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## History of Fort Pembina 1870-1895

William D. Thomson

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HISTORY OF FORT PEMBINA  
1870-1895

by

William D. Thomson

B. S. in History, Moorhead State College 1962

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

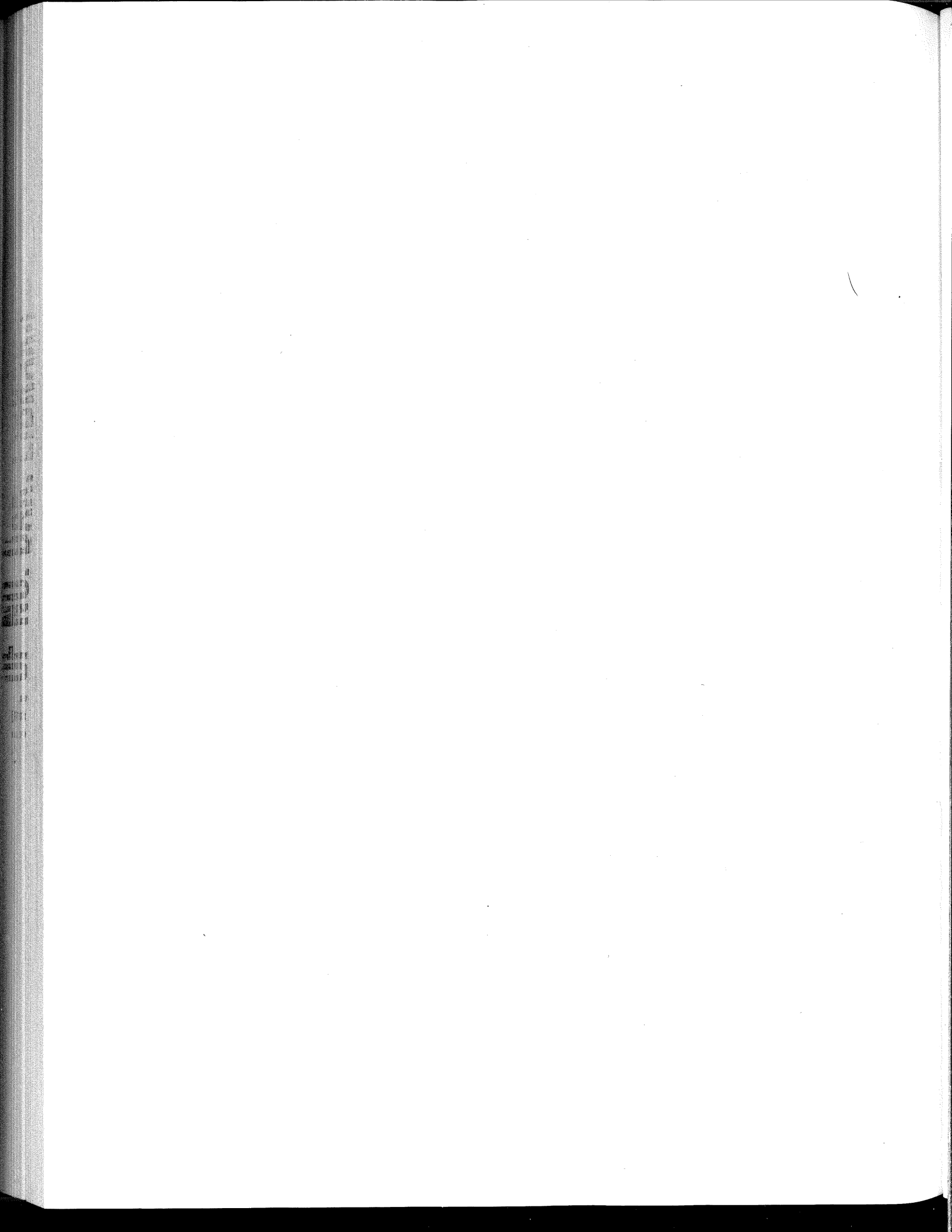
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts


