. Mr. Munson provided us with a great deal of background material, allowed us to use the Villa Louis archive facilities and recommended reliable source material. Mr. Munson is probably the most authoritative early Prairie du Chien historian around.

Mr. Marty Dyrud, a life long resident of Prairie du Chien, also provided us with reliable information. Over the years, Mr. Dyrud has gathered a great deal of information on the life of Joseph Rolette. He allowed us to check some of his notes and provided us with many useful bits of information.

The editor of the local newspaper, Mr. William Howe, provided us with some invaluable information concerning the later history of Prairie du Chien.

(5) Land Owner Interviews: While interviewing individual landowners with reference to previous indications of either historic or prehistoric materials was time consuming, they provided potential sources of information which were seldom recorded in the literature. Several sites were located through this method. In addition, a few artifacts of dubious provenience were recorded.

PREHISTORIC OCCUPATIONS

Although man probably entered North America from Asia at least 20,000 years ago, there is little evidence for his presence in southwestern Wisconsin before 13,000 B.C. From the time the region was first inhabited, near the end of the Pleistocene, until the coming of the Europeans to the area during the seventeenth century, the evidence of the American Indian's past in the Midwest illustrates a continuous population growth and ever changing adaptations to new developments in both the physical and social environments.

Paleo-Indian (13,000 - 8,500 B.C.) The Paleo-Indian period is generally characterized as one in which the primary means of subsistence for the small, scattered bands of American Indians was the hunting of large mammals such as mammoth, mastadon, caribou, and a variety of extinct and still extant smaller mammals (Byers, 1954; Fitting et al, 1966 and McDonald, 1968). The diagnostic forms of projectile points associated with this period (Folsom, Enterline-Bullbrook, Clovis, Cumberland, and Quad) are frequently recovered as isolated finds in the upland areas or along the margins of large river valleys or ancient lake beds. Many of the archeological sites dating to this period have probably been buried or destroyed by either natural deposition, erosion or the massive construction of our present day urban development projects. Thus, very little is known regarding the actual distributions, settlements, subsistence patterns, and social organization of Paleo-Indian peoples in Wisconsin.

Were the Paleo-Indians the first inhabitants of Prairie du Chien? Archeological evidence currently available is scant, and falls far short of giving us any answers. Numerous projectile points from this period have been reported as surface finds from most of the counties in the southern half of Wisconsin (e.g. Byers, 1942; Ritzenthaler and Scholz, 1951; Quimby, 1958; Salzer and Stock, 1961), but rarely has more than a photograph coupled with provenience at the county level been published.

As an initial step to synthesize Paleo-Indian materials in the state, Stoltman and Workman (1969), presented a study including metric data and provenience data of 65 fluted points contained in the collections of three institutions; the Milwaukee Public Museum, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Although such a small sample is likely to be biased (especially since the three collections came from institutions all situated in southeastern Wisconsin, and no effort was made to include artifactual materials contained in private collection), it is the only synthesis presently available.

Although the 1969 report by Stoltman and Workman only included one Paleo-Indian projectile point from Crawford County, a review of the archaeological literature, and statements from private collectors, reveals that a substantial number of these point types have been found not only in Crawford County, but adjacent counties as well (Fig. 1). From this evidence, even though it is preciously slim, we can say that Paleo-Indians once roamed Crawford County (ca. 13,000 B.C. to 8,500 B.C.), but more proof is needed before we can definitely say that they inhabited the area in and around Prairie du Chien.

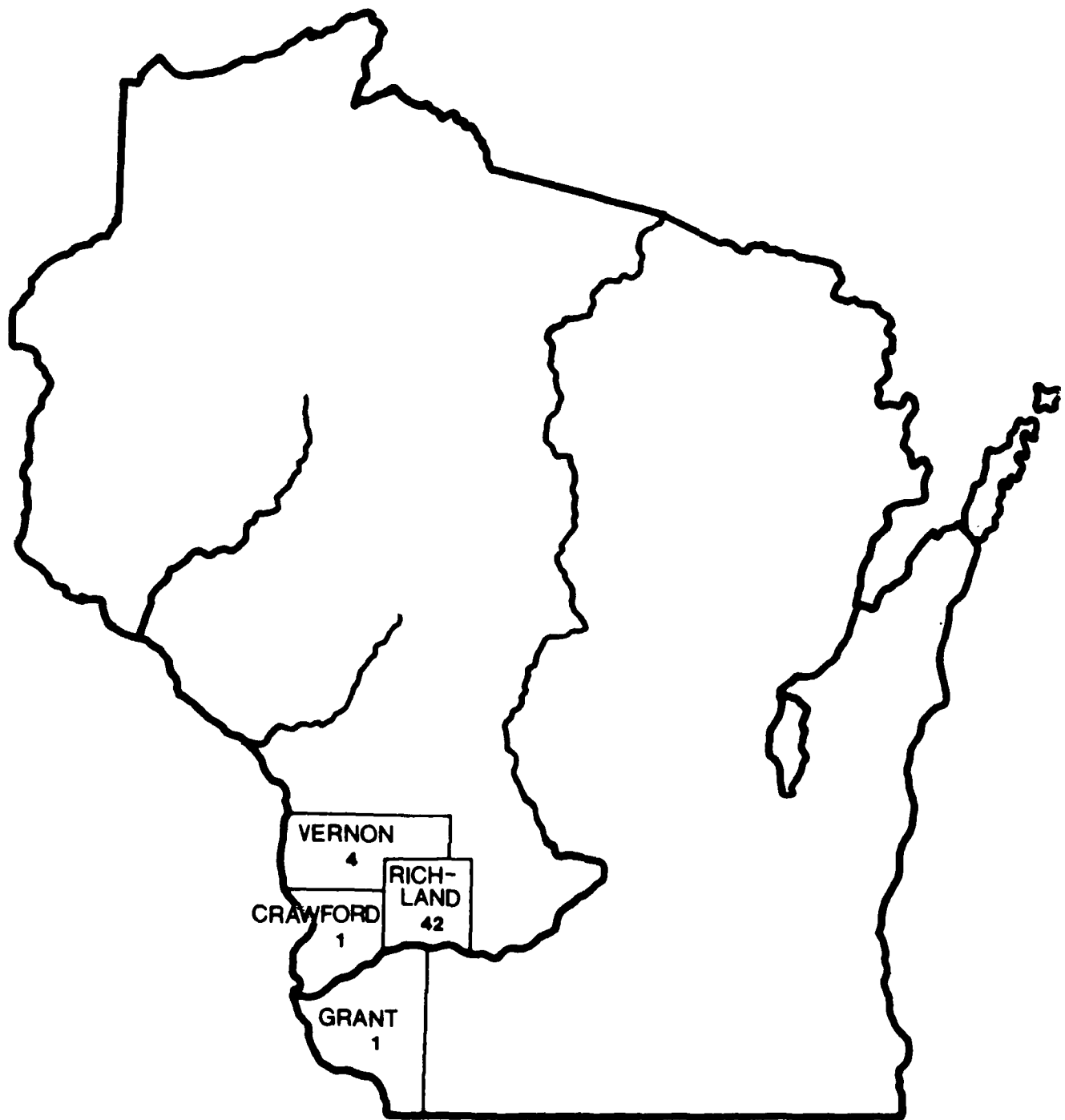


FIG. 1

Number of Fluted Points in Southwestern Wisconsin Counties

Archaic Period (9,000 - 1,000 B.C.) What is the Archaic? How is it defined? Fowler (1959:7) in summarizing previous concepts points out that "In its original formulations it was purely descriptive. An effort was made to describe the tools and artifacts that were Archaic." The concept then evolved to present a "stage of development" or "general time period" when similar artifacts were found throughout many areas of North America. Willey and Phillips (1955:740) demonstrated a different emphasis and proposed that the "Archaic stage is marked by the addition of grinding and polishing to the earlier techniques of percussion and pressure flaking." A few years later the emphasis again changed and the preceding authors described the Archaic as "the stage of migratory hunting and gathering cultures continuing into environmental conditions approximating those of the present." (Willey and Phillips, 1958:107). Finally, the working definition of the Archaic in Wisconsin is defined by Rollingsam and Swartz (1966:3) as:

a stage of cultural adaptation which utilized a wide variety of local flora and fauna. In the Eastern United States it involved increasing specialization in forest environment with refinement of food collecting methods and tools ... resulting eventually in seasonal cycles.

The Archaic period was subdivided into Early, Middle and Late Archaic periods, each corresponding to different adaptation patterns.

Griffin (1967) characterized each subdivision as follows:

Early Archaic: (9,000 - 6,000 B.C.) - lithic assemblage characterized by a variety of stemmed and basal-notched points; a correlation between Archaic manifestations and riverine environments is evident.

Middle Archaic: (6,000 - 4,000 B.C.) - innovations like "a marked increase in ground and polished tools; bone tools present; economy was riverine oriented, and highly dependent on river mollusks.

Late Archaic: (4,000 - 1,000 B.C.) - characterized by an increase in population, regional development and pan-regional material exchange; number of grinding stones increases suggesting a greater utilization of nut crops for food and oil; major innovation was copper artifacts.

What we see then is the Archaic concept transformed from a purely descriptive tool describing artifact types to an analysis of the process of interaction between man and his environment, a concern with the kind of habitat exploited (riverine) to explain the presence of tool types like grinding stones. The emphasis is one of understanding the relationship of the environment to Archaic man's adaptation process.

EARLY ARCHAIC

After the final retreat of the glaciers, the density of human population in the area gradually increased. Subsistence pursuits adjusted to the changing natural environment as dense conifer forests replaced the boreal forests which were in turn replaced by deciduous forests interspersed with prairie openings. The climate was beginning to resemble that of more recent times.

Adapting to the new environment, the tool kit of the Early Archaic period also changed. The major technological change was the shift away from the use of fluted points to lanceolate forms characterized by parallel flaking and having ground basal edges. Also, side-notched projectile points begin to appear and are sometimes found in the same sites and same levels as lanceolate forms indicating their contemporaneity. (See Fig. 2 for distribution of lanceolate points). Other tools include large and small bifacially chipped chert and quartzite knives, side and end scrapers, choppers, and graters.



FIG. 2

Distribution of Lanceolate Points in Southwestern Wisconsin

During this period, hunting began to focus on deer as a major source of meat and a large variety of smaller mammals and fish were also collected. New hunting techniques and devices were no doubt introduced and many more varieties of plants were utilized. New types of tools were needed to acquire and process plant materials and stone axes for chopping and cutting and grinding stones for nuts and smaller seeds first made their appearance (Dragoo, 1976:10-11).

It would seem that the social organization in this period was similar to that of the earlier Paleo-Indian although some ceremonial activities may be indicated by the recovery of several cremated burials from the Early Archaic period. It cannot presently be determined whether the population was larger, smaller or essentially the same as before. We may assume however, that with the favorable climatic conditions and the introduction of new food resources, that the population was slowly increasing.

MIDDLE AND LATE ARCHAIC

The Middle Archaic is characterized by a complete shift away from lanceolate projectile point forms to medium and large side-notched forms and to a lesser degree, stemmed points. Most of the tool kit of the Early Archaic was probably maintained with many more ground stone tools such as gouges, adzes and grooved axes being added. During the Late Archaic, other polished stone items such as bannerstones and birdstones probably made their appearance. These items were atlatl or spear thrower weights. The atlatl allowed the hunter to use a much larger spear point and increase the force in which the spear could be thrown.

The most important Archaic sites in Wisconsin are located in the southwestern corner of the state. The sites Raddatz, Durst, Knoop, Gov. Dodge, and Zech are stratified rockshelters and illustrate artifactual change from Archaic up into the Woodland period (Wittry, 1959a, 1959b). These sites are also important because of the faunal remains so well preserved. These remains show that 90% of the meat supply was obtained from large mammals, while smaller species made up the remaining 10%.

Although there are many archeological sites which date to sometime within the long Archaic period, only a few sites have been excavated and very little is known about the nature of subsistence and society or the processes of cultural change during the Archaic. We can say with some certainty that the band level of social organization continued through the Middle and Late Archaic. The seasonal occupation of sites (rockshelters were inhabited in winter, open camp sites at other times of the year) would indicate that Archaic man was moving with the availability of natural resources. The increased food resources probably spurred a population increase.

In Wisconsin, the term Late Archaic generally refers to the "Old Copper Culture" and the "Red Ochre Culture." These are names for a type of burial ceremonialism which reached its peak during this period. Old Copper (3,000 - 1,000 B.C.) has only been substantially reported from several sites; but it is represented by thousands of copper artifacts (awls, celts, spuds, spears, knives, etc.) preserved by private collectors and museums in southern Wisconsin (Wittry, 1951). The sites where burials are reported Oconto (Ritzenthaler and Wittry, 1952), Osceola (Ritzenthaler, 1946), and Reigh (Baerreis, 1949), contain either copper burial goods or caches of copper implements.

As the "Red Ochre Culture" supersedes "Old Copper," burials are furnished mainly with stone artifacts (turkey tail blades). Copper appears in small quantities and is usually in the form of beads, awls and a few projectile points. The material from which most of the Red Ochre artifactual assemblage is made indicates that most of it was obtained through trade from outside the immediate Wisconsin area (Ritzenthaler and Quimby, 1962).

Southwestern Wisconsin is well represented by both Middle and Late Archaic sites (Fig. 3). The near vicinity of Prairie du Chien and the project area are not nearly as well represented. One Archaic site is presently recorded in the Wisconsin Archeology Codification files and that is Cr 103, Big Lake Sites, located in the NE 1/4, Sec. 23, T7N, R7W, Town of Prairie du Chien. Archaic materials have been collected from this site by Gordon Peckham, a former resident of Prairie du Chien (Halsey 1972:40).

Alfred Reed, a local collector, has also collected from the Big Lake Site. His collection (Plate 1) represents material from Early and Middle divisions of the Archaic period.

Dallas Valley, a long time collector from Prairie du Chien, has accumulated thousands of artifacts from the area. Artifacts illustrated in Plates 2 - 8 were collected by Mr. Valley in the highlands from just south of the city limits of Prairie du Chien to the Wisconsin River. His collections are also representative of Archaic materials from all time spans within the Archaic period.

Some of the materials collected within the project area by both Mr. Valley and Mr. Reed may be Archaic. Unfortunately, Mr. Reed has recently



FIG. 3

Distribution of Middle and Late Archaic Sites in Southwestern Wisconsin

■ campsite ○ old copper ● red ocher

traded the material he collected from within the project area, and Mr. Valley who stores his extensive collections in three different houses in the city of Prairie du Chien could not locate the material he collected from within the area. Thus there was no opportunity to study or photograph the pertinent portions of these collections.

However, we do have some information on Archaic sites in the area. Gordon Peckham collected from the gravel pit area on the north end of St. Friole Island (Map 5, No. 1). Much of the material he collected is unworked and worked flakes which are not diagnostic as to culture. However, he did find some Archaic side-notched projectile points in this location (Freeman, personal communication). Mr. William Howe, editor of the Prairie du Chien Courier Press, recalls seeing some Old Copper projectile points made of copper which were collected from the bank of the Mississippi River at the northern end of St. Friole Island (Map 5, No. 2). These copper points may be an indication of a burial ground somewhere in this particular site area.

Woodland (1,000 B.C. - A.D. 1634) During the Woodland period the emphasis of subsistence pursuits in the southern Wisconsin area was increasingly on plant foods, although hunting and fishing still provided the major food resource. Archeologists divide Woodland into three periods: Early Woodland (1,000 B.C. - 200 B.C.), Middle Woodland (200 B.C. - A.D. 400) and Late Woodland (A.D. 400 - 1634).

Early Woodland patterns of settlement, subsistence, and social organization were probably not very different from those of the Late Archaic period. Early Woodland has been defined in areas to the south and east of Wisconsin. In Illinois for example, small sites are located

along the major stream valleys suggesting that Early Woodland groups focused on river bottom resources (Struever, 1968:292-294).

Early Woodland sites are identified archeologically by the occurrence of the first pottery vessels, either incised over cord roughened, fabric impressed, or cord marked on the interior and exterior. Projectile points are side-notched like those of the preceding Archaic culture.

There is very little information however, on Early Woodland in southern Wisconsin. Ceramics like that mentioned above have been found as isolated occurrences or at sites where the majority of the artifactual material is related to Middle Woodland cultures (Freeman, personal communication). Early Woodland sites in Wisconsin have either not been located or Woodland cultures first occur in the state at a time when the transition is being made from Early to Middle Woodland in other parts of the country.

Prairie du Chien and its immediate vicinity, like the rest of southern Wisconsin, has produced only a small amount of archeological material from this period. Dallas Valley's collection (Plates 2-8) from south of the city contains only a few pieces which could be attributed to this period. One interesting piece did turn up in Mr. Reed's collection. Found in the area of Big Lake, this vessel (Plate 9) could be labeled as either Early Woodland or as transitional between Early and Middle Woodland. The conoidal vessel is decorated on the exterior with incised lines parallel to the plane of the vessel mouth. Between the lines are a series of pinch marks where the clay was pinched by the fingers of the potter.

During the Middle Woodland period, settlements tended to concentrate in riverine locations. Sites were occupied for longer periods of time during the year and by greater numbers of people than during the Archaic and Early Woodland periods. Subsistence activities concentrated on harvesting the abundant seed plants in flood plain settings and some plants were domesticated. Deer, fish, and a variety of small animals and birds were also used for food. More deer were hunted than other animals, an indication of selective hunting of available resources.

The best known data on Middle Woodland comes from the regions of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Illinois Rivers in Ohio and Illinois. Along the lower Illinois River, Middle Woodland settlement systems consisted of a number of functionally differentiated sites including regional centers, base camps, small seasonal camps, and mortuary sites including elaborate burials covered with mounds of earth (Struever, 1968:305-308). These burial mounds, built during the Middle Woodland period, are called Hopewell mounds by archeologists. The name Hopewell is that of a farmer in Ohio on whose land stood the first excavated mounds of this type. The term Hopewell or Hopewellian has been used to refer to a culture, a cultural period, and a burial complex or cult to name a few usages. Here we use the term to refer to the type of mound construction, method of burial of the dead, and types of grave goods interred with the dead during the Middle Woodland in Wisconsin. Additionally the term refers to the type of network throughout the eastern United States through which exotic raw materials, perhaps finished artifacts, and certain ceremonial concepts were exchanged between groups of people. Exotic and stylized artifacts found both in mortuary and habitation

contexts indicate that widespread exchange networks existed throughout the Midwest during the Middle Woodland period. Some arms of the network stretched as far as the Rocky Mountains, the Black Hills, Lake Superior, the Gulf of Mexico, and southern Atlantic Coast (Struever, 1972:66-67).

In Wisconsin, Middle Woodland sites are known for most of the state; located along stream valleys, small lakes and the shores of the Great Lakes. Although Middle Woodland sites occur throughout the state regional differences in the artifacts recovered are quite apparent. This is probably due to adaption to the differing environments of the north and south and perhaps to contacts with nearby peoples of differing cultures.

In southern Wisconsin, Middle Woodland sites show strong relationships to those to the south, mainly those located in the Illinois River valley. These similarities are mainly in the ceramic tradition - a grit tempered ware, decorated with distinctive forms of stamping (Freeman, 1969:64-65). This would tend to indicate that Middle Woodland peoples in this general area were in some sort of contact with each other.

In southwestern Wisconsin, Middle Woodland is also characterized by the presence of burial mounds. These mounds, like many other Hopewell mounds throughout the eastern United States, share traits such as burial in log tombs and artistic grave goods of exotic materials such as copper, obsidian, grizzly bear teeth, chalcedony, etc. (McKern, 1931b). These trait similarities throughout this broad area have been interpreted as resulting from inter group contact, an interaction confined primarily to trade and distribution of exotic raw materials and

conceivably finished products as well as ideological concepts of mound building, burial, grave offering, religion and ceremonialism (Struever, 1972:48).

Village sites tend to be large, some encompass an acre and others are larger. These sites reveal a thick heavy midden deposit, a large number of storage pits, and some house structures. It would appear from the evidence that these sites were occupied year round (Freeman, 1969:85-86).

Southwestern Wisconsin (Fig. 4) in general and the Prairie du Chien area in particular, is well represented by Middle Woodland remains; both village sites and mound groups. Lucius Lyons' survey map prepared in 1828 (Map 2) shows 29 mounds in and around the city of Prairie du Chien. Several of these mounds have survived the onslaught of civilization and still survive in the city and project area.

The mounds which once (and in some cases still do) dotted the country side in and around Prairie du Chien are the strongest evidence we presently have for prehistoric occupations in the area. These Middle Woodland (Hopewell) burial mounds are scattered along the prairie from near Bridgeport on the Wisconsin River along the Mississippi River well north into the state. A number of these mound groups are famous in the archeological literature because some were excavated in the late 1800s and reported on by Cyrus Thomas in his Report of the Mound Excavations of the Bureau of Ethnology. Thomas' report contains some of the earliest records of excavations in Wisconsin and was used extensively by W. C. McKern in his classic work A Wisconsin Variant of the Hopewell Culture.



FIG. 4

Middle Woodland Site

burial mounds ■ excavated sites □

Nineteenth century scientists were not the first to become interested in mounds around Prairie du Chien. Early travelers and inhabitants seemed enthralled by these mounds and their journals are vivid illustrations of this mysterious landscape. Although these references to mounds are numerous, no specific locational information is given. Several of the following accounts will illustrate the frustrations encountered when exact locations of these mounds are sought.

Major Stephen H. Long, a Topographical Engineer, United States Army, was one of the first to mention the mounds in 1817.

There are numerous antiquities discoverable upon various parts of the prairie, consisting of parapets, mounds, and cemeteries; relative to which the Indians have no traditions, and the oldest of them can give no account. They only suppose that the country was once inhabited by a race of white people like the present Americans, who have been completely exterminated by their forefathers. This supposition is grounded upon the circumstance of their having discovered human bones in the earth buried much deeper than the Indians are in the habit of burying their dead, and never accompanied by any implements of any kind, which the Indians have always been accustomed to bury with the body of their proprietor. Tomahawks of brass and other implements, different from any the present Indians make use of, have also been found under the surface of the ground.

The mounds probably were intended both as fortifications and cemeteries, as most of them (perhaps all) contain human bones, and at the same time appear to serve as flank defences to fortified lines (Long 1889:62-63).

Frederick Marryat who visited in 1837 adds this account:

I made one or two excursion to examine the ancient mounds which are scattered all over the district, and which have excited much speculation as to their origin; some supposing them to have been fortifications, others the burial places of the Indians. That they have been latterly used by the Indians as burial places, there

is no doubt; but I suspect they were not originally raised for that purpose ... I should rather suppose the mounds to be the remains of tenements, sometimes fortified, sometimes not, which were formerly built of muc or earth, as is still the custom in the northern portion of the Sioux country. Disertion and time have crumbled them into these mounds, which are generally to be found in a commanding situation in a string as if constructed for mutual defence (Marryat 1898:150).

In the same year another traveler, William Rudolph Smith left this description of some of the mounds in Lower Town:

..... a number of Indian mounds are on the bank of the River Some Graves are sunk in so as to discover bones and remnants of blankets ... the Winnebago bury in these mounds yet ... the remains of the Old French Fort are near these mounds ... (Smith 1929:303).

Passing through Prairie du Chien in the 1840s, Charles Lanman wrote:

On the bluffs, in the immediate vicinity of Prairie du Chien are some of the most remarkable of those strange memorials of a forgotten race which have yet been discovered in our country. Like those of Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, and Illinois, those of the more northern wilderness will long continue to puzzle the antiquarian, and furnish food for the poet and the moralist. Here the mounds, trenches, and cellars are found connected in one series of works, which seem to have been used for military purposes. Deep under the surface of the ground, tomahawks of brass (differing materially from those now in use) have been found; and stories are told of gigantic skeletons having been disinterred in the neighborhood. The only things which throw any light upon these singular ruins, are the uncouth and unsatisfactory legends of the Indians, who tell us that a race of white giants were once the possessors of the soil which they inherited from their warlike and victorious ancestors. These vestiges of an ancient race, "lie in their sunless chambers like the spirits of the past, as if in mockery of an age which arrogates to itself the term of an age of light. They will probably remains forever a signal rebuke upon the learning of modern times, assuming, as it does, the pride of universal knowledge (Lanman 1915:105-106).

The mounds just mentioned are located both on the prairie and near the mouth of coulees. Camp and village sites are often located just adjacent to the mounds. The Middle Woodland peoples were probably living semi-permanently at these sites or else lived there during the season of mound building and ceremonial activity.

There have been no recent scientific excavations of Hopewell mounds in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, and furthermore, though camp and village sites occupied by the Indians who built them have been located, none have been excavated. The known Hopewell mound groups and village sites in the near proximity of Prairie du Chien are as follows:

On the extreme southern end of the prairie, just outside of the project area, is the location of two major mound groups. These groups were the Flucke (Cr 3) and Vilas (Cr8) mounds. Thomas (1894, Plate 1) presents a map illustrating both groups as they appeared before excavation. Both of these groups were located on farm lots 42 and 43 (See Map 2).

The Flucke group (Cr 3) located in the NW 1/4 Sec. 7, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport, on a terrace overlooking the Wisconsin River. There were 16 mounds in the group, five were excavated by Emmert, one of Cyrus Thomas' field men. This is the one mound group in which obsidian points were located (Thomas 1894:72-73). These mounds are now plowed down so the scattering of Middle Woodland artifacts in the vicinity of the mounds (Halsey 1972:52) may represent material from the fill of the mounds or else the habitation of those who built the mounds.

Other probable Hopewell mounds are in the Dahmen I Group (Cr 14), located in the NW 1/4, Sec. 8, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport. Early

excavations here uncovered multiple extended burials and stone and copper artifacts (Thomas 1894:50). The extended burials and stone and copper artifacts appear to be more representative of Hopewell than Effigy Mound. Two habitation sites were located nearby, the Beneker II (Cr 88) and Beneker III (Cr 82) sites. Cr 88 is located in the NW 1/4, NE 1/4, SW 1/4, Sec. 8 and Cr 82 in the SE 1/4, NE 1/4, Sec. 8, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport. Corner notched points and rocker dentate stamped potsherds, both hallmarks of Middle Woodland occupation, were found at these sites (Halsey, 1972:62-63).

North of the City of Prairie du Chien is the Courtois Mound Group (Cr 50), located in the NE 1/4, Sec. 12, T7N, R7W, Town of Prairie du Chien. These 36 mounds are located west of Gremore Lake which was formerly known as Courtois Pond, on the western end of farm lots 5 and 6 (Map 2). The description of the excavations and artifacts which Thomas (1894:62-63) gives for this group indicates it was mostly if not entirely indicative of Hopewell. Eight of the mounds excavated had grave goods in them, typical Hopewell copper beads, breastplates, silver beads, bear canine teeth, and pottery vessels.

Halsey indicates that perhaps as many as 23 of the mounds survive as remnants, low rises in the cultivated fields (1972:46). Enough of the mounds probably remain so that the burial pits are intact.

North of the Courtois groups is the Pedretti III site (Cr 127), located in the NW 1/4, SE 1/4, Sec. 1, Town of Prairie du Chien. Projectile points and pottery from this habitation site are Middle Woodland. Halsey and his crew excavated five 3 foot square test pits at the edge of the site and found a few waste flakes (1972:47). However,

in a later testing by Barbara Mead of the Anthropology Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, a midden deposit and possible post molds were uncovered (personal communication). The Pedretti III site is undoubtedly the village site for the Courtois mound group. This site however, is being systematically destroyed by gravel pit operations. And, as the walls of the gravel pit are dug back, collectors are having a field day digging out and picking up "Indian Stuff." (See Plates 10 and 11)

Within the project area is a major campsite or village (Olson I (Cr 92; Map 5, No. 3 and Plate 12). This site is located at the western end of farm lot 39 within the city limits of Prairie du Chien. The site is on land not utilized as a commercial campsite, owned and operated by Mr. Stanley Olson. It lies several hundred feet from the river and just east of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad tracks. The artifactual material from the site surfaced in an area being worn away beneath a set of swings.

From the material recovered - numerous utilized and waste flakes and a ground stone celt (Halsey 1972:36) it seems probable that this was a major campsite perhaps of the Middle Woodland period. Hopewell and Effigy Mound occupations are undoubtedly represented here as they are at the Vilas site which will be discussed later.

Thomas in 1884, reported the excavation of a mound which contained quantities of historic trade silver such as bracelets, brooches, rings and earrings (Thomas 1884b and Rau 1889). Thomas (1894:51-52) later reported this mound in greater detail. Illustrations of the artifacts were reported by Brown (1910:107-108) and Holmes (1907:366). This

mound, 70 feet in diameter and 10 feet high, was the last remaining member of "a row of large circular mounds, situated on a high bottom between the old bayou and the river ... this being the only part of the immediate area which is not overflowed when the water is very high." Brown (1906:304) placed the location of these mounds as "a few rods north of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Station." This would have placed the group at the western end of farm lot 36 (Map 5, No. 4 and Map 7). Nothing of this mound group remains today as the entire area is now occupied by the FS Fertilizer Company (Plate 13). This series of mounds are presently known as the Trade Silver Mound Group (Cr 62).

From Thomas' description of the contents of this mound it is clear how it derived its name.

The surface or top layer was composed mainly of sand and alluvial earth to the depth of some 3 or 4 feet. Scattered through this in almost every part of the mound were found human skeletons in various stages of decay and in different positions, but mostly stretched horizontally on the back. Mixed with these remains were fragments of blankets, clothing, and human hair; one copper kettle, three copper bracelets, one silver locket, shown in Fig. 10; ten silver bracelets similar to the one shown in Fig. 11, one having the word "Montreal" stamped on it; and another the letters "A.B.;" two silver earrings, six silver brooches similar to Fig. 12; one copper finger ring; one double silver cross (Fig. 13); one knife handle; one battered bullet, one carved wooden pipe similar to those at present in use. In fact, the top layer to the depth of 3 or 4 feet seemed to be packed as full of skeletons as possible without doubling them, and even that had been resorted to in some cases.

Carrying the trench down to the original surface of the ground there was found, near the center, at the bottom, a single skeleton of an adult, in the last stages of decay, and with it a stone skinner, stone drill, scraper, fragments of river shells and fragments of a mammoth's tooth (Thomas 1894:51-52).

Even though the upper portions of this mound contained a large number of intrusive historic burials, the materials recovered from the original interment would indicate that the mound was of Hopewellian origin.

Moving north along the mainland we encounter the most prominent mound group that existed within the present limits of Prairie du Chien (Second Fort Crawford Mound Group, Cr 151; See Map 2; 4; and Map 5, No. 5). The site of this large mound was selected as the site of Second Fort Crawford. Previous to this however, James Duane Doty selected this area to be the site of the Crawford County courthouse, but when the county delayed in the construction of the courthouse, Doty, who owned the property, donated it to the federal government and this land became the site of the Fort (Scanlan 1937:189).

There seems to be some question concerning the number of mounds which were actually present on the west end of farm lot 34. Lyons' map (Map 2) of 1828, indicates only one mound with the caption "Large Mound, selected as site for Court House." Brunson was obviously describing this mound when he said:

On Prairie du Chien, one of the largest and highest of these tumuli, having a base of two hundred feet and about twenty feet high, of circular form, was leveled from the present site of Fort Crawford (1850: 63; 1857:181).

Charles Latrobe, a traveling Englishman, gives this information on a mound in this area:

.... An Indian mound round which the new buildings were constructed was removed in leveling the square, and forty eight bodies, some inclosed in wooden or bark coffins were removed. The lower layer was on a level with the natural soil. Many Indian graves are scattered over the surface of the prairie in its vicinity (Latrobe 1836).

John Fonda adds:

In building the Fort, we disturbed an Indian mound. It was a common burying place of the Indians, and we took out cart-loads of bones (1868:254).

Which mound Fonda was referring to is uncertain, but it probably was the large one.

Other sources reveal more than one mound at this site (See Doty's map, Map 4). Scanlan (1937:137) says, "It was decided to build the Fort on the site of a group of Indian mounds..... ." In 1938 he states the number of mounds as three. Alice Smith referred to this area as the "best building site on the prairie ... on which stood three small mounds (1954:58).

It would appear then, as the evidence indicates, that there were at least three mounds in the area and one of them was large. The representation of the area on Doty's map (Map 4) would appear accurate, and illustrative of the appearance of the area before the construction of Fort Crawford.

Moving to St. Friole Island, one mound appears on all the maps and in written source material. "Ancient Mound" as it appears on the maps is presently known as the Mendenhall Mound, Cr 29 (Map 5, No. 6 and Plate 14). This mound was so named because at one time it contained the grave of Dr. C. Mendenhall, one of the post surgeons who died in 1823, probably by suicide (Scanlan, n.d.).

The Mendenhall Mound was the northernmost mound and was located north of Old Fort Crawford, on the west side of Villa Louis Road, across from the present location of radio station WPRE.

Another mound on the island is still in existence in a modified form. Villa Louis, the home of Hercules Dousman is built upon it. Before serving as a base for the Villa, one of the blockhouses of Old Fort Crawford stood upon it. This mound is now known as Villa Louis Mound, Cr 73, (Map 5, No. 7 and Plate 15).

William H. Keating reported the presence of this mound in 1823.

..... one of the blockhouses of the fort is situated upon a large mound, which appears to be artificial. The mound is so large, that it supported the whole of the work at this place, previous to the capture of the fort by the British and Indians during the late war. It has been excavated, but we have not heard that any bones or other remains were found in it (Keating 1824:245).

Alfred Brunson, a minister in Prairie du Chien adds:

Another, of about the same dimensions and (two hundred feet in diameter, twenty feet high and circular), stood within the old or first Fort built in this place by the Americans, on which now stands the splendid Mansion of H. L. Dousman Esq. A cellar, well and ice house vault were dug in this last, and a well dug where the first stood (the mound at the second Fort Crawford), but in neither were any evidences found of the design of their erection; nothing was found but bones, rifles, &c., of recent interment (1850:63; 1857:181).

There is no evidence that this is a Hopewell mound other than the fact that most other mounds on the prairie have revealed diagnostic Middle Woodland artifacts.

Cyrus Thomas, in 1894, reports on another mound in the same general area:

This mound, which is situated just below Old Fort Crawford, and measures 60 feet in diameter and nearly 5 feet in height, is noticed here on account of the excavation beneath it. This was 12 feet in diameter, extending 5 feet below the original surface of the ground, and was filled with dark,

sandy earth similar to that of which the mound was composed. No specimens of any kind, charcoal, ashes, or indications of burials were discovered (1894:74-75).

All traces of this mound have vanished, but local authorities report that a second, somewhat smaller mound once stood with this one.

South and west of the mound just described and northeast of the Brisbois House another mound still stands. This is a large corical mound with a trench running up one side of it (Map 5, No. 8 and Plate 18).

There may have been other mounds in the vicinity of the Brisbois House but the evidence is not yet clear. Reports of excavations in the area are not specific as to what mound or if the digging occurred in a mound. In 1817, Major Stephen Long, quotes Michael Brisbois concerning a discovery here:

Mr. Brisbois, who has been for a long time a resident of Prairie du Chien, informed me that he saw the skeletons of eight persons, that were lying side by side. They were of gigantic size, measuring about eight feet from head to foot. He added that he took a leg bone from one of them and placed it by the side of his own leg, in order to compare the length of the two; the bone of the skeleton extended six inches above his knee. None of these bones could be preserved as they crumbled to dust soon after they were exposed to the atmosphere (1880:63-64).

This find may not have been in a mound, the evidence is not clear. There is a root cellar in the backyard of the Brisbois House at present (Plate 16), but it appears far too small to have been a mound. Furthermore, the present Brisbois House was not built until the 1840s, by B. W. Brisbois, son of Michael, long after the discovery of the skeletons by Michael.

Michael Brisbois moved from Main Village lot 1 to Main Village lot 15 in 1817 and constructed a log cabin upon the mound northeast of the Brisbois House. The trench in this mound may indicate the root cellar in which the burials were found. It would not seem practical to construct a root cellar as far from the log cabin as is the existing root cellar just behind the present Brisbois House.

The same or other mounds near the Brisbois House is described by Brunson:

One rather singular circumstance is observable in the construction of some of the mounds on Prairie du Chien, and especially those near the dwelling of B. W. Brisbois Esq. (son of Michael Brisbois). They stand on the margin of the Mississippi on the extreme west of the prairie, and about one and a half miles from the bluffs. The soil on the prairie is river sand intermixed with vegetable mold. But these tumuli are of a different soil, a loam, the like of which has not yet been discovered within several miles of its present location; so that, to appearance, the earth of which these mounds are composed must have been brought from a considerable distance (1850:64; 1857:182).

It is also popularly believed that the present Brisbois House itself is built on a mound (Plate 17).

Two other houses on the island are also said to be built upon mounds. One of these homes is located on the NE corner of Rolette Street and Villa Louis Road (Map 5, No. 9; and Plate 19). The other home is directly north at 210 North Villa Louis Road (Map 5, No. 10; and Plate 20). There is no substantial evidence which would indicate that these are actually aboriginal mounds, but several of the residents of Prairie du Chien related that this idea has a long history and a broad popular belief. It should be noted, however, that many of

the houses on the island sit atop artificial mounds. These artificial mounds were constructed to prevent many of these homes from flooding during period of high water.

Another area of the island on which mounds may have been located is that region from radio station WPRE north to the city limits, east to the slough (Map 5, No. 11, Plates 21 and 22). Dallas Valley reported that this area was very rich in archeological materials. Grading and leveling operations exposed a number of burials and a heavy concentration of occupational debris. Although I did not have the opportunity to see any of this material, Mr. Valley's description of the material recovered left little doubt of its origin. It would appear that this area was extensively utilized during Middle Woodland times and again during the historic period for burial purposes.

Returning to an area previously mentioned in the Archaic Section (Map 5, No. 1); the gravel pit on the north end of the island also seems to have been extensively utilized during the Middle Woodland period. Halsey (1972:40) states:

Gordon Peckham has a collection from this area which indicates that there was a tremendous amount of flint-knapping carried out in this vicinity, mainly in the Archaic and Middle Woodland periods. There were also reports of a large quantity of historic graves, presumably those of Indians, which were discovered during the gravel pit stripping operation.

Mr. Valley also described the scene as this material was uncovered. As the heavy buckets scooped up the earth, large quantities of bone and other associated materials were crushed between the jaws. As a particularly rich load was struck, it was set aside and collectors were allowed free access to any of the material they wanted.

Two mounds may also have been located on the eastern portion of the island in the area where Washington Street enters the island (Map 5, No. 12 and Plate 23). One of these mounds was located on each side of Washington Street. Both Dallas Valley and Don Munson (Curator of Villa Louis) reported the existence of these mounds, but no remains could be located.

Directly across the slough from the above mentioned mounds, one small mound was also said to exist. Mr. Valley stated that the remains of this mound have been gone for quite some time (Map 5, No. 13).

Whether Brown was referring to this mound in the following statement is unclear:

Camp and workshop sites on the banks of the
Marais de St. Feriole, below the site of
Old Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien.
Conical mound much reduced in vacant block,
between Main St. and the Marais (1909:119).

It would appear from Brown's statement that camp and workshop sites stretched along the island from Boilvin Street south (Map 5, No. 14 and Plate 26). Dallas Valley reported that he used to collect in the area, but hasn't done so in the last several years because of the build-up of silt from the slough which covered the artifactual material.

Effigy Mound Period (A. D. 400 - A. D. 1200). Unlike any other archeological cultural manifestation, the Effigy Mound Tradition is almost restricted in its geographical distribution to the state of Wisconsin. Although they occur outside of Wisconsin, they are restricted to extreme northern Illinois, northeastern Iowa, and southeastern Minnesota. Effigy mounds are low earthen burial mounds which were constructed in the form of birds, mammals, reptile and man. Other mounds are conical,

linear and oval mounds. These are not effigies but were raised by the same people who constructed the effigies. The shape of these mounds may represent clans or spirits, but these cannot be related to concepts held by historic tribes (Rowe, 1956).

Burial practices and features found within effigy mounds are quite variable. Burials might be extended, flexed, bundle or even cremations. Remains may be placed in a pit with a mound constructed over it, or on the surface of the ground with the mound erected over it, or they may be placed within the mound fill itself. Grave goods are rarely found with burials, but occasionally artifacts which are deliberate grave goods are found (Ritzenthaler, 1963).

Fireplaces or hearths are some of the other features found in some mounds. These are interpreted as ceremonial activities involved with burials or mounds construction. Dogs or dog burials have also been found in mounds but are not associated with the human interments.

The Effigy Mound Tradition was probably developed from local Middle Woodland cultures in southwestern Wisconsin and adjacent areas of Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota. The Effigy Mound Tradition seems to extend as far north as central Wisconsin; the main concentration of mounds is in the riverine and lacustrine regions of southern Wisconsin.

Some of the finest and most intricate pottery produced in the state of Wisconsin was made by Effigy Mound people. The cord and fabric impressions on this pottery have revealed that these peoples were utilizing a great variety of fabrics, perhaps for clothing and any number of other utilitarian uses (Hurley, 1975).

Projectile points were mainly small triangular and corner-notched (Wittry, 1959b, 260-261). Chert scrapers, knives and drills along with bone and antler awls and scrapers make up the tool kit.

The social organization of the Effigy Mound peoples was probably based on the band level. It would appear that the villages were seasonal as groups moved for hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. These bands or groups may have gotten together periodically for the purpose of interring the dead in a burial mound. Although they may have camped around the mounds while they were constructed, their main villages were in other areas.

There are numerous reported effigy mounds in southwestern Wisconsin (Fig. 5), and in the Prairie du Chien area. But with the exception of the Olson I site discussed above, all of the effigy mounds and associated habitation sites lie outside the project area because most effigy mounds are located further back from the major rivers, the Wisconsin and Mississippi, than are the Hopewell mounds. Effigy mounds were most often built on top of the bluffs overlooking the prairie or else on high land in the coulees.

Known effigy mounds are:

Selch I, Cr61, two bird effigies and one linear mound, located in the NW 1/4, SE 1/4, Sec. 5, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport (Halsey, 1972:63).

The Vilas group, Cr8, is located in NW 1/4, Sec. 7, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport. Effigy, linear, and conical mounds are present in this group. Perhaps some of these mounds are Hopewell, but it is difficult to say since the only excavation of these mounds, that of Thomas' men,

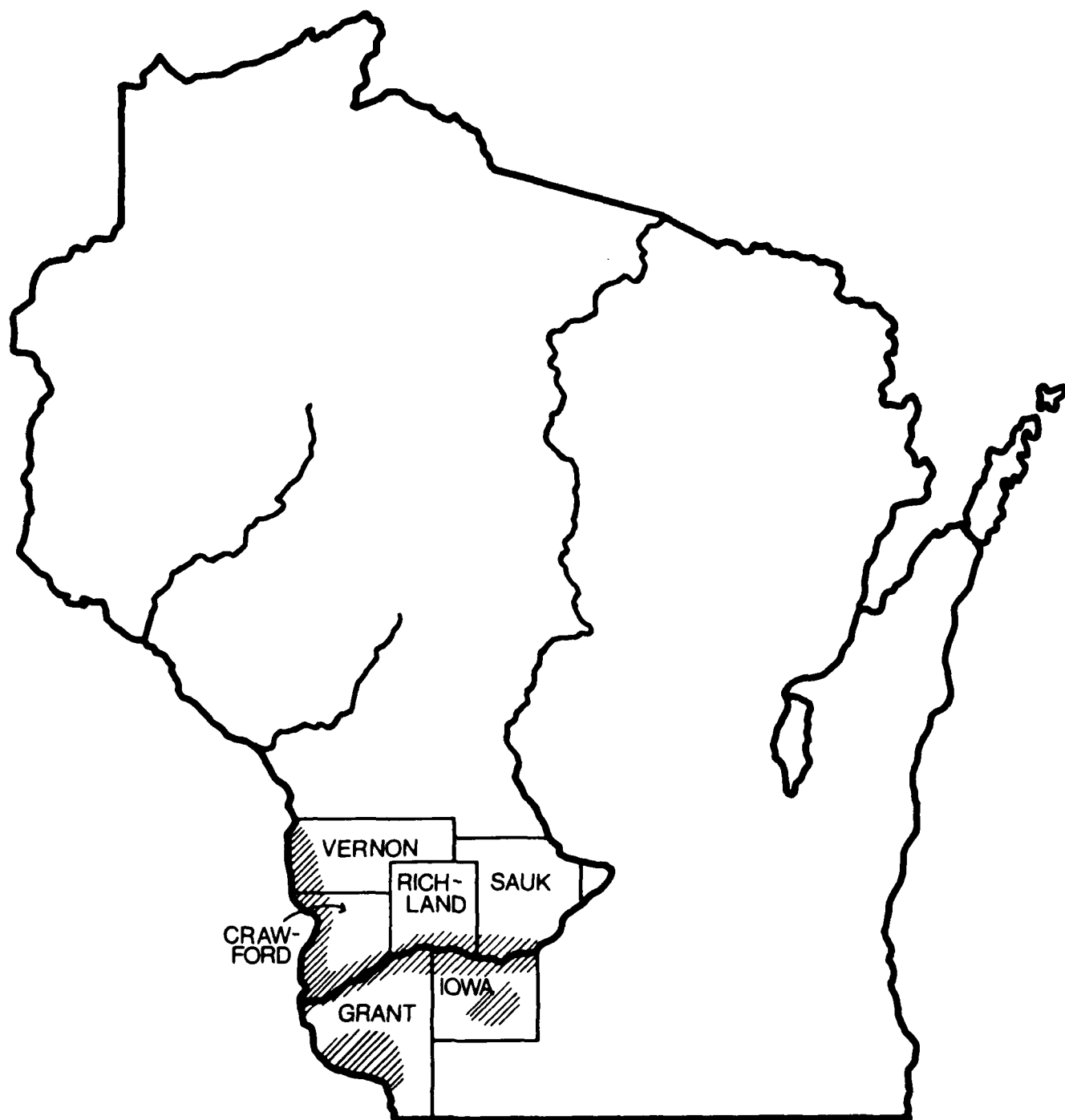


FIG. 5
Effigy Mound Distribution in Southwestern Wisconsin

produced nothing (1894:69). Remnants of these mounds remain in the plowed fields. An Effigy Mound habitation site is located just north of the mounds. Cord impressed ceramics of the type Madison Cord Impressed were found on the surface in this locale. (Halsey, 1972:52).

Bird-shaped mounds and conical mounds were located in the Dahman I, Cr14, group previously noted for the possible inclusion of Hopewell mounds. A few conical mounds and a bird mound still survive (Halsey, 1972:64).