Grand Forks, North Dakota

August  
1968

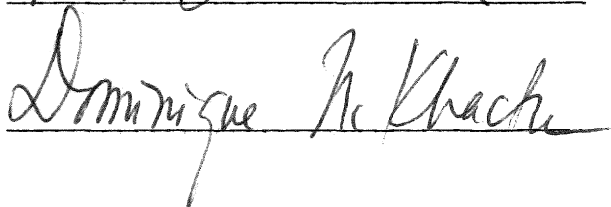


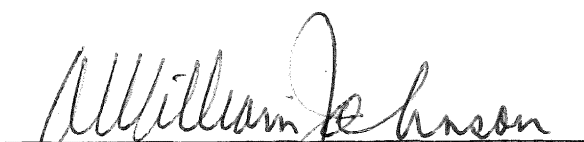
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This Thesis submitted by William D. Thomson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota is hereby approved by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done.

  
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## VITA

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## ABSTRACT

The unsettled status of the Red River Valley during the 1860's made inevitable the establishment of a military post near the 49th Parallel. The Minnesota Uprising in 1862 caused a band of Sioux Indians, responsible for the massacre, to flee to Canada to escape punishment by the military. In 1863, a hastily organized battalion established a temporary fort at Pembina to capture the renegades. After accomplishing its mission, the battalion abandoned the post in 1864.

With the end of the Civil War, people looked to the frontier for fertile lands to settle; but the Indian threat kept them out of the Red River Valley. Legislators in Minnesota and Dakota Territory requested Congress to establish a post on the Red River in the vicinity of the international boundary. In 1870, Congress granted the request, and Ft. Pembina was erected during the summers of 1870-1871.

There was little military action against hostiles at Ft. Pembina. Only two incidents were recorded in the post's history--the Fenian raid into Manitoba in 1871 and the investigation of the St. Joseph massacre three years later.

The last twenty years of the post's existence were spent in normal fort duties, patrolling along the boundary, and socializing with the people of Pembina. In 1895 the post was abandoned after a fire destroyed most of the buildings.

The post brought stability to the area, for within four years after its erection, people had settled all the land along the Red River. It is noteworthy that a small garrison played a large part in the settlement of this fertile region.

## INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of the American military posts on the frontier was to provide a secure area in which settlements could be made. Those areas which lacked this security could not attract large numbers.

The typical American settler wanted freedom from hostile Indian raids, transportation to market his products, and communities in which he could purchase his necessities. Without these facilities, he hesitated to settle in a region where his life and possessions might be in jeopardy. He did not wish to see the fruits of his hard labor destroyed, nor the lives of his family threatened by hostile Indian attack. Consequently, he hesitated settling in the attractive land of the Red River Valley.

The lush, fertile Red River Valley begins at Lake Traverse in western Minnesota, gradually flattening into a broad plain as the river meanders north towards Hudson Bay. On the west side of the plain, an irregular tableland marks its boundary rising abruptly for several feet on the east in a range of hills called the Pembina Mountains. The eastern boundary is marked by a series of sand ridges, ancient beaches of a lake which provided the plain with its fertile soil. The river itself is the only navigable river running north in the United States making it a natural highway to those attracted to the region. Only one thing mars its continuity, a political division, the 49th Parallel, separating the United States and Canada.



In the early Nineteenth Century the region attracted the French voyageurs who engaged in trading with the Indians. The French desired the fur and the pemmican (specially prepared buffalo meat) which the Indians made. The traders considered the pemmican their staple food. It became common practice for the French to establish trading posts where the larger tributaries joined the Red River. Greater collections of fur could be made in a more leisurely manner than tramping over the countryside.

Such a trading center was built at the mouth of the "an-i-bi-min-an-i-zibi," the high-bush cranberry river, inhabited by Indians having the same name. This river became known as the Pembina River, and a flourishing settlement grew at its junction with the Red. Vast amounts of pemmican, fur, and buffalo robes were traded there for the standard trade items of cloth, arms and ammunition, and iron utensils.<sup>1</sup>

By mid-Nineteenth Century as the two settlements, St. Paul in Minnesota and Ft. Garry in Canada, developed a thriving trade between them, the settlement of Pembina served as a stopping-off place for those engaged in the oxcart commerce.<sup>2</sup>

In 1823, the United States Exploring Expedition under the command of Major Stephen H. Long of the Topographical Engineers arrived at

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<sup>1</sup>J. A. Gilfillan, "Names of the Ojibways in the Pembina Band, North Dakota," North Dakota State Historical Society Collections, Vol. II (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1908), p. 150.