The Dahman II groups, Cr91, located in the NW 1/4, NW 1/4, SE 1/4, Sec. 8, T6N, R6W, Town of Bridgeport, contains conicals and one linear mound. The mounds are much reduced in size from plowing. They are probably of Effigy Mound Culture (Halsey, 1972:65).

A number of Effigy mound groups are located above and within the confines of Campbell Coulee. All are located in Section 18, T7N, T6W, Town of Prairie du Chien. Two mound groups were reported by T. H. Lewis in 1884 but their existence was not confirmed in 1971. However, the groups were given site numbers Cr59 and Cr155. Two other Effigy Mound groups were located by the survey team, Ahrens I and II (Cr156 and Cr157). Linear mounds were located (1972:59).

Two mound groups were located in Limery Coulee by Peet (1889). These groups were not seen by the 1971 survey team, but it is calculated that these effigy mounds (Cr154 and Cr158) are located in Section 18, T7N, R6W, Town of Prairie du Chien (Halsey, 1972:59).

Another mound group, apparently of the Effigy Mound Culture lies on a ridge of land south of the mouth of Mill Coulee. This group, Pennekamp I (Cr154) is in the SW 1/4, SW 1/4 Sec. 6, T7N, R6W, Town

of Prairie du Chien (Halsey, 1972:58).

An Effigy Mound habitation site is located north of Prairie du Chien in the vicinity of Big Lake. Small triangular projectile points collected by Alfred Reed (Plate 30) are typical of the period.

None of the mound groups in the immediate vicinity of Prairie du Chien are on the National Register of Historic Places although some, such as Courtois and Flucke groups, should be because of their significance as Hopewell mounds and in the archeological history of Wisconsin. Mound groups on the register are all in the vicinity of Lynxville. All are Effigy Mound groups and were selected on the basis of the large number of mounds surviving and typical placement of mounds on bluff headlands in Crawford County. The groups are:

Wall-Smethurst (Cr140)

Foley (Cr43)

Olson (Cr38)

Late Woodland (A.D. 1000 - 1634). The Late Woodland peoples who lived in Wisconsin are not well understood. Sites throughout the state yield distinctive Late Woodland pottery, grit tempered vessels with a collar around the upper rim (Baerreis and Freeman, 1958). This collared pottery is the horizon marker of Late Woodland in Wisconsin.

The Late Woodland groups depended on hunting and gathering for food, and practiced some agriculture. Little is known concerning the historic tribes which represent Late Woodland peoples.

No Late Woodland sites have been located in the project area or in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien.

Upper Mississippian (A.D. 1000 - 1634). Upper Mississippian groups in southern Wisconsin developed out of Middle Mississippi populations to the south of Wisconsin. In addition to maize, other agricultural crops, fishing and hunting provided foods. Upper Mississippian peoples lived in substantial villages some 40 acres in size which were seasonally occupied. Settlements in southern Wisconsin tended to focus on lake and riverine areas. Burials were placed in low mounds or cemetery areas (McKern, 1945).

Upper Mississippian occupations can be recognized archaeologically by the nature of the pottery vessels and decorative techniques (straight line incising or trailing and/or punctates) as well as by other items of material culture such as hoes, projectile points, ornaments, and house forms. Little is known about the distribution and morphology of settlements in southwestern Wisconsin and many questions remain to be answered regarding the processes of cultural change evident in Upper Mississippian society (Hall, 1962). In addition, there is much speculation but little data on the nature of the genetic and social relationships between the archaeologically-known Upper Mississippian people and the historic Indian societies. It is generally accepted, however, that sites in western Wisconsin are related to sites in Iowa known to have been occupied by historic Iowa Indians (Mott, 1938).

Upper Mississippian sites are quite numerous in southwestern Wisconsin (Fig. 6), but none have been found in the project area. The only known site in the Prairie du Chien area is Mill Coulee (Plate 29). Dallas Valley has in his collection one almost complete shell tempered pot which is unmistakably Upper Mississippian.

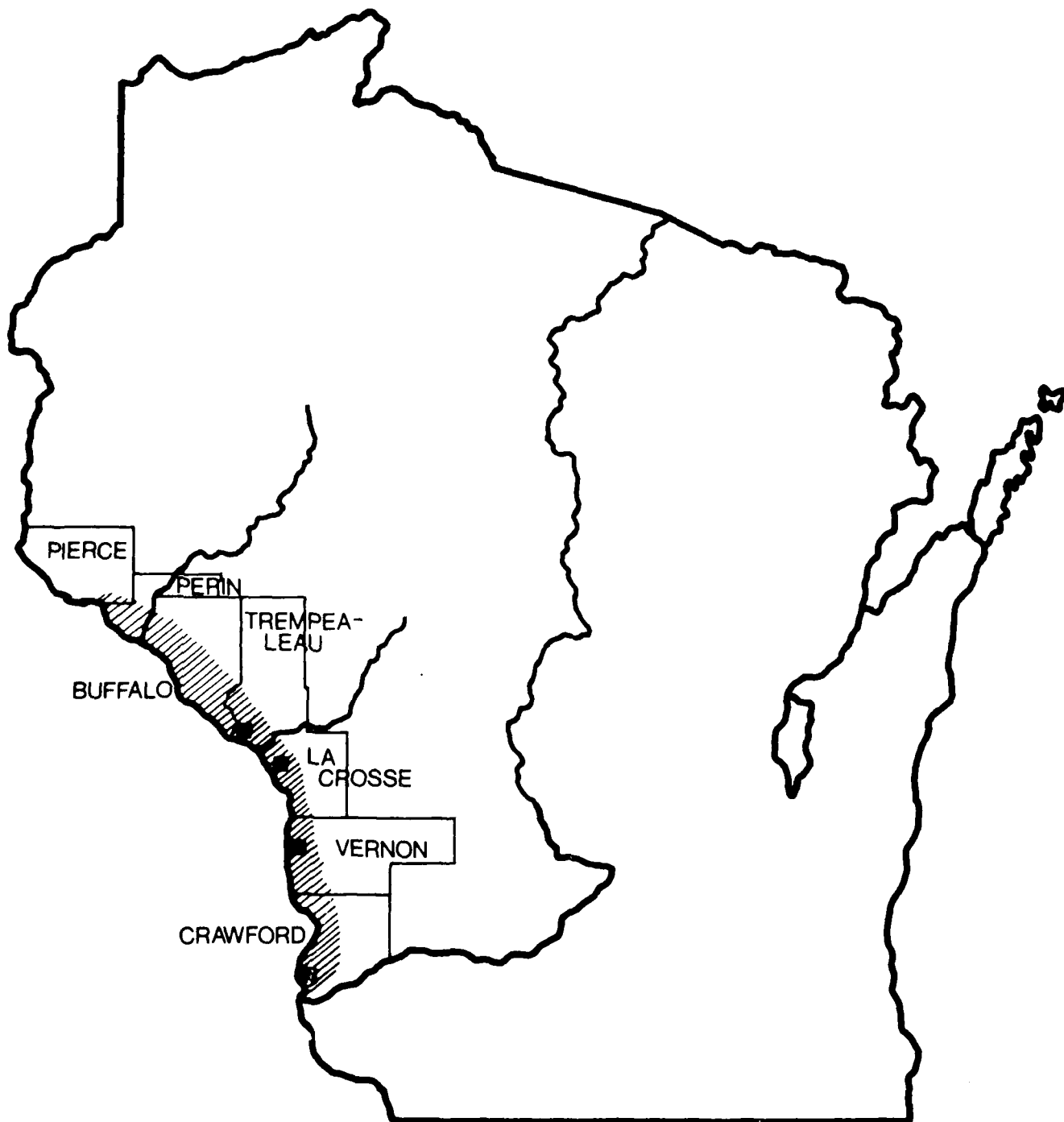


FIG. 6

Distribution of Upper Mississippian Sites in Southwestern Wisconsin
excavated sites ■

Sites of unknown cultural affiliation. Other village or camp sites within the project area will be included at this point, even though no cultural affiliations can be determined. The first of these sites is located in the 200 block of north 2nd Street on St. Friole Island (Map 5, No. 15; Plate 24). Dallas Valley has collected several projectile points from a garden in the center of the block, but unfortunately he could not recall what he did with them or what they looked like.

Just to the west of this site, recent test excavations at the Rolette House have revealed another site (Map 5, No. 16). Joan E. Freeman (Personal communication) reported that a level of chippings and scattered potsherds appeared in several of the test squares. An analysis of this material has not yet been done, so the cultural affiliation is not known.

On the southern tip of the island, Alfred Reed has collected projectile points (Map 5, No. 17; Plate 25). As was the case earlier, he no longer has the material, and could not recall what type of projectile points these were.

One other area of importance is on the mainland located west of the intersection of Main Street and Campion Blvd. (Map 5, No. 18; Plates 27 and 28). Ed Bouzak who gardens part of this area reported turning up projectile points, axes and other material in the spring while plowing. Unfortunately, he gives everything he finds to his grandchildren and friends.

Both Mr. Bouzak and Dallas Valley stated a point that should also be interjected at this time. They both recall that years ago, when more

people were planting gardens much more evidence of aboriginal occupations were revealed. Since gardening is no longer in vogue, many of the sites have long been forgotten.

HISTORIC INDIANS

In Wisconsin, prehistoric time merged into the historic when Jean Nicolet, the first known white man to visit Wisconsin, landed near what is now Green Bay in 1634. Nicolet's mission was to arrange a peace between all of the western tribes and incorporate them into the French alliance; thus opening the way for future trade and discovery in the unknown Northwest.

At the time of Nicolet's visit, only three Indian tribes are definitely known to have been residing in Wisconsin. These were the Menomoni and Winnebago who resided along the shores of the Menominee River and on Green Bay, and the Santee Sioux whose villages were along the upper Mississippi River in northwestern Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota (Kellogg, 1925:81).

This information is suggested to be incomplete. Since Nicolet never traveled any great distance inland into Wisconsin, he was never in a position to personally observe the country or its inhabitants. Most of the information Nicolet acquired concerning the Northwest was hearsay, passed on to him by a limited number of Indians he came in contact with. Therefore, in addition to the Indian groups mentioned by Nicolet, most scholars would add groups of the Miami tribes and several groups of the Illinois Confederacy to the list of Indians occupying Wisconsin at the time of Nicolet. In 1634 then, Wisconsin was primarily controlled by Siouan speaking peoples; the populous Winnebago to the east and the numerous groups of Santee Sioux to the west. Other groups, such as the Miami and Illinois also occupied southern Wisconsin,

but did so seasonally; it is unlikely that they had any permanent settlements in Wisconsin at this time.

The relatively peaceful coexistence Nicolet found between the Indians residing in Wisconsin was soon to change radically. Far to the east, in what is now New York State and eastern Canada, events were occurring that would drastically affect and change the Indian populations of Wisconsin. The Iroquois soon depleted their land of fur bearing animals and set out to acquire the rich bounty of the lands held by their neighbors. Aided by the gun (which only they possessed at this period in any number), the Iroquois soon unleashed what was probably the most potent and most feared military confederacy in North America. The Huron, who were middlemen in the fur trade between the French and the western Indians, were practically exterminated in 1654, and one of the first groups to flee west. They were soon followed by the Mascouten, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Sauk, Fox, Chippewa and other groups seeking protection from the Iroquois; which the secluded heartland of Wisconsin provided (Kellogg, 1925:93-96).

At first the Wisconsin Indians defended themselves against this onslaught of invading refugee tribes. Reduced in number by constant warfare and later disease and famine, they were forced to make peace with the invaders who settled in great numbers in Wisconsin. In three decades, Wisconsin's Indian population was transformed from stable, homogeneous groups, to an amalgamation of groups competing with each other for their existence.

By the 1660s, the Huron and Ottawa had settled the southern shore of Lake Superior and again operated as middlemen in the fur trade

(Kellogg, 1925:114). For 10 years, Indian groups from as far away as Missouri journeyed to Lake Superior and exchanged their furs for the superior merchandise of the Europeans. This trade flourished until the uneasy peace that existed between the Sioux and the Huron and Ottawas ended and forced the latter to flee to Michigan, thus closing this large trade mart and literally ending Indian control of the fur trade in Wisconsin.

Radisson and Groseilliers, the first known white traders in Wisconsin, returned to Canada with a large quantity of furs. Other traders quickly followed their example, and the scope of the fur trade changed. The Indians no longer made the long trip to Canada to trade their furs, the white traders now came to them.

Many Indians received European goods before actually being visited by the whites. They soon learned the superiority of these implements of iron over their own of stone. The arrival of white traders, with their trade goods, was eagerly awaited by the Indians. The arrival of the fur trader and the harmonious reception afforded him and his goods initiated the eventual downfall of the Indian.

The increased contact with white man's civilization had a dramatic impact on the life and geographical distribution of the Indians. During the early French period, these changes were extremely rapid. Several groups worked to change the Indian way of life. These were the fur trader, whose presence and goods drastically changed the material culture of the Indians, Jesuit missionaries who attempted to convert the Indians to Christianity, and the French political system itself, which instituted relocation policies, formed political alliances and attempted to civilize the "savage" mind.

Of these groups, the fur trader was the only one who really succeeded in changing the Indian's way of life. From the day the trader first arrived among the tribes, the culture of the Indian changed. His institutions, his religion, his general life style were altered.

In addition, the Indian's material culture changed radically. By 1760 the Indians of the western Great Lakes had become so changed by employment in the fur trade and contact with the culture of the white man that the significant typological continuities in material culture had been destroyed. After 1760 the Indians of the Great Lakes region were no longer making many traditional articles. Brass kettled replaced pottery, firearms replaced the bow and arrow, iron axes replaced stone celts, and kaolin pipes replaced native stone or clay pipes.

The fur trade and contact with the white man also produced a cultural uniformity in the material culture of the various tribes, a kind of Pan-Indian culture throughout the western Great Lakes.

Moreover, the material culture of this period is in itself a record of cultural change, manifestations of the processes of acculturation that had been in operation for more than a hundred years. The groups of Indians whose culture was changing because of contact with Western Civilization made and/or used certain imperishable artifacts that reflected processes of cultural change (See Quimby, 1966, for the categories of change reflected by these artifacts).

By 1760, or shortly afterwards the Indians of the Upper Great Lakes region had discarded most of their material culture in favor of

new elements introduced by the fur traders, so that a new kind of Pan-Indian culture had emerged. The Indians manifesting this culture made their living hunting and trapping. Their principal product was beaver fur, which they exchanged for tools, weapons, utensils, ornaments, food, liquor, and other things supplied by the traders. Moreover, at different times during this period, the various Indian groups in the western Great Lakes region became totally dependent upon the white man for his existence.

The archeological record of historic tribes is almost non-existent. Most of the information we have concerning historic Indians in Wisconsin is taken from accounts left by Jesuit missionaries, explorers, early fur traders, U. S. government records, and reminiscences of early settlers. Furthermore, a scientific study of the historic period in Wisconsin has never been done. Several general pamphlets have appeared, such as, John Douglas's The Indians in Wisconsin's History; but unlike other states where extensive study has been conducted (for example: Mott, 1938 for Iowa; Temple, 1966 for Illinois; and Fitting, 1970 for Michigan), the story of Wisconsin's historic period remains immersed in the tattered pages of early historical accounts collecting dust in repositories in the United States and around the world.

European trade goods have been found and collected in numerous areas throughout the state, but few site locations are known and fewer have been excavated. Several sites have been excavated which contained evidence of historic occupation (Brose, 1970a, 1970b; Lange, 1963) but only two truly historic sites have been reported in the literature.

The first of these sites, the Bell site (Wittry, 1963) is located on Lake Butte des Morts in Winnebago County. This Middle Historic period (1670 - 1760) site was occupied sometime between 1680 and 1730 A.D.; and has been identified as Fox. Artifacts of aboriginal origin as well as trade items were present at this stockaded village site. House remains were located revealing both rectangular and wigwam type constructions. Analysis of the floral and faunal materials reveals that corn and squash were grown, aquatic resources utilized, and deer as well as small mammals were hunted. Furthermore, the large percentage of beaver bones found at this site in comparison to prehistoric sites indicated a change in hunting patterns during this period to selection of more fur bearing mammals which were in demand by fur traders.

The second reported historic site is a Winnebago site located on Lake Koshkonong in Jefferson County (Spector, 1975). This Late Historic period (1760-1820) site was occupied from 1760 - 1780. The recovery of diagnostic, historic trade goods including glass beads, gunflints, and trade silver, in conjunction with independent, documentary research identifies the late 18th century Winnebago Indian occupancy of the site. Analysis of the historic archeological complex, supplemented by ethnohistoric and ethnographic data suggests that this site was the location of specialized activities by the Winnebago, centering on the mining, processing and manufacturing of lead products.

Two other historic sites have been excavated but not yet reported. The first of these sites is located on Rock Island. Several tribes which have been tentatively identified archeologically are the historic Fox, Huron, Menomini, Ottawa, Pottowatomi and Winnebago. The

archeological remains in this area date from the Middle Historic Period of 1670 - 1760 (Mason, n.d.).

The second of these unreported sites is the Grant's Point Huron village site located on Madeline Island in Ashland County. This site dates from the Early Historic Period (1610 - 1670) and exists into the Middle Historic Period (1670 - 1760). This site was partially excavated by Dr. Leland Cooper of Hamline University. During the course of Dr. Cooper's excavations, domestic structures and a wide range of cultural materials were recovered. Some of the material from this site is presently on display in the Madeline Island Museum. This collection consists primarily of ceramics, lithic materials, and pipes. The bulk of the material is at the Science Museum of Minnesota where it was taken after Dr. Cooper's death. An analysis has not been completed.

Although these sites are scattered around the state of Wisconsin and in some cases are hundreds of miles from Prairie du Chien, they are still of the utmost importance for a number of reasons. First, since so little historical archeology has been done in the state, any information we can obtain from the period is important. Secondly, most historic tribes represented at these sites either passed through the Prairie du Chien area, such as the Huron and Ottawa, or became permanent residents of the area like the Fox and Winnebago. And finally, this additional information allows the researcher to make analogies from site to site and thus compile a much more substantial record of the historic period in Wisconsin. This record, however, is just starting to emerge and a great deal of additional archeological

and historical work is needed to fill in all the empty spaces.

It has already been shown that Prairie du Chien was an important, heavily occupied area prehistorically, and therefore we might assume that there would be many Indian settlements during the historic period. This, however, does not appear to be the case, as the following evidence will illustrate.

The first historic Indian peoples in the area of Prairie du Chien may have been Siouan speaking peoples. The Upper Mississippi site in Mill Coulee may have been occupied historically by the Sioux. The limited work that has been done to show the relationship between the archeologically known Upper Mississippian people and historic Indian societies would indicate that the Upper Mississippian sites in the area of Wisconsin were Siouan or proto-Siouan (See Griffin, 1938 and 1960; Mott, 1938 and 1959). The site in Mill Coulee has never been tested, and therefore we cannot accurately date this site. The site may have been occupied in the historic period by Siouan speaking peoples and was certainly occupied prehistorically by a proto-Siouan group.

During the late seventeenth century, it appears that southwestern Wisconsin was inhabited by historic Indian groups, but no direct evidence has surfaced which would enable us to identify the historic groups or pinpoint the location of their villages. From the records presently available, it would appear that the first historic inhabitants of the area were French. In 1685, Nicholas Perrot founded a post near the mouth of the Wisconsin River, which he named Fort St. Nicholas (A great deal of controversy has developed over the location of this fort and will be reviewed in the next section). Perrot was

urged to build this post by the Miami Indians, who disliked making the trip to Green Bay where they were compelled to sell their furs cheaply, thru the Pottowatomies, who were acting as middlemen (Blair, 1911-12; W.H.C., 16:146-151). At this time the Miami had their permanent village to the south of the Prairie du Chien area, and it would appear that the only time they entered the area was in the spring and fall to trade with the French at Fort St. Nicholas.

A few years later, probably in the late 1690s, until the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, French posts throughout Wisconsin and the west were abandoned. Most of the traders returned to Canada, and therefore, we have very little information for this period. This pull-out was due to several reasons, among them was a war with the British and their Iroquois allies and the anti-imperialists in France. The major reason was the hostility of the Fox Indians toward the French trade with their enemies the Sioux, who were being provided with guns while the Fox were being stripped of their middleman role in the western fur trade. The Prairie du Chien area during this period became virtually a no mans land separating the hostile Fox to the east and the Sioux to the west.

At the end of the Fox wars (See Kellogg, 1908 for a complete discussion of these wars) fur traders began to return to the Prairie du Chien area and trade was resumed with the Sioux to the west. This trade with the Sioux resulted in furnishing further information concerning the Prairie du Chien area.

In the winter of 1731-1732, members of the Second Sioux Company were forced to winter at Trempealeau in Wisconsin because they could

not get to Fort Beauharnois in Minnesota before winter set in. Because of a scarcity of food, many of these men went to neighboring villages to live with the Indians. One of these men, Antoine Dorval, was sent to winter with the Fox Indian near the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

While Dorval was in the Prairie du Chien area, a Fox village about twelve miles east of Prairie du Chien was attacked and destroyed by Iroquois and Huron. The report of this attack mentioned the existence of two settlements "a village of forty-five cabins near Ouisconsin (on the Grand Gris) in which were ninety men, besides nine cabins at a distance from the former. From this report and from Dorval's account we are sure of the existence of an Indian village of nine cabins at Prairie du Chien as early as 1732." (Scanlan, 1937:25-26).

From 1732 until 1766, there is no mention of any Indian villages in the Prairie du Chien area. During this period, from 1753-1763, the French and Indian War (Seven Year War in Europe) raged through the wilderness from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic seaboard. It brought over almost all the Indians of the Northwest to the French side, caused the Six Nations to waver in their allegiance to the British, and moved the effective English frontier hundreds of miles to the east. England's superiority ultimately prevailed and France lost her claims to all the lands she held in the Upper Mississippi valley.

During this war, most of the traders and Indians from the vicinity of Prairie du Chien were called upon to aid the French cause. In order to muster many of these traders into the service of the French

crown, the government virtually eliminated all of the traders' licenses. This action also induced many of the Indians in the area to go to the French in the eastern Great Lakes to trade and thus become involved in the hostilities.

At the end of the French and Indian War, the Prairie du Chien area was still void of traders. Even after the Pontiac War ended in 1764, the British and French governments discouraged traders from going into the Upper Mississippi valley. This was the unsettled condition of affairs at Prairie du Chien in October 1766 when Jonathan Carver arrived.

Of all the reports which mention Prairie du Chien during this period, the one source most often quoted is the Journal of Jonathan Carver. Carver, working for Major Robert Rogers of the British Army, was to proceed from Michilimackinac to the Falls of St. Anthony, noting Indian towns with the number of inhabitants, and other pertinent facts. Carver was to pick up supplies at the Falls of St. Anthony which Rogers was to have supplied, and he was then to proceed on an expedition to find the northwest passage. Finding no supplies waiting for him, Carver returned to Prairie du Chien in the spring. Learning that his friend and benefactor, Major Rogers, was a political prisoner, Carver left the Northwest in 1768 and traveled to Europe where he thought he could sell his journal to the English government.

Unable to persuade the Parliament of the immense value of his journal and receiving little more than his expenses, Carver's next step was to make it available to the public. When his journal was first published in 1778, it was widely read in Great Britain, Europe

and in America, thus Carver gained recognition as an important traveler to the interior of North America. This fame was short lived however. Carver died in poverty in 1780, leaving families on both sides of the Atlantic.

After Carver's death, questions were raised concerning the authorship and authenticity of his observations, and by the beginning of the 20th century, he was being set down as a plagiarist and an ignorant shoemaker incapable of writing such a book on his own. His name was further tarnished by his descendants' questionable claims to a vast tract of land in the Upper Mississippi valley.

In 1976, John Parker's work entitled, The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents, 1766 - 1770 was published by the Minnesota Historical Society. This work is not only important for this study, but will be invaluable for further research in the Upper Mississippi valley. Dr. Parker's twelve year study revealed the existence of four different versions of the Carver Journal. He also points out that Carver was not the villain characterized by his critics.

Before the journal was published and as it went through reprintings, further additions from the writings of other authors were incorporated into it. There appear to be a number of reasons for this: 1) to enhance Carver's positions and give his journey loftier purposes than the journals indicate; 2) to increase the creditability of the Carver land claims; and 3) increase the public interest and therefore the number of sales.

Carver knew of some of these additions, but it is unclear whether he knew they were "borrowed" from other sources. It would appear from

Dr. Parker's study, that an author by the name of Bicknell was hired and he copied copiously from the pages of Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix, weaving them into material from Carver's own experience. Dr. Lettson, Carver's personal physician, perpetuated this hoax by adding a stirring biography of Carver to the 1781 addition. For his part, Dr. Lettson, who was also Mrs. Carver's employer, became promoter for the book and administrator of the Carver land claim which he thought would reward him handsomely.

The major importance of this volume, lies in the heretofore unpublished versions of the Carver journal and the variations between them and the traditionally accepted published version.

Proceeding down the Wisconsin River, in 1766, Carver reported several Fox villages. The first of these villages was the Upper Town of the Fox; Carver's 1781 journal describes it in the following terms:

On the 10th of October we proceeded down the river, and the next day reached the first town of the Ottigaumies. This town contained about fifty houses, but we found most of them deserted, on account of an epidemical disorder that had lately raged among them, and carried off more than one half of the inhabitants. The greater part of those who survived had returned into the woods, to avoid the contagion (Carver, 1956:48).

The heretofore unpublished second version of Carver's journal is somewhat different.

Arrived at the upper town of the Ottigaumies which is about 84 miles further down the Wisconsin, situated on the north side containing about 50 large buildings and some out houses in their fields, They raise plenty of corn and many other necessaries of life, (having a very generous soil to improve, as is most of the land in the Wisconsin.)

This nation is governed by a hereditary chief whose name is Mackidichiek who appears like a sensible,

powerful man and carries something more of distinction among his people than is common among Indians. His common place of residence is upper town.

The dialect, manners and customs of the Ottigamies differs little from that of the Saugies. I found this people in a most unhappy situation. Not long before my arrival among them, the fever and ague at first, afterwards accompanied by a multiplicity of other disorders which proved mortal like the plague carried off in a little time near an hundred warriors besides woman and children. Many who for some time remained spectators of the mortality on seeing the danger of the infection ran into the woods: by that means there was scarcely enough left to bury the dead. For some time, the whole town which was very compact stunk in such a manner that I was under great fears for myself and the party with me on account of the contagion, but by applying our selves to smoking and chewing tobacco it proved a sufficient antidote and we were so lucky as to pass through this country safe, on that account (Parker, 1976:84-86).

Both of these accounts are somewhat similar in their discussion of the epidemic which appears to have spread through this village. Unlike the 1781 version which merely states that a type of disease had recently raged through this village, the second version is much more detailed. Carver states that he and his men were actually present during this epidemic siege and were fearful of losing their lives. Furthermore, he describes the village very vividly as stinking because there were too few inhabitants remaining to bury the dead. His second version also adds more detail concerning the leadership and the physical and economic conditions of the village. The closest comparison in these accounts seems to be the near abandonment of the village.

Both of these accounts differ dramatically from the journal of James Goddard. Goddard, who was hired by Rogers as secretary for his mission of exploration, traveled much the same route as Carver, but several days behind him. His account of the upper town of the Fox

leaves the reader with quite a different impression.

Twenty five leagues [43 miles] down the river, on the same side, is the town of the Otagamies, or Renards [Fox], containing about 300 warriors: chiefs of the town are Macketochick and Chekequey: the war chief, La Port, or Kipahonc & Wasala: this nation raise a good deal of corn, & ca.: have much the same language and manners of the Saukies (Parker, 1976:186).

Unlike both of Carver's versions, Goddard does not mention the presence of any disease. If any epidemic was sweeping through this village, and it stunk to the degree reported by Carver, it would seem reasonable to assume that Goddard would have made note of it. Goddard's journal gives the impressions that this village was heavily populated and was thriving, rather than in the process of decay.

The differences between the Carver and Goddard journals could be of importance to the archeologist. If we are to believe Carver, we could expect to find a village that was abandoned shortly after the epidemic, with most of the possessions of the inhabitants remaining. We would also assume that nothing in this site would date beyond 1766, unless it was reoccupied at a later date. On the other hand, if we are to follow Goddard's account, other interpretations would have to be made. We would have no convenient ending date for the occupancy of this village. We could also expect to find less material items since many of these would have been taken along when the village was moved. Using the contrasting accounts, the most we can say at present, is that in 1766, this was a large village, consisting of some 50 houses and fields which produced corn and other cultigens.

Further down the Wisconsin River, Carver saw the remains of an abandoned village, which he claims was the home of the Indians who built

the village at Prairie du Chien prior to their removal to that place.

Carver's 1781 version describes this village in the following manner:

About five miles from the junction of the rivers, I observed the ruins of a large town in a very pleasing situation. On enquiring of neighboring Indians why it was deserted, I was informed that about thirty years ago, the Great Spirit had appeared on the top of a pyramid of rocks, which lay at a little distance from it, towards the west, and warned them to quit their habitations: for the land on which they were built belonged to him, and he had occasion for it. As a proof that he, who gave them these orders, was really the Great Spirit, he further told them, that the grass should immediately spring up on those very rocks from whence he now addressed them, which they knew to be bare and barren. The Indians obeyed, and soon after discovered that this miraculous alteration had taken place. They feared me the spot, but the growth of this grass appeared to be no way supernatural. I apprehended this to have been a stratagem of the French or Spanish to answer some selfish view; but in what manner they effected their purposes I know not (Carver, 1956:49-50).

Carver's second version gives a similar account of this abandoned village, but there are some slight variations.

I cannot but mention here how liable these people are to be deceived. They acquainted me that about thirty or forty years past they had a town near the Ouisconsin about 5 miles from the Mississippi where they lived very well till a spirit appeared on the top of a small rocky mountain and told them that this was his land and that they must immediately move away which they did without any hesitation, really supposing it to be the great manatue's land and that they could never prosper on it again if they continued there; and as a further instance of the reality of this they say that grass now grows on the top of this hill (that I myself saw) which never grew there before they moved away. As there was very visible appearances of a great town here formerly, the goodness of the land the pleasantness of the situation make me think that something extraordinary had induced them to move and quite it, and imagine that it must be some contrivance of the French or Spaniards with design of building forts for the sake of mines, and laid this scheme to get them from thence (Parker, 1976:87).

Goddard's journal does not mention this village, nor does he allude to any supernatural activities in the area. The following passage from

his journal is quite enlightening:

Eighteen leagues [40 miles] below this town [upper town of the Otagamies] Ousconsang fall into Mississippi, or Superior River: the season was so far advanced that the Indians were all on their hunting ground before we past their towns, so that we had no opportunity of speaking with them (Parker, 1976:186).

Both of Carver's versions relate that he was told of the abandonment of this village by the Indians. In his 1781 journal he says "by neighboring Indians" and in his second version he states that "they acquainted me." Carver is not specific in either version as to who the Indians were or where he contacted them for his information. Moreover, Goddard is silent concerning this village and states that due to the advanced season the "Indians were all on their hunting grounds before we passed through their towns, so that we had no opportunity of speaking to them." Thus the informants used by Carver (if indeed there were any) are of importance here. If they were known, this information would allow us to make some definite conclusions concerning the reliability of Carver's narrative.

If Carver's report of this abandoned village is true, the archeologist could expect to find the remains of a large village which was abandoned sometime between the 1720s and 1730s. We would expect to find much evidence of aboriginal material culture, and trade goods found would not be abundant and would be of an earlier period than those at upper town of the Fox.

The location of this village is a question. Alfred Brunson states that this village was located at Wright's Ferry at the mouth of Gran Grae Creek (1859:240-242). This site has never been located and therefore never tested archeologically.

Louis Kellogg (1909 and 1925) believes that this village was abandoned by the Fox as a result of the French-Fox wars in the 1830s. Carver also alludes to this fact in his second version. This date would correspond nicely with those given by Carver. Furthermore, if this village did relocate at Prairie du Chien as Carver states, it may be the village that was attacked by the Iroquois and Huron, or the village at Prairie du Chien in which Dorval wintered in 1732 may have been built by these people.

The most blatant discrepancies in the Carver journals occur when he is describing the Fox village at Prairie du Chien. Carver's 1781 edition describes this village as follows:

This people, from after their removal, built a town on the bank of the Miffiffippi, near the mouth of the Ouifconfin, at a place called by the French La Prairies les Chiens, which signifies the Dog Plains; it is a large town, and contains about three hundred families; the houses are well built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on an very rich soil, from which they raise every necessary of life in great abundance. I saw here many herds of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart, where all the adjacent tribes and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Miffiffippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here; this is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to their interest, to sell their goods at this place, or carry them on to Louisiana, or Michillimackinac. According to the decision of this council they either proceed further, or return to their different homes (Carver, 1956: 50-51).

Carver's description of this village from the recently published second versions of his journal is almost unrecognizable as representing the same village.

Come to the lower town of the Ottigaumies. This town is situate on the east side of the Mississippi about 4 miles above the enterance of the Ouisconsin, on a large plain called by the French La prairie La Chien or in English the Dog Plain. This plain is about 6 miles long and 3 [2] mile wide with neither trees nor stones except a few elms and maple on the bank of the river. This is one of the most delightsom settlements I saw during my travels. I could hardly refreian envying these Indians their pleasant situation. This town contains about forty buildings with upwards of two hundred warriors. Their governor is heritary under the chief [Mackidochiek] of the other village before mentioned. It is reported that the father of the present chief had eleavn wives by whom he had fifty sons. The old man dyed about a month before I came to the town, of the mortal disorder before mentioned. He was much lamented as he was esteemed the [father] [lover] of his people. During his government which was a long time his people had great prosperity for at first taking the command he had not above forty warriors, they having been almost destroyed by wars with the French, the Menomonies and Naudouwessee with whom this governor made peace and introduced trade and commerce among the whole nation. His son the successor told me that some of the lastwords of his dying father was charging him that if ever the English should come into his country by all means to be kind to them for he had heard much of their power and that they had conquered all that opposed them, and that he acknowledged the King of Great Britain to be his Father (Parker, 1976:88).

The differences in these two versions of the Carver journals are striking, and directly effect knowledge and interpretation of the historic Indian occupation of Prairie du Chien. The variations between the 1781 version and the heretofore unpublished second version add a new dimension to the early history of Prairie du Chien. When comparing these two versions, the differences become obvious.

1). In the second version, Carver does not report the presence of horses as he did in the 1781 version. Presence of horses conflicts with the generally held belief that in the 1760s, the horse was first making its appearance in the great plains area of the country. This is much too early for the appearance of the horse in the upper Mississippi, .

unless horses were supplied from the east instead of the west, an interpretation most scholars reject. (See Ewers, 1955 for a discussion of the diffusion of the horse in North America).

2). In the second version, Carver mentioned that the town contained 40 buildings with upwards of two hundred warriors. This is somewhat different than the three hundred families reported in the 1781 version. If there were three hundred families, the village would be much larger and contain more than 40 buildings.

3). Unlike the 1781 version, the second version is completely silent concerning fur trade activities in the area.

4). Carver's second version contains great detail concerning the leadership of the village. He also adds background information concerning the wars with the French, and the respect shown by these Indians for the power of England.

Another informative report of the time is Goddard's Journal. Goddard was also at Prairie du Chien in 1766 and his report does not correspond with either of the journal versions by Carver.

The 16th of April we left winter quarters for the Parie de Lahun [Prairie du Chien] an Indian town in the east side of the Mississippi, two leagues above where the Ousconsang falls into the Mississippi: the Chief of this town is La Port or Kapahance. This town was established in 1763 by the above mentioned chief, since which there are 12 large huts of Autagamies [Fox] and Sackies [Sauk] in which may be one hundred warriors; the chiefs name is [blank in mss].

When we arrived at the place, the Indians were not returned form hunting (Parker, 1976:187).

This town is the place where all different Indians meet every spring and fall, as well as the traders, A fine situation for a fort, being the center of trade in this country, both from Canada and the Illinois;

and if a fort was established on this spot, it would greatly augment trade, and keep the Indians in our interest: there is plenty of venison, wild fowl, fish, corn & ca. & ca.: so that I take it a garrison might be kept at a little expense (Parker, 1976:188).

Goddard's journal differs from those of Carver's in several ways, the most important are:

1). Goddard reports that the village consisted of 12 large huts, while Carver reported 40 buildings. Although 12 huts would be a substantial settlement, it would be much smaller than the village reported by Carver.

2). From the Goddard journal, we are informed that this was a mixed settlement, occupied by both the Fox and Sauk. Carver mentions only the Fox as inhabitants of this village.

3). The Carver and Goddard journals also differ in their statements concerning the founding of this village. Carver would have us believe that this village was built in the 1730s or 1740s, while Goddard states that this town was established in 1763. These journals are also in disagreement concerning the chiefs of this village. Carver says that this village was under the leadership of Mackidochiek who also was the chief of upper town. Goddard's manuscript mentions that the chief's name was La Port. This name in French probably means door. This is interesting since most sources claim that Prairie du Chien was founded by a chief named Dog or Dog's Head from which the name of the town was derived.

4). The second version of Carver's journal does not mention any fur trade activity at Prairie du Chien. This entire concept may have been added to the 1781 version of Carver's journal from the journal of Goddard.

The discrepancies between the two versions of Carver's journal, and the differences between them and Goddard's journal cannot be adequately resolved in this report. From these journals, however, we can state that there was a large Fox (and perhaps Sauk) village at Prairie du Chien in 1766. There is no evidence presently available that would allow us to pinpoint the location of this village. It should be remembered that in 1766 the name Prairie du Chien was the term used to describe the entire river plain which extends in a north-south direction for nearly eight miles, and having a maximum width of one and a half miles, its total area approximates 7.8 square miles. As to the location of this village, the best that we can do at present is to state that it was on this plain: near the mouth of the Wisconsin according to the 1781 Carver, 4 miles from the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi according to the second version of Carver, or two leagues (an English league is about 3 miles) from the junction according to Goddard.

From the archeological standpoint, we know that there was a village of nine cabins at Prairie du Chien in 1732 and a village of at least 12 (perhaps 50) huts in 1766; but we have no evidence to indicate that these are the same village or different ones. If these are indeed the same village, we would expect to find evidence of substantial culture change. The archeological materials would illustrate the abandonment of aboriginal techniques and reveal the rapid acceptance of European materials into the aboriginal culture.

On the other hand, if these were two separate sites, two distinct assemblages would be recovered. From the earlier village we would

expect to find cultural materials of both aboriginal and white manufacture. The later village would be illustrative of the period after transition when the Indians were virtually dependent upon the trader for most utilitarian goods.

The journals of traders and travelers who passed through Prairie du Chien after the 1760s do not mention any Indian villages upon the plain. These accounts as well as those of later years indicate that Indians traveled to Prairie du Chien to trade until well into the 1800s, but their villages were located in areas other than Prairie du Chien.

What evidence is there for historic occupations in the project area? The only information available in the published literature, manuscripts, and from local informants concerns burials which are intrusive in prehistoric mounds or are in what are presumably cemeteries. These are not settlements. Are there settlements (villages or campsites) near these areas of burial activity? We do not know from present evidence and will not know until archeological field work is done.

There are several burial areas on St. Friole Island. Burials near the gravel pit on the north end of the island (Map 6, No. 1) and in the area directly east of radio station WPRE (Map 6, No. 2) were discussed in the section on prehistory.

Scanlan (n.d.) reports that two historic Indian burials were located just south of the Dock Works (Map 6, No. 3). He does not give the source for this information.

Other historic burials occur on the mainland. While constructing

the Second Fort Crawford a number of historic burials were uncovered (Map 6, No. 4). This fact was discussed in the section on prehistory.

South and west of the second Fort Crawford at the western end of Farm Lot 36, twenty-five Menominiés were buried after being massacred by the Sauk and Fox in the early 1820s (Map 6, No. 5) (Scanlan, n.d. and Fairfield, 1905).

Moving further south (Map 6, No. 6), "Trade Silver" Mound contained a large number of historic interments. We are able to give an approximate date for interment of the individuals in this mound. Thomas (1894:51-52) illustrates and describes the silver from this mound. Silver bracelets and a cross exhibit the touchmarks "AB," "RB," "AS," or "Montreal." According to Alberts (1953:24) these initials cannot be attributed to any known silversmiths. The "Montreal" touchmark was used by silversmiths in that city in the late 18th and early 19th century. Quimby is more explicit in his dating of such pieces and states that these types of silver pieces and these trademarks are diagnostic of the Late Historic Period of 1760 to 1820 (1966:91). The burials would date to this period, unless the silver pieces were heirlooms. We do not know the tribal identity of the individuals.

HISTORIC EURO-AMERICANS

Written history of the Prairie du Chien area begins with the discovery of the upper Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet. These two explorers, and their boatman traversed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and on June 17, 1673, gazed upon the upper Mississippi's broad current and looked up from their canoes to its ranges of lofty bluffs and fertile plains. Since they traveled south from the junction of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi Rivers, they probably did not see the island (St. Friole), and the adjacent mainland where Prairie du Chien was to grow, some four miles north of the confluence of the two rivers. Their return trip, up the Illinois River to Lake Michigan, also bypassed the site of Prairie du Chien (Jesuit Relations, 59).

Some researchers, in an attempt to firmly document and date the first white man in Prairie du Chien, have speculated whether Marquette and Joliet actually set foot on, or even saw the site which was to become Prairie du Chien. Scanlan (1937:10) says they did not see Prairie du Chien but Evans and Earll (1928:2) say they did. There is no definite evidence that they halted in the vicinity of this city, as they proceeded in their journey of exploration. Marquette's narrative of their journey is quite good, but it is entirely silent concerning Prairie du Chien (Jesuit Relations, 59). Joliet's journal may have offered important insights into this problem, but unfortunately, all of his records and maps were lost when his canoe upset in the LaChine rapids near Montreal. It is generally believed that Marquette and Joliet turned their canoes south when they entered the Mississippi, and bypassed Prairie du Chien which lay some four miles to the north.

On June 17, 1910, on the 237th anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi, a statue of Marquette, erected on the grounds of St. Mary's College, the site of second Fort Crawford, was dedicated by the citizens of Prairie du Chien.

Although Marquette is generally credited with the discovery of the Mississippi, it is now well understood that the Mississippi had been known, and that the tribes inhabiting it visited, and missions established long before Marquette and Joliet coasted its borders (WHC 3:95). We must also conjecture that following the lead of Marquette and Joliet many men followed the same route, but no trace of them or records of their travel remains. The discovery of Marquette and Joliet opened the way for the invasion of the lands of the western Sioux and the era of the stockaded fur trading post was inaugurated in the upper Mississippi valley.

Within a decade after Marquette and Joliet's discovery, Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, headquartered on the Illinois River, was hunting buffalo near the mouth of the Wisconsin, while Duluth was in beaver farther up the Mississippi. La Salle, who was attempting to control all of the fur trade in the upper Mississippi complained of Duluth's trade and of him using the Fox-Wisconsin route, wrote in 1682:

But if they go by the Ouisconsin where buffaloes are hunted in the summer and where I have begun an establishment they will ruin the trade on which alone I rely owing to the great number of buffaloes killed every year which is greater than one can believe (WHC 16:110).

It is evident from La Salle's comment that the confluence region had already become such an important location and that he planned to establish a post there, although authorities express doubt concerning its actual construction (Kellogg 1925:58).

Several years later, probably in 1685, Nicholas Perrot, French Commandant of the West, with a party of couriers du bois and voyageurs descended the Wisconsin River and erected Fort St. Nicolas. This fort was probably a crude, temporary, stockaded structure, serving for less than a decade before being abandoned. No mention is made of it by later explorers. Considerable controversy has developed over the erection and probable site of this fort. Butterfield (1888) asserts that there was never a French fort built on the Prairie (Prairie du Chien), while Draper (1888) confirms the existence of Fort St. Nicholas. Furthermore, Franquelin's map of 1688 shows Fort St. Nicholas north of the Wisconsin River (Kellogg 1925:Frontis piece). The majority of authorities agree that there was indeed a Fort St. Nicholas, and that it was located on some part of the Prairie du Chien terrace, many say at the western end of Farm Lot 39. (See map 6; no. 7 and Plates 31 and 32). So from 1685 on, if not continuously occupied by white man, the Prairie du Chien area was held by him as a stopping place in his fur-trading operations. In any event, the history of Prairie du Chien begins here.

To further confuse the French Fort issue is a petition to Congress from the inhabitants of the village of Prairie du Chien in 1818:

That in the year 1755, the Government of France established a military post near the mouth of the Wisconsin; that many French families settled themselves in the neighborhood, and established the village of Prairie du Chien; that by the treaty of Versailles in the year 1763, the village and the fort, following the condition of the Canadas and the Illinois country, passed to the Crown of England; that in the year 1783, the events of the American Revolution again changed their condition; and on the 1st of June 1796, the village and the fort were formerly surrendered by the British to the United States, etc.... the inhabitants appear to have neglected under the successive Governments of France, England and the United States, to secure themselves the fields which they have cultivated by formal title.

The petitioners pray that a commissioner be appointed to examine their claims and confirm them to Congress. (American State Papers, 3:341)

This fort, has also become known as the Old French Fort or Pig's Eye Fort. It contained small log barracks and was surrounded by a palisade enclosing nearly 2 acres. It was probably used for trading purposes, having a stone house for furs and outfits for traders, and was protected by a small military guard. The enclosure contained a well and part of the area was perhaps used as a garden. The whole establishment was designed so that it could be used for military purposes in an emergency. Remnants of the four or five chimney piles and the trench of the old fort remained as late as 1880. It too was located on the west end of what was later designated as Farm Lot 39 and within that block of first ward in modern Prairie du Chien bounded by Main, Lockwood and Lessard streets and Beaumont Road. (Map 6; no. 7; Plates 31 and 32) (WHC 9:282-302; and WHC 10:335-338).

A fort such as this may have been built, but it was probably constructed after 1755. Both Carver and Goddard (last section) described the Indian village but made no mention of a white settlement or of a French Fort. Furthermore, when Goddard's party wintered in the area, they resided on the west side of the Mississippi, violating Spanish Territory. If a white settlement or Fort was present on the Prairie du Chien Plain at this period, it would seem likely that Goddard and the other members of his party would have wintered near it.

To further confuse the "Fort" issue, it is reported that Capt. Hesse arrived at Prairie du Chien some time in April 1780, to organize a military expedition against the Spanish and Americans to the south.