<sup>2</sup>U. S., Dept. of War, Adjutant General's Office, "Post History," Medical Histories of Fort Pembina, North Dakota, 1870-1895, located in State Historical Society of North Dakota Library, Bismarck, hereinafter cited as the Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

Pembina to determine the location of the international boundary. Major Long's expedition pitched camp near Pembina, borrowed a skin lodge for the "gentlemen of the party" and christened the place "Camp Monroe" in honor of the President of the United States. The Expedition took solar and lunar observations to determine the location of the 49th Parallel and affixed an oaken post proclaiming the spot. The next year, 1824, a Major Simpson of the British Army inspected Long's line and approved it. At the request of the Hudson Bay Company a few years later, a Canadian surveyor re-examined the line and placed the oaken post a few feet further north. Later, this oaken post caused friction between the United States and the Manitoban governments.<sup>3</sup>

About four decades later, and after the Minnesota Uprising of 1862, renegade Sioux fled to Canada to escape punishment for their part in the massacre of the settlers living along the Minnesota River. These Sioux loomed as an intimidation to those settlers looking at the procreant valley with jaundiced eyes; thus they appealed to those in power for redress.

Legislators in Minnesota and Dakota Territory, who had visions of prosperous farms and thriving cities in the area, appealed to Congress to lend stability to the Red River Valley by providing military protection. Ft. Pembina was Congress's answer to that request. The following chapters attempt to trace the historical development of Ft. Pembina from its inception during the summer of 1870 to its abandonment following a fire in 1895.

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<sup>3</sup>"Post History," Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

## CHAPTER I

### THE RED RIVER VALLEY DURING THE 1860'S AND THE NEED FOR A MILITARY POST

During the decade of the "sixties" the need for military presence along the Red River close to the international boundary line between the United States and Canada became clear. During the Civil War and reconstruction era, Federal government officials paid little attention to the problems of the northern plains. Yet, incidents and individuals made known in Washington the need for the establishment of a military post.

In 1862 the massacre of the white settlers along the Minnesota River by Little Crow's Sioux took place. The pursuit and punishment of the culprits by the military from Fort Snelling forced many of the renegade Sioux, particularly the followers of Little Six and Medicine Bottle, sub-chiefs of Little Crow, to flee north across the international border to Canada. Several hundred of these renegades settled at the mouth of the Assiniboine River near Ft. Garry about sixty miles below the settlement at Pembina. Since the "culprits" were beyond the jurisdiction of the U. S. Military and had committed no offense in Canada, nothing could be done against them, even though their presence was not welcome by the Canadian authorities.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

Living just above the boundary line, the Sioux renegades represented a hovering menace to the few white settlers who lived in northern Minnesota, in Pembina, and in Eastern Dakota Territory. These settlers felt that the absence of young men, who had been taken to fill the regiments of the Union Army, might be construed by the Indians as an opportunity to make occasional raids south of the border for the sake of plunder and revenge and then return to their Canadian sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

An appeal made to officials in Washington brought about the hasty organization of a mounted battalion to be located at Pembina and to act as buffer between the settlers and the renegade Indians. The organization and command of the battalion was placed under the supervision of Major Edward A. Hatch. Known as "Hatch's Battalion," three companies and part of a fourth were recruited during August and September of 1863. Organized as part of the Minnesota Volunteers, the recruited battalion, numbering some three hundred, was made up of Minnesota residents.<sup>3</sup>

On October 6, 1863, the Hatch expedition left St. Paul via the overland route to Pembina. After a delay of several days at St. Cloud to purchase supplies, the Battalion pressed onward. After encountering a heavy snowstorm which forced them to halt at Sauk Centre on October 15, they met almost continual storms interspersed with warm periods. This made the trail impassable, and the mounted troop could travel only ten to twenty miles each day.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Although Hatch counted on autumn pastures to supplement the grain rations, forage for the horses and oxen proved insufficient. A small amount of feed seized from half-breeds along the way helped, but between Sauk Centre and Georgetown Hatch lost almost half of the horses and oxen; and the route of the expedition could be traced the following spring by the carcasses that littered its way.<sup>5</sup>