He had a fort built there and a few of his men were to garrison it, in order to care for the furs of the traders who were coming in from their wintering grounds all along the upper Mississippi (Kellogg, 1935:170).

This was undoubtedly the fort described by John Long in 1780.

After seven days journey we arrived at La Prairie des Chiens, where we found the merchants' peltry, in packs, in a log house guarded by Captain Longlad and some Indians, who were rejoiced to see us. After resting some time, we took out about three hundred packs of the best skins, and filled the canoes. Sixty more which remained, we burnt, to prevent the enemy from taking them, having ourselves no room to store any more, and proceeded on our journey back to Michillimackinac. About five days after our departure, we were informed that the Americans came to attack us, but to their extreme mortification we were out of their reach.... (Thwaites (ed). 1904:190).

The existence, location and national affiliation of these forts has been debated in the literature for well over 150 years. From the evidence available we can say that there were at least two and perhaps three "Forts" on the Prairie du Chien Plain. In addition, during this period the term fort was used to describe any dwelling which was enclosed within palisades. With this in mind, we would probably be safe in saying that a number of other forts also shared the plain.

To shed new light on this problem and answer many of the outstanding questions, we must turn to archaeology. Extensive archaeological survey and fieldwork, coordinated with the available historical materials, would allow us to definitely locate, determine size and methods of construction, and those responsible for the erection of the forts.

During the later half of the 18th century, the Prairie du Chien plain had become the great fur trading mart of the upper Mississippi country. This trade was the precipitating factor for those forts discussed above. On this site the white traders met the Indians for a period

of 3-4 weeks in both spring and fall, in autumn to equip and send out trapping parties for the ensuing winter, and in spring to collect the furs and send them to Mackinac, or perhaps to New Orleans. Peter Pond, a Connecticut trader who came into the region in 1773, gives us a picturesque and significant description of the Prairie and the magnitude of the fur trade as of that date:

Nex Morning we Recrost ye River which was a bout a mile Brod and Mounted it a bout three Miles til we Came to the Planes of the Dogs [Prairie du Chien] So Cald the Grate Plase of Randavues for the traders and Indans Befre thay Dispars for thare wintering Grounds. Hear we Meat with a Larg Number of french & Indans Making out thare arangments for the InSewing winter and Sending of thare canues to Differant Parts Like wise Giveing Creadets to the Indans who ware all to Ran davese thare in Spring To be In te lagabel I go back to the Planes of the Dogs this Plain is A Verey Hansum one which on the East Side of the River on the Pint of Land Betwene the Mouth of Oesconstan whare it Emties in to the Masseppey; & the Last River, the Plane is Very Smoth hear all the traders that Youseis [uses] that Part of the Countrey & all the Indans of Saveral tribes Meat fall & Spring whare the Grateist Games Are Plaid Both by french & Indans the french Practis Billeard ye latter Ball; Hear the Botes from New Orleans Cum they are navagateed By thirtey Six men who rose as meney oarse thay Bring in a Boate Sixty Hogseats of wine on one flate [?] Besides Ham Chese &c all to trad with the french & Indans, thay Cum Up the River Eight Hundred Leages these amusements Last three or four weakes in the Spring of the Year.

Concerning the spring rendezvous Pond wrote:

...we Came to the Plane whare we Saw a Large Colection from Every Port of the Misseppey who had arived Beforur Us Even from Orleans Eight Hundred Leages Beloue us the Indans Camp Exeaded a Mile & a half in Length hear was Sport of All Sorts we went to Colecting the furs and Skins [word illegible] By the Differant tribes with Sucksess the french wore very Numarel [numerous] thare was Not Les then One Hundred and Thirtey Canues which Came from Mackenaw Caring from Sixtey to Eightey Hundred wate Apease all Made of Borch Bark & white Seader, for the Ribs, those Boates from Orleans & Ilenoa and other Ports ware Newmares But the natives I[ndi]an have no true Iedea

of their Numbers the Number of Pack of Peltrey of
 Differant Sorts was Cald fifteen Hundred of a
 Hundred wt Each which went to Mackena all my Outfits
 had Dun well; I had a grate Share for my Port a[s]
 I furnish Much the Largest Cargo on the River after all
 the Bisness Was Dun & People Began to Gro tirde of
 Sport, thay Begin to Draw of for thare Differant Deptment;
 and Prepare for the Insewing winter. (Gates 1965:44-47).

Peter Pond's statement that 150,000 pounds of peltry left Prairie du Chien for Mackinac in the Spring of 1774 is one of the first reliable figures concerning the magnitude of the fur trading activities at Prairie du Chien.

As mentioned in the previous section, both Carver and Goddard stated that this plain is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes assemble and dispose of their furs to the traders. Carver further observed that Prairie du Chien had become a neutral ground for the various Indian tribes and no acts of hostility were ever committed while they were encamped here. Prairie du Chien had become a major rendezvous point before 1766, and this event was probably a yearly occurrence (even though we have no records to support this assumption), until well into the 19th century.

The first permanent white settlement at Prairie du Chien has also become a topic of disagreements. The earlier historians place the permanent settlement at Prairie du Chien at quite an early date. Cardinal, a hunter and trapper, commenced the settlement of Prairie du Chien between 1720 and 1730 (W.H.C. 5:323; and W.H.C. 4:249). Other historians believe that Cardinal could not have settled in the area before 1767 (W.H.C. 9:293). Scanlan (1937:52), after an indepth study of the Cardinal family concludes that Jean Marie Cardinal Senior was indeed the first white settler, and that he arrived in 1754 or earlier, and located in Mill Coulee - several miles north of the present city of Prairie du Chien.

If Cardinal did reside in Mill Coulee this would explain why none of the early journals mention any white settlement since he would have been far removed from the Prairie.

Another group of historians believe that the first permanent white settlement was contemporaneous with the establishment of the second French Fort in 1755. Schoolcraft who visited Prairie du Chien in 1820, stated that there had been an earlier white settlement on the plain, in existence during the period of French control, about a mile below the village of that day (Schoolcraft 1821:338).

With the exception of Jean Cardinell, Prairie du Chien was probably not settled until 1781. Undoubtedly, white men were residing with the Indians on the plain for some time, but they conformed to aboriginal life styles, and this in no way, would constitute a white settlement. The excerpts from the journals of Carver, Goddard and Pond, have clearly demonstrated that in the year 1766 and as late as 1774 there was no white settlement at Prairie du Chien.

It is generally agreed that the first permanent settlement did not occur until 1781. Scanlan (1937:70) states:

Formal possession of nine miles square of prairie above the mouth of the Wisconsin River was granted in 1781 at Mackinac. Pierre Antaya, Augustine Ange, and Basil Giard were the men to whom the grant was made by Governor Sinclair, commandant, who took it over from the Fox Indians in council. The Foxes had a village at the south end of the prairie at that time. The land was to come into possession of these Frenchmen and others whom they probably represented as a committee. This date is most frequently given as the beginning of the permanent settlement of Prairie du Chien.

Recently, Don Munson, curator of Villa Louis, uncovered a petition by the same men dated 1779, appealing to the government for private

ownership of their lands (Villa Louis Archives). This new evidence would push the date of first settlement back two years.

Within the next few years, a sizeable number of traders and voyageurs settled at Prairie du Chien. Thomas Anderson who settled at Prairie du Chien in 1800 described the conditions on his arrival.

Here was a little village of perhaps ten or fifteen houses and at the distance of three miles were three farmers. Except one framed one, the houses were all built of logs, plastered with mud, and covered either with cedar, elm, or black ask bark. The people were nearly all Lower Canadians, camping on, with small or larger stocks, the Indian trade. Without exception, they were kind and hospitable, and prided themselves on their honesty and punctually in paying their debts, and keeping their engagements. Very little money was in circulation. There were no lawyers to excite strife. Not with standing all this fair appearance, there were those among them, regarded as otherwise honorable, fair and clever, who would defraud and overreach his neighbor, even to despoiling him of his last copper (W.H.C. 9:147).

At that time nearly all of the houses were on the banks of the Mississippi, west of the Marais St. Friole. There were perhaps 100 to 150 settlers here at that time depending upon the fur trade for a living. This population included traders and their clerks, boatmen, Indian slaves and servants (Scanlan, 1937:168).

In the first census of the Northwest territory, taken on the first of August, 1800, there were 65 people (whites only) at Prairie du Chien (Evans and Earll 1937:6). The first official census was taken in April, 1801. According to this census Prairie du Chien was credited with 550 inhabitants; this figure however, included settlers along the Illinois River. (Scanlan, 1937:166)

Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, arriving at Prairie du Chien in 1805 wrote the next report.

The old village is about a mile below the present one, and existed during the time the French were possessed of the country.... The present village was settled under the English government, and the ground was purchased from the Reynard Indians. It is situated about one league above the mouth of the Ousconsing river. On the E. bank of the river there is a small pond or marsh which runs parallel to the river in the rear of the town, which, in front of the marsh, consists of 18 dwelling-houses, in two streets; 16 in Front Street and two in First Street. In the rear of the pond are eight dwelling houses; part of the houses are framed, and in place of weather boarding there are small logs let into mortises made in the uprights, joined close, daubed on the outside with clay, and handsomely whitewashed within. The inside furniture of their houses is decent and, indeed, in those of the most wealthy displays a degree of elegance and taste.

There are eight houses scattered round the country, at the distance of one, two, three, and five miles: also, on the W. side of the Mississippi three houses, situated on a small stream, making, in the village and vicinity, 37 houses, which it will not be too much to calculate at 10 persons each. The population would thus be 370 souls; but this calculation will not answer for the spring or autumn as there are then, at least, 500 or 600 white persons. This owing to the concourse of the traders and their engagees from Michilimackinac and other ports, who make this their last stage previous to launching into the savage wilderness. They again meet here in the spring, on their return from their wintering-grounds, accompanied by 300 or 400 Indians, when they hold a fair; the one disposes of remnants of goods, and the others reserved peltries. It is astonishing that there are not more murders and affrays at this place, where meets such an heterogeneous mass to trade, the use of spirituous liquors being in no manner restricted; but since the American has become known, such accidents are much less frequent than formerly. . . .

If the marsh before spoken of were drained, which might be easily done, I am of the opinion it would render healthy the situation of the prairie, which now subjects its inhabitants to intermitting fevers in the spring and autumn.

There are a few gentlemen residing at the Prairie des Chiens, and many others claiming that appellation; but the rivalry of the Indian trade occasions them to be quietly of acts at their wintering-grounds which they would blush to be thought guilty of in the civilized world. They possess the spirit of generosity and hospitality in an eminent degree,

but this is the leading feature in the character of frontier inhabitants. Their mode of living has obliged them to have transient connection with the Indian women; and what was at first policy is now so confirmed by habit and inclination that it is become the ruling practice of the traders, with few exceptions; in fact, almost one-half the inhabitants under 20 years have the blood of the aborigines in their veins (Coues, 1965:303-305).

This was the village of Prairie du Chien in 1805. The principal nucleus, consisting of 18 houses arranged in two streets, 16 in Front street and 2 in First street, was on the detached fragment of land west of the Marais de St. Friole, on the high bank overlooking the east channel. At this time 16 houses were located on St. Friole Island, located directly adjacent to the river; and the remaining two houses just behind them. East of the slough on the west bank of the mainland were 8 houses comprising the village of St. Friole and the 8 additional houses were scattered over the prairie. We do not know the exact location of houses and outbuildings, but these areas on the island and the mainland would contain the remnants of the early occupation of Prairie du Chien.

After the Revolutionary war and up to the early stages of the war of 1812, the upper Mississippi valley, partially because of ill-defined boundaries, but largely because of the fur trade, remained British in sentiment, trade and actual occupation. Most of the region was dominated by the British Northwest Fur Company. And many of the inhabitants of Mackinac, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were connected in some manner with the company. Many of the influential and wealthy traders also held commissions in the British army. One such individual was Robert Dickson, who was kept in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, to work among

the Indians who frequented the area keeping them faithful to the British.

In view of the growing hostilities between England and the United States, this situation within our own borders was menacing. Nicholas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, recognized these problems and his letter to the Secretary of War in 1811, offers several alternatives for the Americans.

Prairie des Chiens is on the left bank of the Mississippi, Illinois Territory, about six miles above the mouth of the Ouisconsing, and 700 miles, by estimation, above St. Louis; the distance is probably over-rated as a well-manned boat is able to ascend from the latter to the former place in twenty days, but it generally takes double the time for a loaded boat to perform the same route. The plot of ground on which the village stands may be said to be an island of about three miles long and a mile broad, but in the season of low water the back channel is dry except where it forms a small pond or lake, which may be easily drained. In fine, the back channel is nothing more than a small creek or bayou.

Prairie des Chiens is an old Indian town which was sold by the Indians to the Canadian traders about thirty years ago, where they have ever since rendezvoused, and dispersed therein merchandise in various directions. The Indians also sold them at the same time a tract of land measuring six leagues up and down the river and six leagues back of it. The village contains between thirty and forty houses, and on the tract just mentioned about thirty-two families, so that the whole settlement contains about 100 families. The men are generally French Canadians, who have mostly married Indian wives; perhaps not more than twelve white females are to be found in the settlement.

These people attend to the cultivation of their lands, which are extremely fertile. They raise considerable quantities of surplus produce, particularly wheat and corn. They annually dispose of about eighty thousand weight of flour to the traders and Indians besides great quantities of meal, and the quantity of surplus produce would be greatly increased if a suitable demand existed for it. All kinds of vegetables flourish in great perfection, and such is the beauty of the climate that the country begins to attract the attention of settlers. Different fruit trees have lately been planted and promise to grow well.

Prairie des Chiens is surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, who wholly depend on it for their supplies. It is annually

visited by at least six thousand Indians, and hitherto they have resorted to the Canadian traders for goods, because our own apprehended much danger in attempting to carry on a trade with them, particularly as the Canadians generally prevail on the Indians either to plunder them or to drive them away. Only one trader of our town returned into that quarter during the last year.

Great danger, both to individuals and to the Government, is to be apprehended from the Canadian traders; they endeavor to incite the Indians against us; partly to monopolize their trade and partly to secure friendship in case a war should break out between us and England. They are constantly making large presents to the Indians, which the latter consider as a sign of approaching war, and under this impression frequently apply to me for advice on the subject. Hitherto I have been able to keep them friendly.

The United States have it in their power by the adoption of one simple measure to turn the current of Indian trade on the upper Mississippi, and to put an end to the Indians. Prairie des Chiens from its central position is well calculated for a garrison and factory. It affords health, plenty of fine timber and good water. But as the Indians are numerous a garrison at that place will require at least two companies of men. The Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas can be as well supplied at the latter place as at the former, particularly as they have mostly abandoned the chase, except to furnish themselves with meat, and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they procure from a mine about sixty miles below Prairie des Chiens. During the last season they manufactured four hundred thousand pounds of that article, which they exchanged for goods. The Sioux and other Indians in that quarter have excellent mines, and might be easily prevailed on to open them, especially as the profits of this manufacture is much greater and less precarious than the laborious pursuit of peltries. A few tools will be necessary for them, and perhaps a blacksmith to repair them would be of great use.

As soon as the Indians in general turn their attention to lead, the Canadian traders will wholly abandon the country, as they have no use for that article, at least in the way of commerce. To introduce the manufacture of lead requires only the adoption of the measures I have mentioned. They factory at Prairie des Chiens ought to be well supplied with goods, and lead ought to be received in exchange for the merchandise. This trade would be the more valuable to the United States, as lead is not a perishable article, and is easily transported; where as peltries are bulky,

and large quantities are annually spoiled before they reach the market; under such a system, the Canadian trade would be extinguished (W.H.C. 11:247-253).

Nicholas Boilvin's letter portrays a vivid picture of the small village of Prairie du Chien as it appeared in 1811. More importantly, it reveals the growing concern of Americans for the British dominance of the upper Mississippi valley. Boilvin further suggests that a garrison at that place could divert the Indian trade from the British and "put an end to the subsisting intercourse between the Canadian traders and the Indians." Finally, it revealed to the Americans what the English already knew, control of Prairie du Chien was vital if they were to control the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and the upper Mississippi valley (Mahan, 1926: 49-53).

Early in the War c. 1812, the British captured Mackinac and sent an agent to Prairie du Chien to organize the western tribes in the British cause. He was so successful that the American authorities felt compelled to strike a blow at this threatened British control of the upper Mississippi, so in the summer of 1813, Governor William Cook of Missouri, Commandant of the upper Mississippi, sent an expedition in command of Lieutenant Joseph Perkins on an armed gunboat with a company of 150-200 soldiers to organize a post at Prairie du Chien. There, on a large Indian mound just in the rear of the main village on St. Frioie Island (The Dousman mansion now occupies this site), was erected a small log fort, surrounded by log pickets, which was christened Fort Shelby. Fort Shelby, was named after Isaac Shelby of Kentucky. This was the first United States army post in Wisconsin; the first time the United States flag floated over Wisconsin soil (W.H.C. 9:138-261; 11:264).

Great was the consternation of the inhabitants when they beheld that flag

boldly waving. A stronghold of the British fur trade was not only threatened but actually invaded.

Upon learning of the presence of the Americans at Prairie du Chien, a force of Canadians was immediately dispatched from Mackinac to recapture the place; under the command of Colonel McKay of the British Army. This force was composed of traders and several hundred Indians. Upon his arrival, Colonel McKay demanded that Lieutenant Perkins surrender unconditionally within the hour or that he defend himself to the last man. Perkins at first chose the latter alternative, but overwhelmed by superior numbers, he was obliged to surrender. The Union Jack superseded the Stars and Stripes and Fort Shelby became the British Fort McKay (W.H.C. 9:138-261, 11:254-270). Meanwhile, at Ghent, the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States had concluded a treaty of peace. It took five months before the news reached Fort McKay; and several days later the garrison departed and the fort burned to the ground. Thus, the last chapter of the century old French-British-American fight for the supremacy of the fur trade in the upper Mississippi Valley, was coming to an end.

The end of the conflict found the influence of the British traders over the Indians of the Northwest still strong. To break this hold upon the Indians and to preserve peace among them, as well as to prevent further smuggling of British goods to the Mississippi, the American government determined to establish military posts, Indian agencies and fur trading factories at strategic locations. A new fort known as Fort Crawford was immediately begun on the identical site occupied by Fort Shelby or Fort McKay, about 150 yards back from the River (Mahan, 1926:71). Main village

lots 1-12 at the north end of the island were confiscated by the Commandant and their owners evicted. Certain of the houses in front of and near the post were razed or moved while others were retained for public use. The evicted residents were given lots at the lower end of the Main Village (Scanlan n.d. and 1937).

The little settlement of French people had reason to regret the change in government. General Smith declared martial law and punished them excessively for petty offenses. For example, Monsieur Brisbois was sent to St. Louis to stand trial for treason. Nothing came of it but great inconvenience to himself and, while he was gone, Madame Brisbois and their children were ordered from their home that it might be used as a store house for Army supplies (Scanlan, 1937:179). Fortunately for the people of Prairie du Chien, General Smith remained only a short period of time. On July 3, 1816, construction started on Old Log Fort Crawford under the direction of Colonel Hamilton (See Scanlan, 1937:246-247 for the Roster of Officers in command at Fort Crawford). This post was named for William H. Crawford, then Secretary of War.

Fort Crawford, with the exception of the powder magazine, was constructed entirely of squared oak logs and pickets. It was built in the form of a hollow square, 340 feet on a side, with the rear walls of the barracks forming the faces of the work. Block houses occupied two corners of the structure (Long, 1889:56-57).

The general situation of the new fort at Prairie du Chien, commanding the most strategic water route to the Great Lakes and to British territory was eminently satisfactory. The site was selected primarily because of its nearness to a navigable channel of the river, since at this period,

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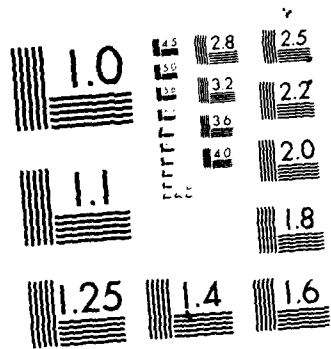
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all supplies had to come by water. Being located near the village was both an asset and a liability, for while it made protection of the settlement relatively easy, tippling shops and other vices in the village were serious distractions to the soldiers. Major Long, who visited the Fort in 1817, had little good to say for the site.

In regard to the eligibility of the site upon which Fort Crawford is situated, very little can be said in favor, but much against it. Its relation to other parts of the country would seem to give it a high claim to consideration so a military post; as also its central situation with respect to our Indian neighbors. But the disadvantages under which works of moderate expense particularly must lie, in this neighborhood, are too numerous to admit a doubt of the impropriety of placing confidence in works of a similar character with those now constructed while in a state of war. The first objection that presents itself, is that the situation, from the nature of the place, must be unhealthy. It is almost surrounded with stagnant water at a short distance from the fort. The country about it abounds in marshes and low lands, annually subject to be overflowed, and the part of the river lying immediately in front of the place, is very little better than a stagnant pool, as its current is hardly perceptible in low water. In a military point of view the objections to the present site, as also to any other that might be fixed upon in the neighborhood, are various, and cannot easily be obviated. No complete command of the river can be had here, on account of the islands which it imbosoms. Directly opposite to the fort, and the distance of six hundred and fifty yards from it, is an island two and a half miles in length, and seven hundred yards in breadth, separated from the east shore by a channel five hundred yards wide, and from the west by a channel two hundred and fifty yards. Both above and below this are numerous others effectually obstructing the command of the river from any single point. At the south and east of it, is a circular valley, through which troops might be conducted completely under cover and secure from the guns of the fort. At the entrance of this valley, the enemy's troops landed in time of the late war, and under cover of a small mound a little in advance of it, commenced commanding the old garrison (which occupied the highest part of the site of the present fort) with a three pounder, and soon compelled them to surrender. Immediately in rear of the place are the main river bluffs, at the distance of about one and a half miles from the fort. These are heights elevated four hundred and twenty feet above the site of the garrison, and overlook

the fort. (See map 6; no. 10, Plate 40). Fairfield (1905) says that he was told by an old, long-time resident of Prairie du Chien that this area was a military cemetery. This portion of the island has never been subdivided and probably has never been disturbed.

During the first and second quarters of the 18th century villages and rural landscape of the prairie underwent important changes. When Isaac Lee surveyed the terrace in 1820 (see map 1) there were 43 farms (see table 1) or comprising a series of linear strips of land 35-60 rods wide extending from the river and the slough to the bluff after the French method of land subdivision. This system is based on the arpent (192.5 feet) as the unit of measurement and land was claimed from the river to the bluffs. Similarly, the settlement on the island, the Main Village, lots extended from the east channel of the Mississippi to the Marais St. Friole Slough. Thirty-seven lots were laid off (see table 9). These included the Fort Crawford reservation. We do not know if those who claimed these lots were actually living in homes on the lots in 1820. We have information on a few inhabitants. Joseph Rolette, a French Canadian who was a prominent fur trader in Prairie du Chien in the late 17 and early 1800's, lived in a house on lot 21 (Map 6, no. 11 and Plate 39). On lot 13, claimed by Nicholas Boilvin, stood the Indian Agency House (Map 6, no. 12 and Plate 33). Michael Brisbois, one of the first settlers, a fur trader and then a baker, apparently was living on lot 15 in a log cabin. According to local informants this log cabin or another which once stood on the Brisbois property is now enclosed within a modern structure which stands on Brisbois St. between Villa Lou's Road and 4th St. This is the only house

on the block which faces north (Map 6, no. 13). Another log cabin, perhaps dating to the early occupation, is enclosed in a house on North 5th Street, on NW corner of 5th and Boilvin (Map 6, no. 14). The log cabin of Basil Giard, another early settler, was located on lot 13 prior to the building of Fort Crawford. The cabin was then moved to the southern part of the Main Village and, according to local informants, a modern tavern now stands on the spot (Map 6, no. 15 and Plate 36). A third group known as the Upper Village, contained 20 lots (see table 3).

The cultivated parts of these farm lots formed a narrow strip 40-80 rods wide at the base of the bluff where the more fertile soils existed. This strip of land was enclosed in one common field 5-7 miles long, known as the Grand Farm and housing one fence on the west side, utilizing the bluffs as a fence on the east. The boundaries of the farm lots were marked off by roads allowing entrance and exit from the fields which each contained (W.H.C. 2:120). Crops were planted in the spring and consisted mainly of wheat, barley, oats and peas, together with some potatoes and onions (Ibid, 112). Any excess crops were sold to the traders, the garrison, or bartered to the Indians for meat and skins. There was no maize grown on the prairie in 1816 but by 1835 farmers were planting an early Indian variety of corn, yielding 30-50 bushels per acre (W.H.C. 2:117, 4:229-231). As soon as the crops were harvested the fields were thrown open to livestock. The poorer western part of the prairie known as the "Common" was roamed over by the ordinary ponies and cattle of the inhabitants.

TABLE 1

Farm Lots (Mainland Prairie du Chien)

<u>Lot Number</u>		<u>Lot Number</u>	
1	Heirs of James Aird	24	James McFarlane
2	Charles Menard	25	Antoine LaChapalle
3	Joseph Rolette	26	Julian Larivierre
4	Joseph Rolette	27	John Simpson
5	Heirs of Felix Mercier	28	Joseph Rolette
6	Joseph & Jane Rolette	29	Andrew Basin
7	Madeline Gauthier	30	Pierre Lariviere
8	Dennis Courtois	31	Pierre Lariviere
9	John Simpson	32	Jean Marie Quire
10	Joseph Rolette	33	Charles LaPointe
11	Benjamin Cadotte	34	Pierre Lessard
12	Michael Brisbois	35	Strange Poze or Powers
13	Heirs of Claude Gagnier	36	Francois LaPointe Sen.
14	Francois Cheuneviene	37	Francois LaPointe Jun.
15	Heirs of James Aird	38	Michael LaPointe
16	Augustus Hebert	39	Pierre Lessard
17	John Bapt. Albert	40	Theresa LaPointe
18	Heirs of James Aird	41	Charles LaPointe
19	Joseph Rolette	42	Joseph Lemrie
20	Heirs of John Campbell	43	Thomas McNair
21	Francois Verticuille		
22	Augustus Hebert		
23	Pierre Jandron		(taken from Lee's 1820 map)

TABLE 2

Private Land Claims - 1820

Main Village Lots (St. Feriole Island, 4th Ward)

Lot Number		Lot Number	
1	Michael Brisbois	25	Joseph Crele
2	Michael Brisbois	26	--
3	Michael Brisbois	27	Wilfred Owens
4	La Framboise	28	Oliver Cherier
5	Wilfred Owens	29	Augustin Roe
6	--	30	Duncan Campbell
7	John Bapt. Coron	31	Pierre Lessard
8	Jane Rolette	32	Charles McNair
9 - 11	Fort Crawford	33	Etienne Dionne
12	Wilfored Owens	34	Joseph Rolette
13	Nicholas Boilvin	35	John W. Johnson
14	American Fur Company	36	Theodore Lupien
15	Michael Brisbois	37	Pierre Courville
16	Francois Bouthellier		
17	Joseph Rolette		
18	Heirs of James Aird		
19	Marshall Mann		
20	Charles LaPointe		
21	Joseph Rolette		
22	James McFarlane		
23	Antoine LaChapelle		(taken from Lee's 1820 map)
24	Francois Galorneau		

TABLE 3
Private Land Claims - 1820
Upper Town

<u>Lot Number</u>	
1	Michael Brisbois
2	Benj. Cadotte
3	Pierre Charfourt
4	Francois Vertefeuille
5	Ales Dumont
6	Augustin Hebert
7	Joseph Rivard
8	Jean Cardinal
9	Michael Pasillard
10	Pierre LaPointe
11	Benj. Roy
12	Jno. Simpson
13	Andre Basin
14	Strange Poze
15	Francois
16	Jean Marie Quire
17	Pierre Lessard
18	Francois LaPointe
19	Charles LaPointe
20	E. Monplaisier

During the first two or three decades of the 19th century the village changed little in appearance and, if at all for the worse. The composition of the population, a group of French-Canadians and mixed-bloods, living in a parasitic fashion upon the Indian trade and the garrison, argued against any advance or improvement in the settlement. In addition, game was less abundant than several decades earlier, and the Indians were hunting less, since they were receiving subsidies at Prairie du Chien from the government. The fur-trade, which had been the reason for the establishment of the settlement, was waning. Lockwood, a resident of the community, wrote that at the time he arrived at Prairie du Chien in 1816 there were collected at that place annually about 300 packs of furs of 100 pounds each (W.H.C. 2:131). This was only one-fifth the weight of pelts taken to Mackinac from Prairie du Chien in 1774 (W.H.C. 18:339-341). Most of the fur was still being sent to Mackinac although an increasing amount was going south to St. Louis with the lead from Galena and Dubuque (Mahan, 1926:86).

A number of fragmentary descriptions by residents of and visitors to the village during the second and third decades are available but these accounts do not agree in all respects. Lockwood describes Prairie du Chien upon his arrival.

On the 16th of September, 1816, I arrived at Prairie du Chien, trader's village of between twenty-five and thirty houses, situated on the banks of the Mississippi, on what, in high water is an island. The houses were built by planting posts upright in the ground with grooves in them, so that the sides could be filled in with split timber or round poles, and then plastered over with clay, and white-washed with a white earth found in the vicinity, and then covered with bark, or clap boards, riven from oak.

This village, now called the old village of Prairie du Chien, was designated by Lyons as the main village, as it was so at the time he surveyed the private land claims of Prairie du Chien. . . .

There were on the Prairie about forty farms cultivated along under the bluffs, where the soil was first rate, and enclosed in one common field, and the boundaries generally marked by a road that afforded them ingress and egress to their fields; the plantations running from the bluffs to the Mississippi, to the slough of St. Freole, and from three to five arpents wide. The owners did not generally live immediately on their farms, but clustered together in little villages near their front, and were much the same description of inhabitants as those of Green Bay, except that there were a number of families of French extraction, entirely unmixed with the natives, who came from the French villages of Illinois. The farmers' wives instead of being of the Indian tribes about, were generally of the mixed blood. --- They were living in Acadian simplicity, spending a great part of their time in fishing, hunting, horse racing or trotting, or in dancing and drinking. They had little or no ambition for progress and improvement, or in any way bettering their condition, provided their necessities were supplied, and they could often collect together and dance and frolic. With these wants gratified, they were perfectly satisfied to continue in the same routine and habits of their forefathers before them. They had no aristocracy among them except the traders, who were regarded as a privileged class (W.H.C. 2:119-120).

Major Long, who was on the Prairie in 1817 and again in 1823, wrote, on the earlier date:

Exclusive of stores, work shops, and stables, the village at present contains only sixteen dwelling houses occupied by families. These are situated on a street parallel with the river, and about one half mile in length. In rear of the village, at a distance of three quarters of a mile, are four others. Two and a half miles above are five; and at the upper end of the prairie, five miles from the village, are four dwelling houses. Besides these, there are several houses situated upon different parts of the prairie, in all not exceeding seven or eight; so that the whole number of family dwellings, now occupied, does not exceed thirty-eight. The buildings are generally of logs, plastered with mud or clay; some of them comfortable habitations, but none of them exhibit any display of elegance or taste. The inhabitants are principally of French and Indian extraction.

There are very few of them that have not savage blood in their veins. If we compare the village and its inhabitants in their present state with what they were when Pike visited this part of the country, we shall find that instead of improving they have been degenerating. Their improvement has been checked by a diversion of the Indians into other channels, and their degeneracy accelerated not only by a consequent impoverishment of the inhabitants, but in addition to natural decay, their unconquerable slothfulness and want of enterprise.

About one mile back of the village is the Grand Farm, which is an extensive enclosure cultivated by the inhabitants in common. It is about six miles in length, and from quarter to half a mile in width, surrounded by a fence on one side and the river bluffs on the other, and thus secured from the depredations of the cattle and horses that were at large upon the prairies. Upon this farm, corn, wheat, potatoes, etc., are cultivated to considerable advantage; and with proper care, no doubt, large crops of these articles, together with fruits of various kinds might be raised. They have never yet taken pains to seed the ground with any kind of grain except the summer wheat, which is never so productive as the fall or winter wheat. Rye, barley, oats, etc., would undoubtedly succeed well upon the farm (Long, 1889:61-63).

Again in 1823 Long wrote,

The village consists, exclusive of stores, of about twenty dwelling houses, chiefly old, and many of them in a state of decay; its population may amount to one hundred and fifty souls. It is not in as thriving a situation as it formerly was (Keating, 1959:243).

Schoolcraft, visiting the place in 1820, described it as follows:

It consists of about eighty buildings, including the garrison, the principal parts of which are of logs arranged in two streets parallel with the river and is estimated to have an aggregate population of 500. This is exclusive of the garrison... (Schoolcraft, 1821:337-338).

The village has the old and shabby look of all the antique French towns on the Mississippi, and in the lake basins, the dwellings being constructed of logs and barks and the courtyards picketed in as if they were intended for defense (Schoolcraft, 1835).

It should be noted, that while Major Long only counted occupied dwelling houses, Schoolcraft included all buildings, even those associated with the garrison. The census of 1820 gave the Prairie du Chien settlement a population of 501, of which number 370 were residents, while 131 belonged to the garrison (Scanlan, n.d.). In 1805, Pike estimated 340.

It is evident from the preceding descriptions that the village had changed little in the two decades or more following Pike's visit in 1805. The main village on the island had been rearranged somewhat, as previously described, by the erection of Fort Crawford at its northern margin, but its pattern and the number of its dwellings were essentially the same. In 1821 the Borough of Prairie Des Chiens was incorporated and soon after became the county seat. Three streets were laid out on the island and many regulations laid down. Scanlan (1937:191) lists several of these new laws.

Fire regulations required keeping chimneys clean and forbade straw-covered houses south of Fort Crawford. Horses were to be restrained on the streets; no one was permitted to drive faster than a trot. Planting of trees was subject to regulation, whether the trees were for ornament or merely utilitarian. The baker and his bread were both subject to inspection. Loaves were to be 1 1/2 or 3 pound in size and prices were to be determined by the quality: into this price of flour entered as an important factor. . . . A single fence enclosed all of the cultivated land, and from April to October this fence had to be kept in repair by land owners.

A log jail was constructed (See map 6, no. 16, Plate 41). The Fort Crawford enclosure, the Indian Agency house, the U. S. Factory and the American Fur Company dominated the river front. The U. S. Factory, a wood building, stood on lot 14. Later the American Fur Company claimed

the land and built a stone fur warehouse which stands today. The structure, known as the Astor Fur Warehouse, is a National Historic Landmark (Map 6, no. 17; Map 9 and Plate 34). In the early 1820's the American Fur Company operated from a wood building situated on either lot 16 or 17. Joseph Rolette eventually owned both these lots. On lot 16 he built a stone fur warehouse (Map 6, no. 18 and Map 9) which was torn down in the 1930's. On lot 17, in 1840, he had a frame house built for him (Map 6, no. 19 and Map 9). This house is now on the National Register of Historic Places.

The Prairie had lost none of its significance as a gathering place for the Indians; quite the opposite, for with the erection of Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien became the site for important treaty councils between high officials of the United States government and the Indian tribes of the whole upper Mississippi valley. At the first of these assemblies, known as "The Great Council of 1825," native tepees covered the prairie so that late comers were forced to pitch their high-pointed buffalo tents on the islands in mind-stream and on the Iowa side. The council lasted for two weeks, costing the government in rations and other expenses \$10,400 (Mahan, 1926:94). But the government profited handsomely on their investment; in the succeeding councils they received thousands of acres of land.

By the close of the third decade the old fort in the island was so rotted and decayed as a result of frequent inundations as to be almost untenable. The then occupied site was deemed unsatisfactory not only for reasons concerned with health, but likewise because of the proximity of saloons in the adjoining village. In 1829, the commandant

was instructed to select a site for a new fort and "to consider health, comfort, and convenience in making his choice with particular attention to accessibility to the river as all supplies had to come over this course (Scanlan, n.d.). The site chosen was an elevated spot designated as "Large Mound" on the Lyons map (Map 2) of 1828, being near the western end of Farm Lot 34, fifty feet above the river and distant from it several hundred feet. In addition to being well above flood level, it was the only place on the main terrace, according to the maps of that day where a navigable channel of the Mississippi touched the prairie. At the present time a mud flat has cut off this one point of access. Not only were Farm Lots 33 and 34, fronting on the slough, purchased by the government, but in addition 5-6 acres along the western end of Farm Lot 35, which was the section bordering navigable east channel (Scanlan, n.d.).

The new Fort Crawford (Map 6, no. 4) was an imposing structure. It consisted of a rectangular enclosure, the north and south walls of which were a stout stockade of hewed pine logs, each one foot square by sixteen feet high. The east and west walls were each formed by two barracks, built of stone and separated by a sally port. These joined the officers' quarters and store rooms on the north and south just inside the stockade (Scanlan, 1938). The large stone hospital, built last, has been partially restored and presently serves as a medical museum.

With the transfer of the garrison to the new fort in 1832, Old Main Village on the Island declined in importance, while the village of St. Friole adjacent to the post began to grow rapidly. In 1828 there were only five houses in the village of St. Friole but by 1835, it was the

principal residential unit on the Prairie (W.H.C. 12:379) and contained two stores and two inns (Smith, 1929:303). Within the next few years, a jail, courthouse and post office were erected in the "New Village," on the "American Town" as it was called, since it contained the few American families on the plain. Old Main Village west of the slough was a group of "...rude and ruinous dwelling houses, which were almost black with age... (Hoffman, 1835, 2:311).

After 1835, with the suppression of the Winnebago uprising and the close of the Blackhawk War, agricultural immigrants began flocking through Prairie du Chien enroute to the virgin lands of Iowa and Minnesota, some of them remaining. Along with the slight boom associated with this migration, a new town was laid out south of the Fort so that Prairie du Chien became tri-nuclear in structure, although little building took place in the new subdivision immediately. The territorial census of 1836 gave Crawford County a population of 850, 313 of whom were at Prairie du Chien (W.H.C. 13:249). By 1840 the population of Crawford County had reached 1502, nearly 1300 of whom were in the Town of Prairie du Chien (Scanlan, n.d.).

But prosperity was short lived. Within the decade 1840-1850 the Indians were moved across into Iowa and no longer received their annuities at Prairie du Chien. Fort Crawford was permanently abandoned in 1849. As a result, gamblers, liquor dealers, traders and hangers - on who had lived in parasite fashion on the garrison and the Indian trade soon quit the town. Population dwindled with startling rapidity, while empty, unpainted houses with windows broken and roofs fallen in, and abandoned storerooms gave the place a desolate appearance (Mahan, 1926:266). Yet

there were wealthy people living on the island. During this decade B. W. Brisbois, son of Michael, built a stone house on lot 15 (Map 6, no. 20; Map 9; and Plate 17). The house is a National Historic Landmark. Hercules Dousman, fur trader turned land speculator and lumberman, built the first Villa Louis in 1843. The present Villa Louis was rebuilt by Hercules' widow, Jane, in the 1870's. This house is a National Historic Landmark (Map 6, no. 21; Map 9 and Plate 15).

Thus the middle of the century found Prairie du Chien with a population of 1407 (Scanlan, n.d.), only slightly more than it had been ten years earlier. The fur trade was a thing of the past; the military importance on the site had waned to insignificance; the Indian market had vanished, and that of the garrison as well. Immigrants were pouring into Iowa and Minnesota, but only a few were remaining in Prairie du Chien on the nearby vicinity. Confluence location has ceased to be a benefit; quite the contrary, it was now a handicap, for the position of the town between the two rivers reduced trade territory (Prairie du Chien Patriot, March 8, 1848). Dark days had fallen on Prairie du Chien.

Following the temporary slump at mid-century, and after the transfer of the Indians into Iowa and the evacuation of Fort Crawford, almost immediately Prairie du Chien swept into the biggest boom period of its entire history. The immediate cause of the boom was the selection of this Old Town at the confluence as the terminus of the Milwaukee railroad. The Wisconsin valley route, because of its directness and easy grades, very early received the approval of the railroad's engineers (Crawford County Courier, July 7 and August 11, 1852). By 1852, four to five years before

the arrival of the first train, the likelihood of Prairie du Chien becoming the rail terminus had instilled new life into the ancient town (Crawford County Courier, December 29, 1852). The Crawford County Courier for February 16, 1852 carried the statement, "At the present time every tenatable building in town is occupied, and the garrison is also full."

The material expansion of the village took place very largely north and south of the Fort Crawford Military Tract. During the building season of 1857, the year the rails reached the river, 327 buildings were completed or under construction on the prairie, 161 in Upper Town, 141 in Lower Town, 17 west of the slough in the Old Village, and 6 in French Town (Prairie du Chien Leader, September 19, 1857). The fort building was occupied by 50 families and contained several workshops (Ibid). At that time the town could boast of having seven hotels, one steam flour mill, one steam saw mill, two breweries, one foundry, three lumber yards, five brick yards, and four lime kilns (Prairie du Chien Courier, January 15 and March 5, 1857). Boat traffic at Prairie du Chien's wharves received sudden stimulation by reason of the coming of the railroad and the increased material prosperity of the city, steamboat arrivals averaging 70-80 a week (P.D.C. Courier, May 14, 1857). Two steam ferries, one serving Upper Town and the other Lower Town, plied between the Iowa and the Wisconsin shores. Within less than a decade Prairie du Chien had become an important rail-water trans-shipping point on the Upper Mississippi.

The sudden and extraordinary growth of Lower Town, which prior to 1850 had fewer than half a dozen houses, was due to a belief that the

railroad's terminal would be located there, this philosophy proved to be correct, and a depot, round-house, grain elevator, and wharves were all erected south of the Fort on the margin of the slough. The first street back from the river and parallel with it in both Lower Town and Upper Town became the main thoroughfare, containing most of the business houses (P.D.C. Courier, June 11, 1857).

Prior to the Confederate blockade of the Lower Mississippi, wheat and other farm produce from Iowa and Minnesota had gone south by boat to New Orleans. With that route closed, this trade shifted immediately to east-west rail lines, much of it passing through Prairie du Chien.

The particular site in Lower Town selected for the rail and boat terminals soon proved to be unwise, for at times of low water boats could not enter the slough to reach the wharves. Because of increasing eastward freight larger storage facilities were soon needed (Milwaukee Sunday Journal, February 10, 1924). Therefore, in the early sixties the railroad tracks were carried northward across the Marais de St. Friole and up Front street of the old French-Canadian village on the island. There, overlooking the east channel, were erected a new depot (Map 6, no. 22; Plate 35), a grain elevator of 200,000 bushel capacity constructed of yellow Milwaukee brick (Map 6, no. 23; Plate 38), and a warehouse over 400 feet long, of the same material. The removal of the rail and boat terminal facilities from Lower Town was a staggering blow to that part of the city. Population dwindled and business houses moved out.

While the population of Lower Town decreased, that of Upper Town and the Island increased. The Island was further changed. The waterfront,

including the first street back from the river, had undergone the greatest change. A number of old dilapidated shacks had been razed to make room for a depot and hotels including the pretentious Dousman House now a National Historic Landmark (Map 6, no. 24). The old rock warehouse of the American Fur Company, built by Rolette, remained. Railroad tracks occupied much of Front street or Water street, while between the street and the river were: starting at the north, a grist and flour mill (Map 6, no. 25), the rail-ferry landing, the Diamond Jo warehouse (Map 6, no. 26; Plate 37) and grain elevator (Map 6, no. 23; Plate 38). The first Fort Crawford had disappeared and on its Indian-mound site had been erected the luxurious mansion of Hercules Dousman, who was at one time the Astor Fur Company's agent at Prairie du Chien.

Upper Town grew into modern Prairie du Chien. Due to frequent inundations the nucleus of Upper Town moved further inland. Blackhawk Avenue, the main thoroughfare which connected the mainland to the island, became the location of businesses, hotels, and stores. The riverfront remained important as the remains of a gristmill (Map 6, no. 27) illustrates.

ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The literature and records search of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, has located eighteen areas where prehistoric archeological sites were or are located. At least three temporal periods, Archaic, Middle Woodland and Effigy Mound can be recognized from diagnostic artifacts. In addition, a number of historic Indian burial sites and white habitation sites have been confirmed. These prehistoric and historic sites are considered as being potentially significant for understanding the cultural history of Prairie du Chien.

1. From the evidence presently available, it is difficult to estimate the importance of each archaeological-historical site reported in this survey. Some of these sites have obviously been disturbed, perhaps destroyed; while others have remained unscathed by time and the continuous encroachment of civilization. Should sites that have been disturbed or possibly destroyed be utilized to aid in the interpretation of the cultural resources of Prairie du Chien, when there are other sites which remain virtually intact? The answer must be categorically yes! These disturbed sites could produce cultural material that may not be found in the undisturbed sites. Secondly, very little archaeological evidence is currently available from the project area, thus curtailing the reconstruction of cultural history. And finally, the only means of adequately determining the extent of site disturbance or destruction is extensive archaeological fieldwork. Therefore, any site reported in this survey must be considered culturally significant.

Some suggestions can be made however, about the relative importance of these archaeological sites, so that an evaluation of their present and future significance to the cultural resource management of Prairie du Chien can be determined.

a. Some of the sites included in this report are located outside the Corps of Engineers - project area. As Cultural Historians, we are interested in, and concerned about these sites; but for the purpose of this report we are most concerned about sites in the project area.

b. Many of these sites are on property owned by the State of Wisconsin. These sites (Map 5, nos. 7, 8, 16, and Map 6, nos. 8, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21), are of secondary importance since they will be preserved by the State of Wisconsin.

c. The remaining sites within the project area, not protected by the state must become our immediate concern. Some of the sites, will be modified by Corps action, (Map 6, nos. 22, 24), but this action will not significantly alter the historical importance of these buildings. In addition, several of these sites are not endangered (Map 5, nos. 3, 11, 17, 18 and Map 6, nos. 5, 7, 10, 23, 25, 26, 27) by present Corps action. The Gristmill sites (Map 6, nos. 25, 27), could be removed without directly effecting the area since all that remains are piles of rocks which once served as foundations and the areas are extensively disturbed. The remaining foundations of the Grain Elevator and Diamond Jo Warehouse (Map 6, nos. 23, 26), could serve dual purposes. They would stand as reminders to the public that Prairie du Chien was once the hub of Eastern Trade and also act as retaining walls preventing erosion of these two portions of the island.

d. Those mounds reported under the houses (Map 5, nos. 9, 10), may or may not be burial mounds. If they are mounds has house construction destroyed burial remains - only if these houses have basements. If the remains are gone is there any need for protection? We can still gain information on mound construction. It is always possible that the mound fill (the dirt used to build up the mound) was obtained from a nearby habitation site and would contain artifacts. These must be considered to be sites which will be affected by house removal. An archaeologist familiar with mound construction could trench into these mounds and determine if they are prehistoric burial mounds. If they are so determined, then consultation with a construction/demolition company could determine the best way to remove the houses without destroying the remains of the mounds.