After the discouraging start, people at Georgetown tried to persuade Hatch to go into winter quarters at that point. However, he decided, after leaving part of the stores and taking the best horses, to press on. Following the Red River north the troop struggled through the snowdrifts finally reaching Pembina on November 13, 1863.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately, the troop began building a fort and rough log cabins for shelter, but the weather hampered the work. Extremely cold temperatures from twenty to forty degrees below zero with a record low of sixty below on January 1, 1864, made severe frostbite common. Despite the handicaps, the buildings were all completed by the middle of January, 1864.<sup>7</sup>

Again forage proved to be a problem. Even though the half-breeds living at Pembina had horses, they let the horses fend for themselves during the winter, believing "you cannot kill a pony."<sup>8</sup> Cavalry mounts and working teams could not survive under such conditions so the

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<sup>5</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>"Monthly Report," September, 1870, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

quartermaster went to Ft. Garry and purchased all the hay and grain that could be had. Still this was not enough, only the working teams and a few of the best cavalry mounts could be given grain, and that in small quantities.<sup>9</sup>

The troop also suffered chiefly from scurvey. Dr. Armington, army surgeon with the command, recommended the use of vegetables to combat the disease. The soldiers scoured the countryside in diligent effort to purchase two hundred or more bushels of potatoes, fifty bushels of onions, and a large number of cabbages. But, after thoroughly combing the area, the troop netted only eighteen bushels of potatoes at six dollars a bushel; seven bushels of onions at eight dollars a bushel; and not a single cabbage.<sup>10</sup> Hardly enough to meet the requirements of three hundred men!

Despite the rigors of the Dakota winter, the Battalion did accomplish its purpose. Occasionally, the renegades came across the boundary line to trade or visit with the half-breeds at Pembina and St. Joseph.<sup>11</sup> The half-breeds from whom Major Hatch expected to gain information about the renegades' movements provided little help. Either the half-breeds were sympathetic to, or afraid of, the Sioux, for the renegades, forewarned by the half-breeds, slipped back across the border into Canada when Major Hatch sent soldiers to apprehend them.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>St. Joseph was a Catholic missionary settlement numbering about two hundred inhabitants, near the present community of Walhalla, North Dakota.

<sup>11</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879.

In late December, 1863, Hatch learned from intelligence sources that a number of the renegades were camped at St. Joseph. A mounted party of twenty picked troopers went to apprehend them. Arriving in the middle of the night, the soldiers surrounded the encampment and forced the surrender of the group. None of the Indians eluded capture although several were killed attempting escape. The military detachment suffered light casualties with only a few wounded.<sup>13</sup>

This military action demoralized the Sioux. Unwelcomed by Ft. Garry officials who let it be known that if Hatch's men followed the Indians across the border, they would look the other way, the renegades called for council. They assured Hatch they would surrender if none would be punished for their part in the Minnesota Massacre of 1862.<sup>14</sup>

Major Hatch declined such conditions and requested their unconditional surrender. About two hundred surrendered immediately, and small parties kept coming into Pembina until the prisoners numbered about four hundred. Still the Sioux chiefs held back.<sup>15</sup>

Hatch urgently wanted to catch Little Six, "Shakopee," who had boasted in the Pembina settlement that he had personally killed more than fifty men, women and children during the uprising in Minnesota. In January, 1864, a group of Ft. Garry residents helped Hatch realize his wish. Led by A. G. Bannatyne and John McKenzie, they captured

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<sup>13</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

Little Six and Medicine Bottle at that settlement, brought them to Pembina, and turned them over to Major Hatch. Only one chief of noteriety, Little Leaf, with his family and about a dozen followers, escaped. Most of them died of starvation or disease the next winter.<sup>16</sup>

The following month, February, some of the soldiers went with most of the Indians to Ft. Snelling, in part because of the food problems at Pembina. The rest of the Battalion guarded the remaining prisoners for the remainder of the winter until the arrival on May 1 of the "International," the only steamboat on the Red River.<sup>17</sup>