Mounds which are no longer visible (Map 5, nos. 4, 6, 12, 13), might not have been sufficiently leveled to destroy the skeletal remains in the burial pits. Here excavation would give information on burial practices but not on mound construction. These mounds, however, are not presently thought to be affected by the project.

e. Three buildings on the island are reportedly built around log cabins. If these houses are to be purchased and demolished by the Corps, a historical architect should study the buildings, prior to relocation or destruction. If log cabins are present, a decision of desposition should be made by the Corps in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer.

2. On the basis of the numerous prehistoric and historic sites, we will recommend to the State Historic Preservation Officer that all

of St. Friole Island or at least portions of it, be made a historic district. We will also recommend that portions of the mainland, such as the area outlined as designated as No. 4 on Map 5, be included in the district. Thus these potentially significant and non-renewable resources will be recognized and preserved.

Exact limits of the district will be worked out with the Historic Preservation Office at the State Historical Society. By nominating the area as a historic district all sites significant in prehistory, history or architecture will be recognized and protected from any federal action which would adversely effect them. All known sites and also unknown sites within the limits of the district would be afforded this portection. If any federal agency proposes any type of action within the boundaries of the district, the agency in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation will determine effect in accordance with the procedures outlined in 36 CFR 800.

3. Prior to any house destruction or relocation, and the subsequent removal of any of the foundations, an archeological survey should be conducted. Maps 5 and 6 illustrate the sensitive areas where such surveys should be made. Many of the old maps (some of which are reproduced in this study), illustrate many structures but are not complete enough to allow us to exactly locate them. This archaeological survey should include controlled surface collections over each site area to determine site extent and special activity areas. Test excavations should also be conducted to obtain an adequate picture of the type of site, depth of site and its significance.

If any general landscaping is to be done after the foundations have been removed and a survey has not been done, and an archeologist should be in the area. In the event that any cultural material is uncovered, decisions could be made and construction time saved.

Archeological materials found during survey might well be used in an interpretive exhibit on the Island, perhaps in the visitors center to be built by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Such an exhibit would inform the general public about the prehistoric and historic inhabitants of the Island and also inform them of the work of archeologists.

4. The removal of the residential dwelling would also benefit the historical atmosphere of the area. This would return much of St. Friole Island to its original physical condition. Visitors to the area could then literally step back in time when visiting the historic landmarks of the area.

5. It is further recommended that, as Corps plans become firm, there should be continued contact between the Corps, the State Archeologist of Wisconsin, and the State Historic Preservation Officer in order to assure the best possible protection of cultural resources.

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- n.d.b Manuscript of the Borough of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin in 1821, showing the locations of buildings, Fort Crawford, cemetery and other cultural features.
- n.d.c Manuscript map of the main village of Prairie du Chien as claimed and occupied in 1820. Surveyed by Lucius Lyons in 1828 and patented in 1830. Archives-Manuscript Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
- n.d.d Manuscript map of Prairie du Chien showing French lots. Archives-Manuscript Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
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Brunson, I.

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Doty, J.

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Appendix A

Inventory of Buildings of Architectural - Historical Significance on file in the State Historic Preservation Office.

This list was compiled after a preliminary structure survey of Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1976. These buildings are of possible architectural - historical significance, but additional research is needed before final determination of their significance can be stated.

Northwest corner of South Main Street and Rice Street
Milwaukee Railroad Depot
Third depot built in Prairie du Chien
Built in the 1920s Stucco

115 North Main Street
General Grant's Buying Office - Private

North Main Street between Court Street and Lewis Street
Warehouse - Possibly used as a Stable
Located near old stone hotel. Presently owned by 3M Co.

Cass Street (south side) between South Main Street and South Prairie
Octagonal Stone Building - Private ownership

947 South Beaumont Road
House - Private
This area of Prairie du Chien developed around the Second Fort Crawford
in 1830s - 1840s. Called Lower Town. Many similar small frame houses.

941 South Beaumont Road
House - Private
Part of housing development around Second Fort Crawford

963 South Beaumont Road
House - Private
Part of housing development around Second Fort Crawford

928 South Beaumont Road
House - Private
Part of housing development around Second Fort Crawford

North end of North Prairie Street
Stone building was once a hotel. Driveway went through archway to
reach courtyard.
Built between 1832-1880, building originally had a flat top two story
full length porch.

South end of North Prairie Street (west side)
Stone Stable connected with Second Fort Crawford - Possibly connected
with Brooke House.

APPENDIX B

PERSONNEL

Resume

Joan E. Freeman

Born: April 3, 1931, Madison, Wisconsin

Education: B.A. Lawrence University, 1953
 M.A. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1957
 Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Madison 1959

Positions Held:

- 1959-1960 Research Assistant, Department of Anthropology,
 University of Wisconsin - Madison
- Instructor, Department of Integrated Liberal Studies,
 University of Wisconsin - Madison
- 1960 Curator of Anthropology, State Historical Society of
 Wisconsin
- 1965 - State Archeologist

Membership in Professional Organizations:

Society for American Archeology, Fellow - American Anthropological
 Association, Society for Historical Archeology, Wisconsin representa-
 tive Committee on Public Understanding of Archeology, Wisconsin
 Archeological Society, Wisconsin Archeological Survey.

Archeological Field Work in Wisconsin:

Summer, 1960 - Field director for survey for and excavation of sites
 throughout Wisconsin under the following programs:
 Wisconsin Highway Salvage Program, Reservoir Salvage -
 National Park Service, Archeology of state parks -
 Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, National
 Science Foundation grants.

Publications:

- 1958 (with David A. Baerreis) "Late Woodland Pottery as Seen from
 Aztalan," Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 35-61.
- 1958 (with David A. Baerreis and James V. Wright) "The Contracting
 Stem Projectile Point in Eastern Oklahoma," Bulletin of the
 Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Vol. 6, pp. 61-82.
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- 1959 "Site D1-29, A Rockshelter in Northeastern Oklahoma," Archives of Archeology, No. 8, 301 pp.
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- 1962 "The Neosho Focus, A Late Prehistoric Culture in Northeastern Oklahoma," Bulletin of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society, Vol. 10, pp. 1-25.
- 1966 "Price Site III, Ri 4, A Burial Ground in Richland County, Wisconsin," Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 33-75.
- 1969 "The Millville Site, A Middle Woodland Village in Grant County, Wisconsin," Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 37-88.
- 1972 (with H. Charles Fritzemeier) "Preparing Your Exhibits: Figures for Miniature Dioramas," Technical Leaflet 20, History News, Vol. 27, No. 7.

VITAE

as of July 1976

Name: Edgar S. Oerichbauer

Born: Rhinelander, Wisconsin, November 26, 1946

Sex: Male

Marital Status: Single

Education: University of Wisconsin-Whitewater (1970-1973)
(Majors in Anthropology and History)

Degrees: B.S.E. December 1973, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

Academic Honors: 1973, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater
Selected for membership in Phi Alpha Theta,
Honorary Society

Archaeological Field Experience (Summer)

- 1973 Student Supervisor, excavations at the Orendorf
Village Site, Fulton County, Illinois
- 1974 Field Supervisor, excavations at Starved Rock,
Utica, Illinois
- 1975 Field Supervisor, excavations at the Marina Site,
Madeline Island, Wisconsin

Current Research: Analysis of the large mammalian faunal
material from the Larson Site FV1109
(M.A. Thesis)

Research and design an exhibit on the fur
trade to be located in the Astor Fur
Warehouse, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin

Membership in Professional Organizations:

Society for American Archaeology, Society for Historical
Archaeology, Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology,
Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin Archaeological Societies

Plate 1. Early and Middle Archaic projectile points and knives
(Alfred Reed Collection).

Plate 2. Knife: e; projectile points: Raddatz Side Notched
(Middle Archaic) - i; Waubesa Contracting Stem (Late
Archaic - Middle Woodland) - g, k; Unclassified -
a, b, c, d, f, h, j, m, n; scraper: l; drill: o
(Dalles Valley Collection).

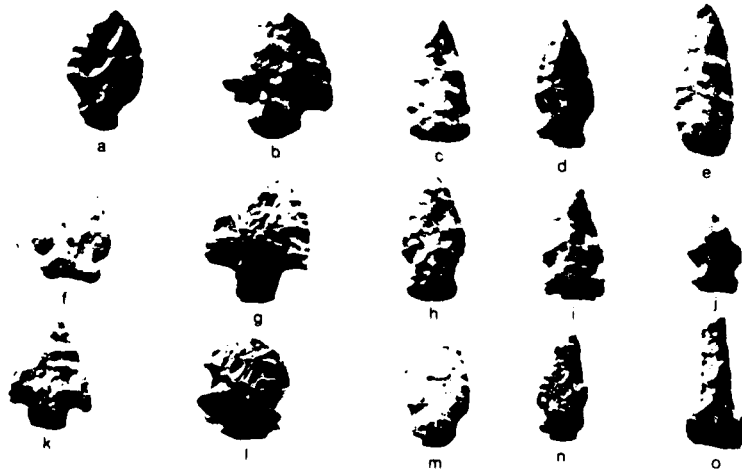
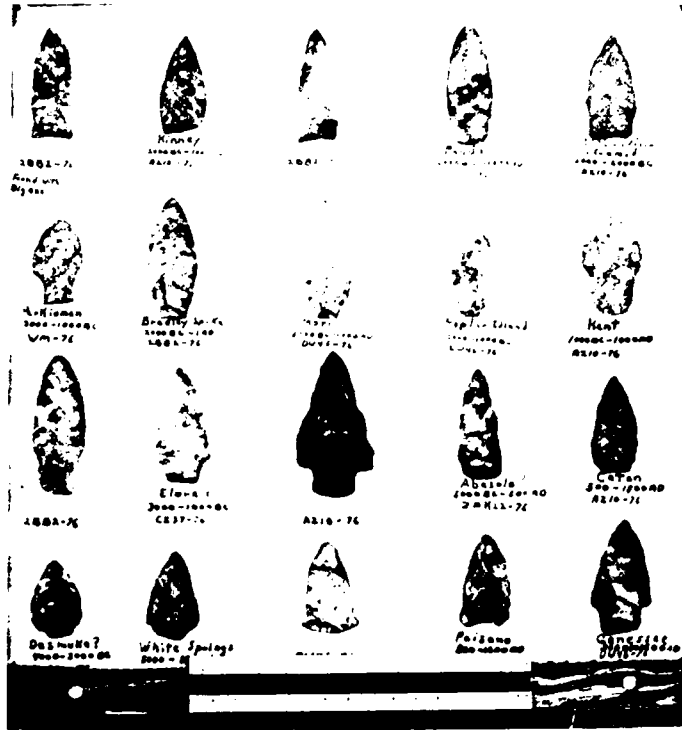


Plate 3. Projectile points: Madison Side Notched (Late Archaic - Early Woodland) - a; Durst Stemmed (Late Archaic - Early Woodland) - m; Monona Stemmed (Middle Woodland) - b, g; Triangular (Late Woodland) - l; Unclassified - c, d, e, f, h, i, j, k, n, o (Dalles Valley Collection).

Plate 4. Knives: f, h; projectile points: Madison Side Notched (Late Archaic - Early Woodland) - b; Waubesa Contracting Stem (Late Archaic - Middle Woodland) - c, d; Unclassified - a, e, g (Dalles Valley Collection).

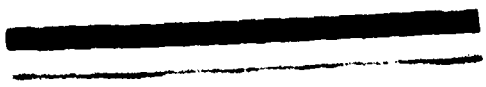
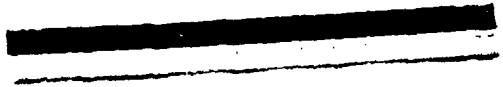
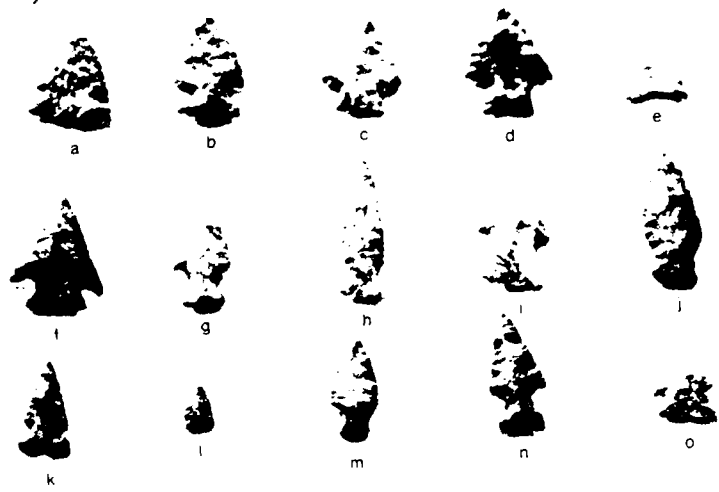


Plate 5. Knives: e, f, g; projectile points: Raddatz Side
Notched (Middle Archaic) - b, d; Waubesa Contracting
Stem (Late Archaic - Middle Woodland) - a, h; Un-
classified - c (Dalles Valley Collection).

Plate 6. Knives: b, e, g; projectile points: Raddatz Side
Notched (Middle Archaic) - d; Unclassified Middle
Woodland - a, c, h; scraper: f; (Dalles Valley
Collection).

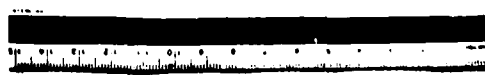
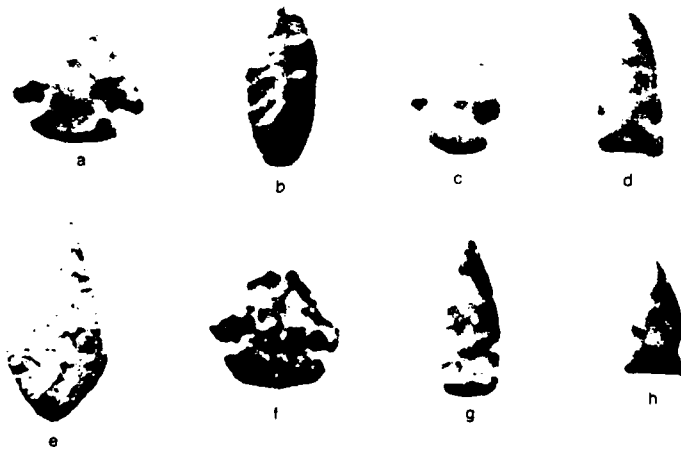


Plate 7. Projectile points: Dalton (Early Archaic) - g;
Unclassified lanceolate (Early Archaic) - f; Raddatz
Side Notched (Middle Archaic) - d; Madison Side Notched
(Late Archaic - Early Woodland) - c; Unclassified
Middle Woodland - e; Middle Archaic drill - h; Un-
classified - a, b (Dalles Valley Collection).

Plate 8. Knives: a, b, d, h; projectile points: Madison Side
Notched (Late Archaic - Early Woodland) - g; Unclassi-
fied Middle Woodland - e, f; Unclassified - c (Dalles
Valley Collection).

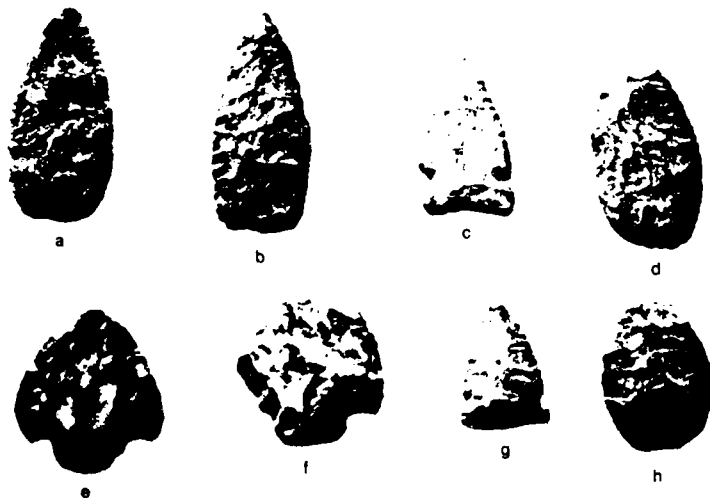
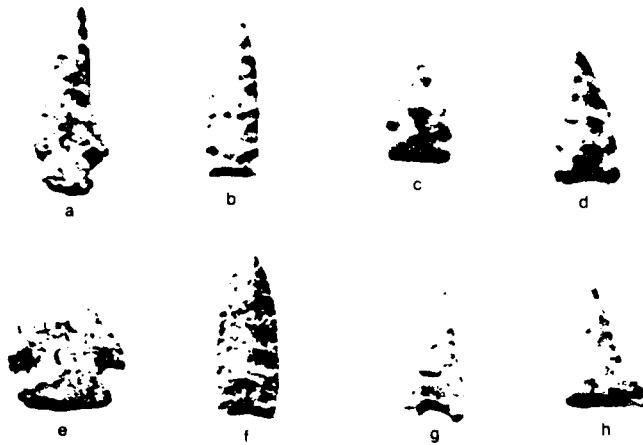


Plate 9. Incised and fingernail crimped vessel (Early Woodland -
Early Middle Woodland) (Alfred Reed Collection).

Plate 10. Pedretti III Site (Cr 127) - northern portion of
the site.

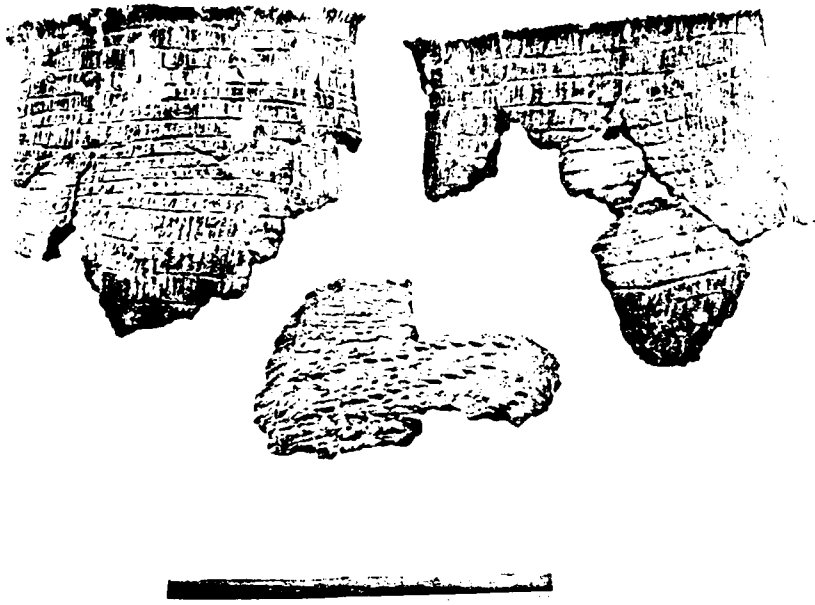


Plate 11. Pedretti III Site (Cr 127) - results of collectors'
activities.

Plate 12. Olson I Site (Cr 92) - site is located directly beneath
swing set.



Plate 13. "Trade Silver" Mound Group Site (Cr 62) - presently
occupied by the F. S. Fertilizer Company.

Plate 14. "Ancient" or Mendenhall Mound Site.

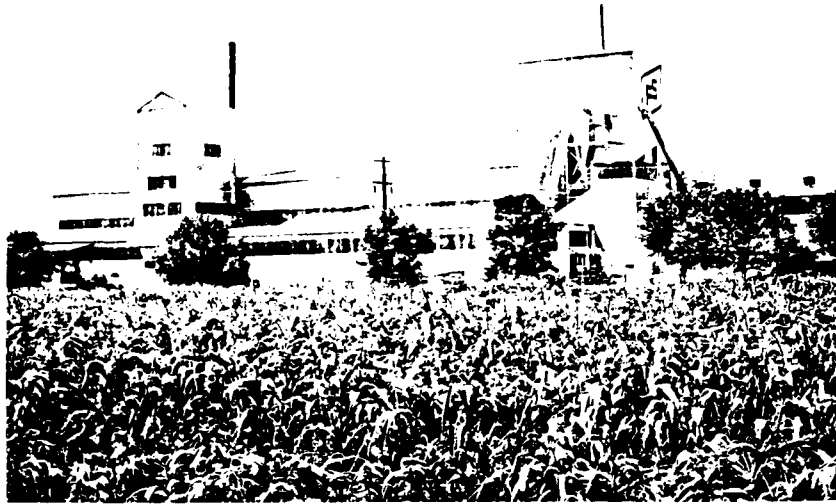


Plate 15. Villa Louis, illustrating the mound on which the
mansion was built.

Plate 16. Mound at immediate rear of Brisbois house.



Plate 17. Possible mound under Brisbois house.

Plate 18. Mound at east end of block on which Brisbois house
stands.



Plate 19. Mound (?) under home on corner of Rolette Street and
Villa Louis Road.

Plate 20. Mound (?) under home at ¹⁰~~2~~ Villa Louis Road.



Plate 21. Area of bulldozed mound and occupational debris directly
behind radio station.

Plate 22. Habitation site north of radio station.

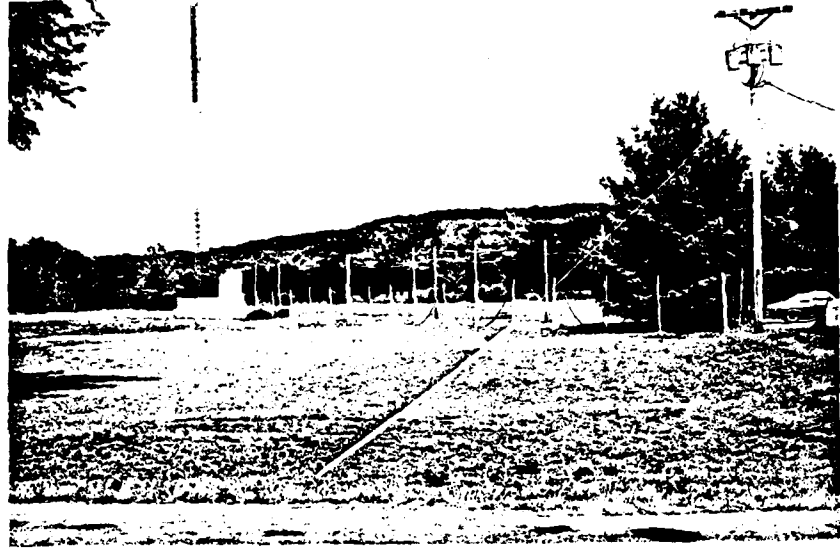


Plate 23. Mounds at corner of Washington St. and 5th St.

Plate 24. Site at mid-block behind house on 2nd St.



Plate 25. Site at south end of St. Friole Island.

Plate 26. East side of island along Marais de St. Friole.



Plate 27. Garden of Ed Bauzek.

Plate 28. Site reported by Ed Bauzek.



Plate 29. Upper Mississippian site in Mill Coulee.

Plate 30. Late Woodland small notched and triangular projectile
points (Alfred Reed Collection).

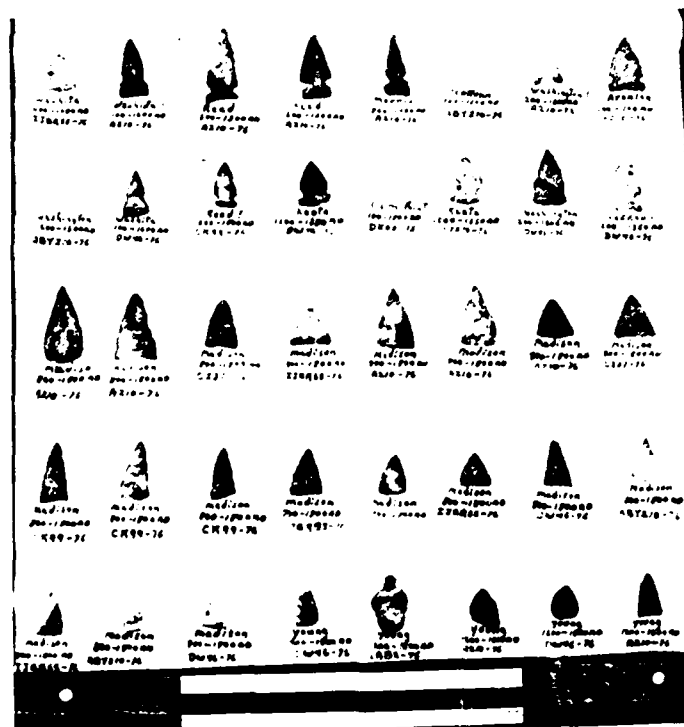


Plate 31. Location of French Fort.

Plate 32. Location of French Fort.



Plate 33. Indian Agency House.

Plate 34. Astor Fur Warehouse.

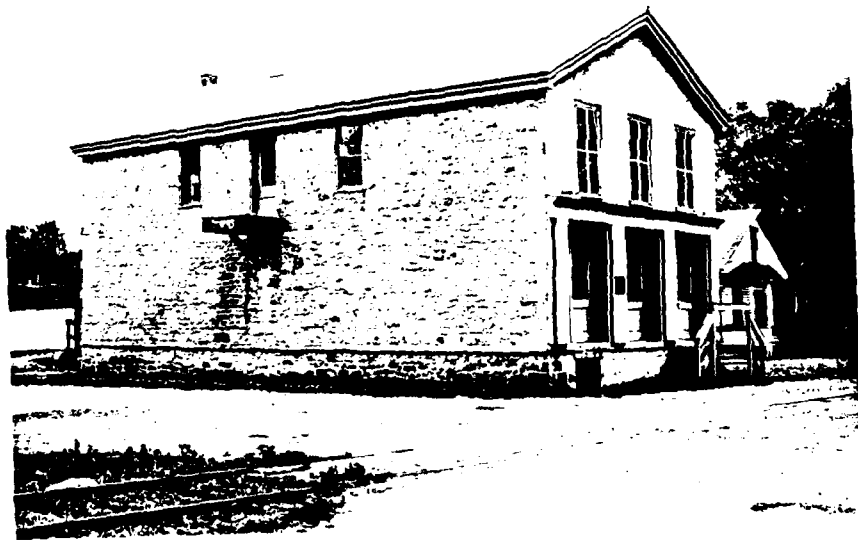
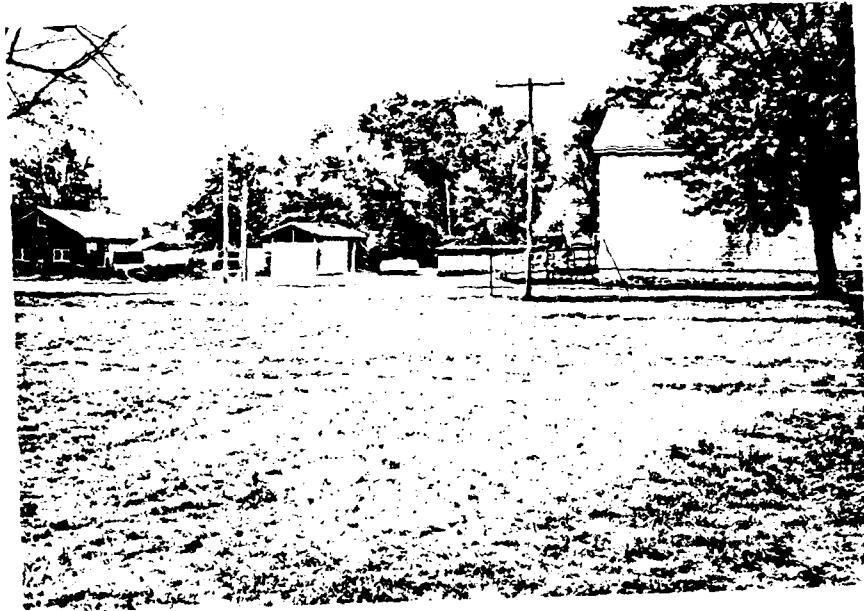


Plate 35. Island Railroad Station.

Plate 36. Site of Giard's Cabin.

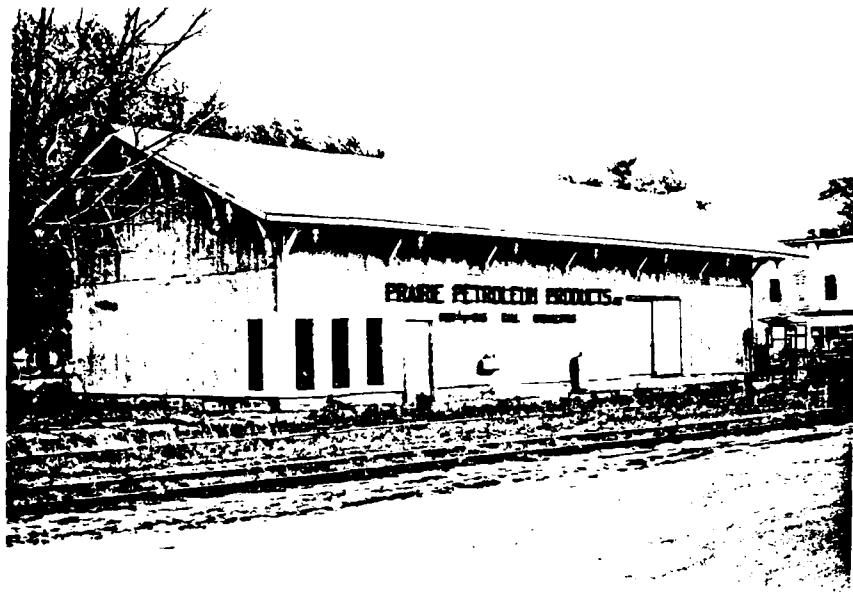


Plate 37. Diamond Joe Warehouse.

Plate 38. Grain elevators.



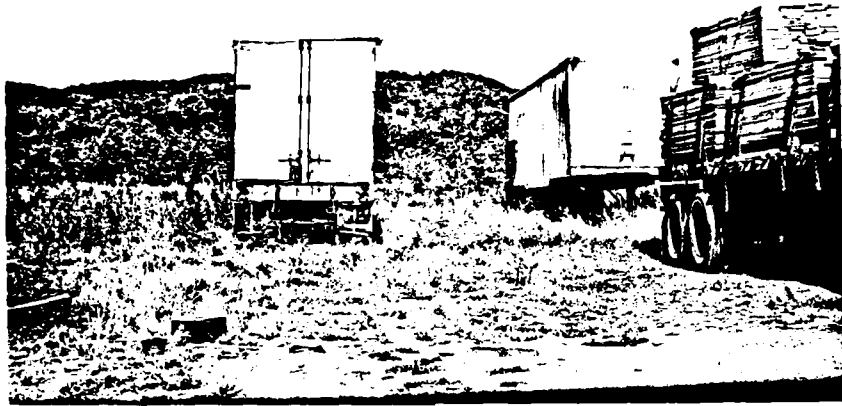
Plate 39. Site of Rolette's House.

Plate 40. Military cemetery.



41. Site of log jail.

42. Site of Military Cemetery.



Mairie Village de Chateau de Chateaux as claimed & occupied in 1820 & from 1820 to 1821 Surveyed by Louis L'Yves in 1820 & patented in 1820.

Massip. River.

Commission belonging to
Town of St. Francois

1	1226	22.75	
2	1227	22.75	
3	1228	22.75	
4	1229	22.75	
5	1230	22.75	
6	1231	22.75	
7	1232	22.75	
8	1233	22.75	
9	1234	22.75	
10	1235	22.75	
11	1236	22.75	
12	1237	22.75	
13	1238	22.75	
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15	1240	22.75	
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17	1242	22.75	
18	1243	22.75	
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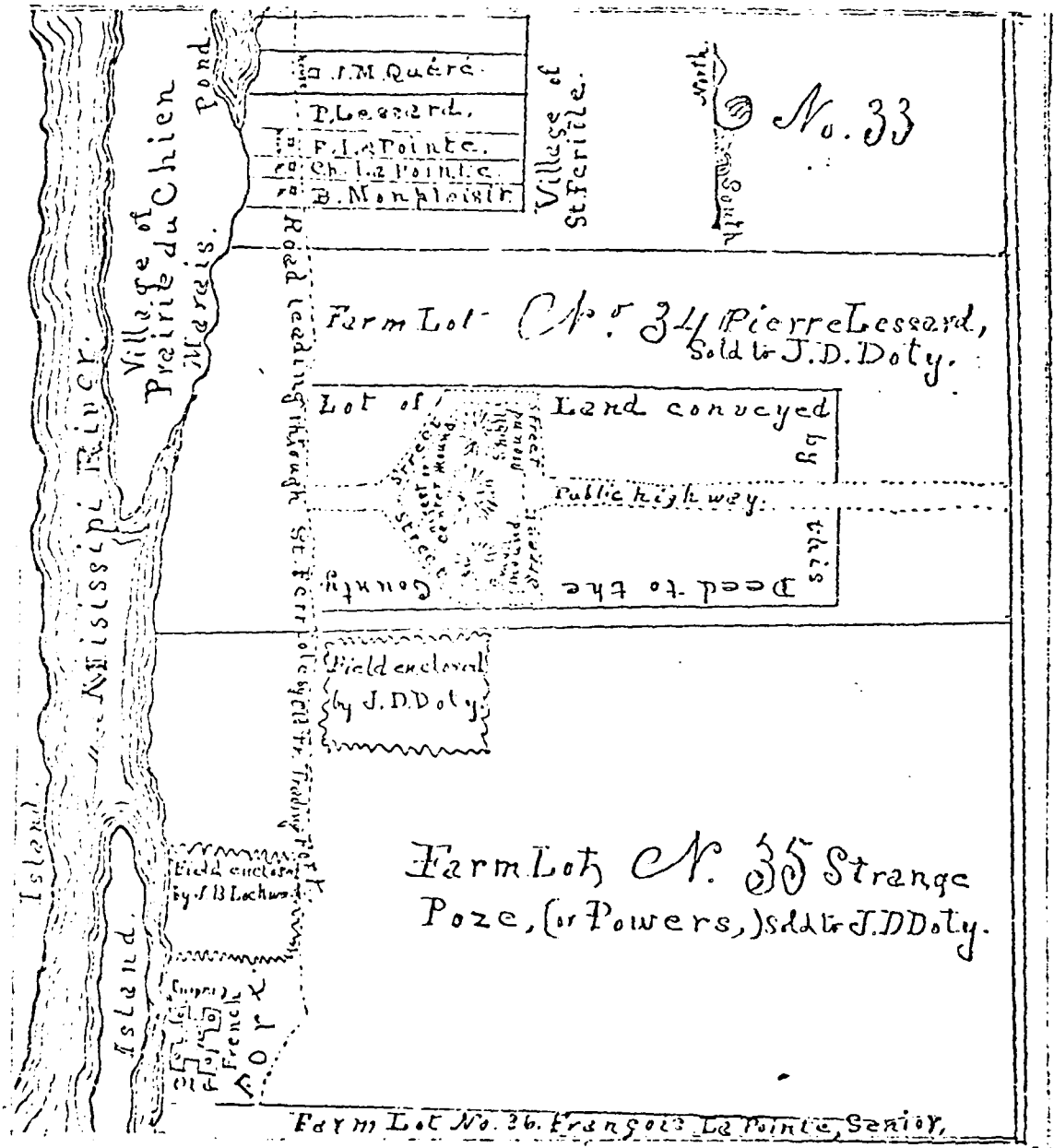
Mairie de St. Francois

Village de St. Francois

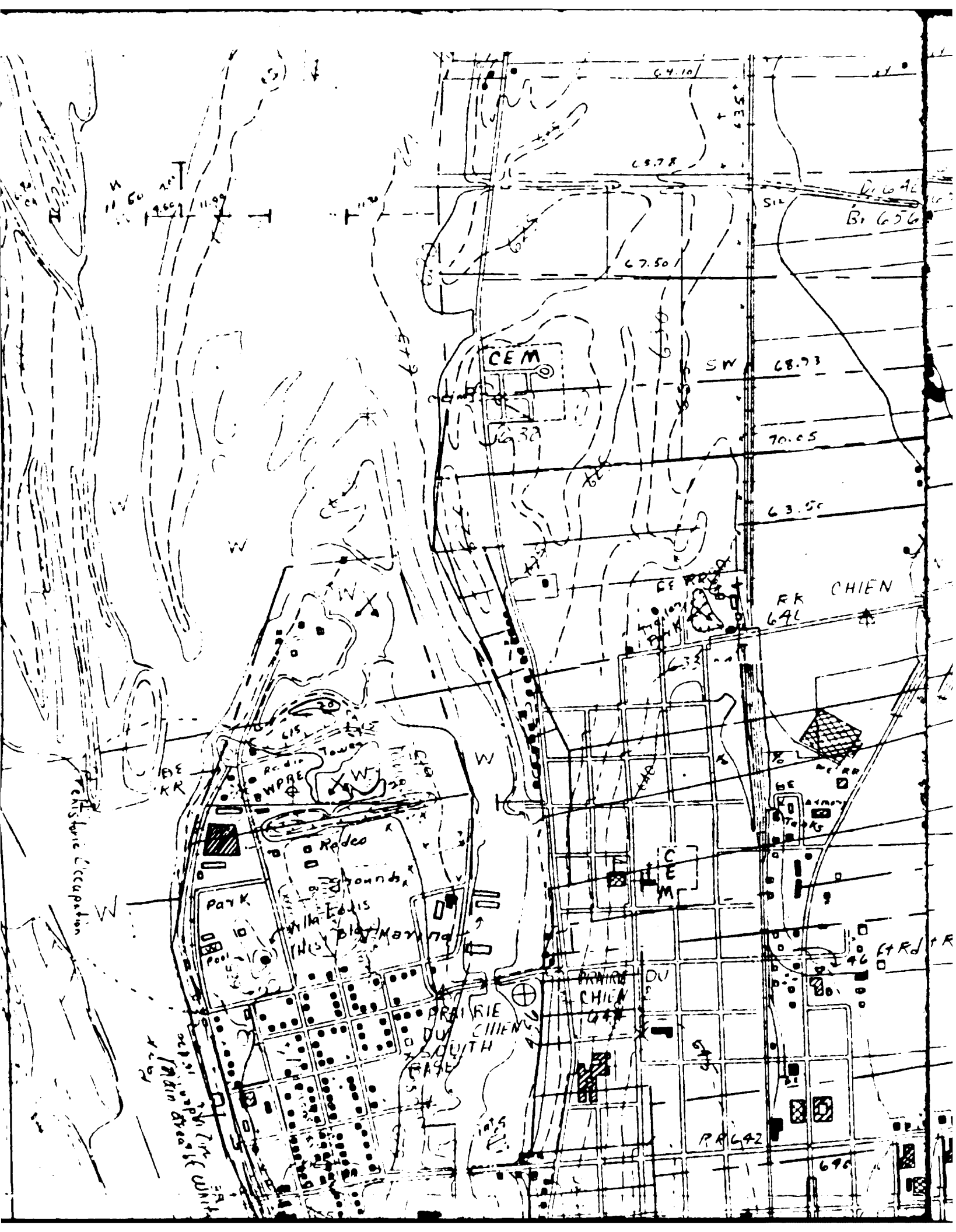
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MAP 4

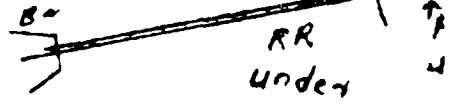
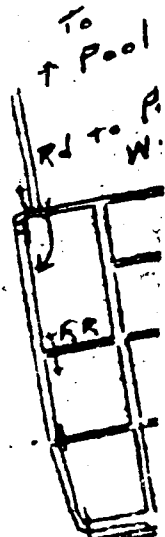


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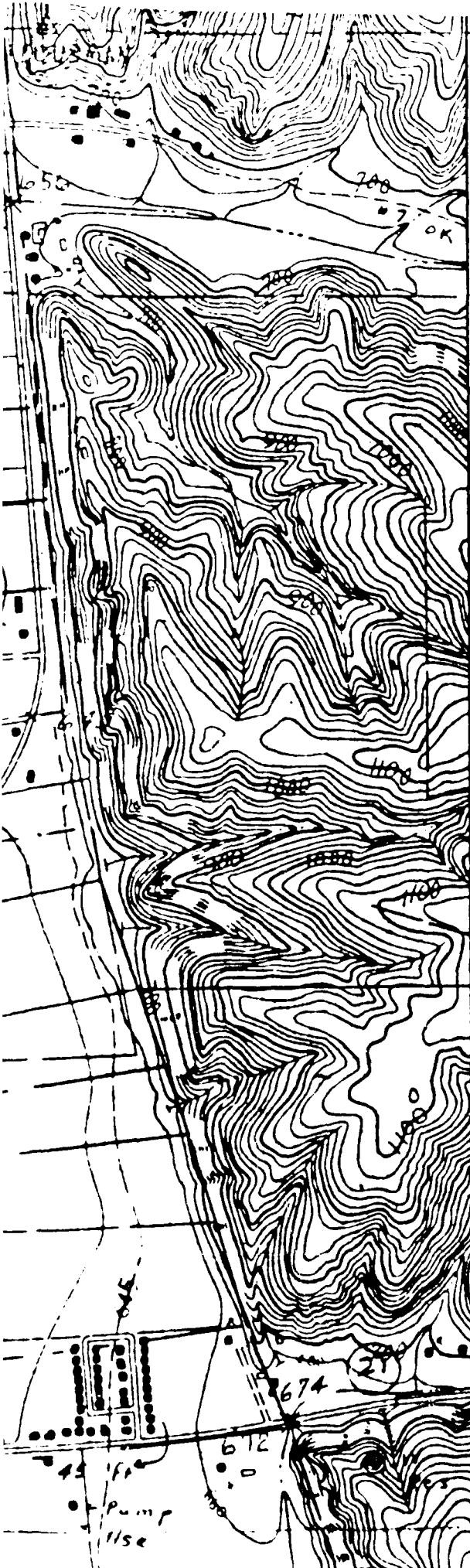
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Join line



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Seneca

Crawford



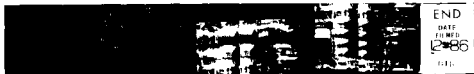
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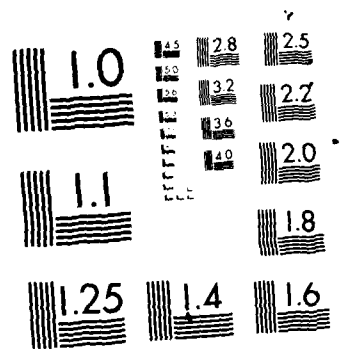
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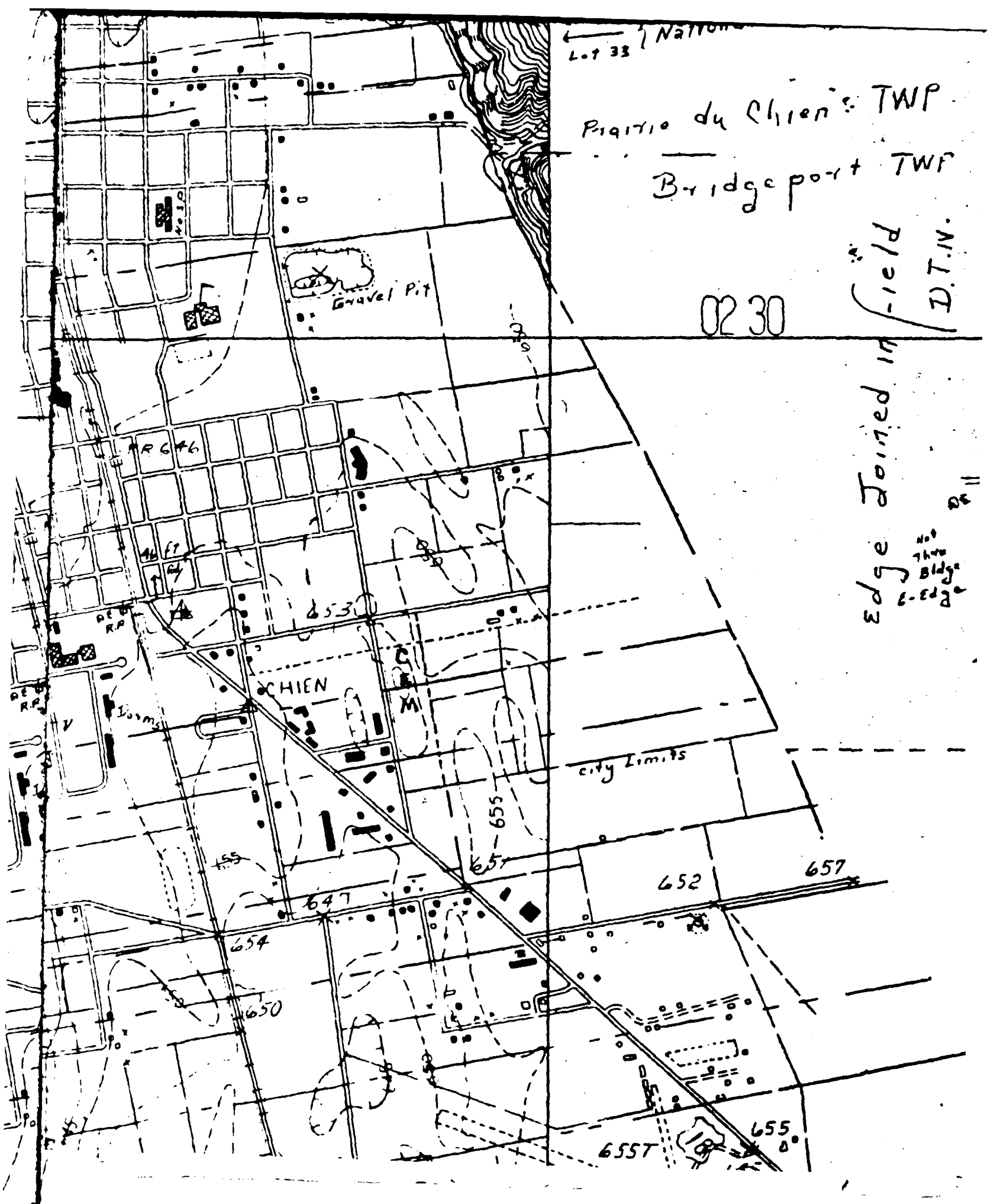
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Bridgeport TWP

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