The steamer transported the Indian chiefs, and the remainder of the troop to Ft. Abercrombie, Dakota Territory. From there, the chiefs were taken to Ft. Snelling, tried by a military commission, found guilty, and hanged at that post before a crowd of 10,000 to 15,000 people.<sup>18</sup>

Having served its purpose, Hatch's fort at Pembina was abandoned; and the buildings either rotted or were sold to the local residents. Hatch's actions did not erase the threat of Indian depredations along the border, but did eliminate the worst of the Sioux renegades for the time being.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Pembina Pioneer, August 7, 1879, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. The "International" made occasional trips on the Red River. It was the only steamer on the river until 1871.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. The Battalion remained in frontier service until its disbanding in 1866. Hatch was replaced by Major Powell.



The traditional enemies of the Sioux, the plains Ojibway, consisting of the Pembina, Red Lake, and Turtle Mountain bands, did not constitute a threat against the settlers; nor did the half-breeds, Metis, who were predominantly of Cree extraction.<sup>20</sup>

The Indians who had numbered about 5,000 around Pembina in 1849 led a changeable life from a semi-sedentary, agricultural economy at Pembina to a seasonal, nomadic, buffalo hunting economy in the vicinity of the Sheyenne River. In Pembina, they lived in rough log huts, cultivated gardens, and made forays after fur in the winter and buffalo in the summer. Thus, during the 1860's, the population at Pembina fluctuated from as many as 3,000 to as few as 300. Some of those at Pembina maintained tribal customs, while a few chose to eradicate their cultural ties completely and live as whitemen.<sup>21</sup>

In 1863 the Pembina and Red Lake Ojibway ceded about ten million acres of land in eastern North Dakota in accordance with a treaty negotiated by Alexander Ramsey and Ashley Morrill.<sup>22</sup> In exchange for all the land of the north Red River between Lake of the Woods on the East; to the Wild Rice River on the South; to the headwaters of the Sheyenne River; to "the lake of the stumps,"<sup>23</sup> following almost straight

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<sup>20</sup>D. P. Delorme, "History of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians," North Dakota History, XXII (January-October, 1955), p. 125.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-128.

<sup>22</sup>Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Senate Doc., 57th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), pp. 853-855. Governor Ramsey had negotiated a prior treaty in 1851, but it had never been put into effect.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid. Present day Stump Lake near Tolna, North Dakota.

north to the international boundary and east to the Lake of the Woods, the bands received \$20,000.00 for twenty years plus \$100,000.00 to be used to pay debts for past depredations. Another provision stated that all the half-breeds related to the bands could homestead 160 acres within the ceded tract. However, all the full-bloods were to move to the White Earth Indian Reservation in Minnesota.<sup>24</sup>

Mus-co-muh-gwh, Chief Red Bear, who signed the treaty for the Pembinas, received 640 acres on which to build a house on the north side of the Pembina River. The same inducement to sign was given to Chief Moose Dung of the Red Lake Band on the Red Lake River.<sup>25</sup> The Turtle Mountain Band, originally part of the Pembina group, never signed the treaty and considered themselves as living outside the ceded lands.<sup>26</sup>

The Indians were disinclined to leave the ceded land for no one else was occupying it. R. B. Marcy, Inspector General of the Department of Dakota, wrote to Division Headquarters after sizing up the situation at Pembina: "Although the Chippewa have sold their lands upon the Pembina River below St. Joseph, yet they continue to claim it, and will not allow the whites to settle upon it."<sup>27</sup> He also stated that about one

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<sup>24</sup>Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, pp. 853-855. The treaty was amended in 1864, and they received a lesser amount of annual payment.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Raymond F. Schulenberg, Indians of North Dakota (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1956), p. 27.

<sup>27</sup>U. S., Department of War, Letter from R. B. Marcy, Inspector General, D. T. to Division Headquarters, August 5, 1868. Ft. Pembina Papers, 1868-1895, located in the State Historical Society of North Dakota Library, Bismarck, North Dakota, hereinafter cited as the Ft. Pembina Papers.

FIGURE 1  
Chief Red Bear of the Pembina Band  
Courtesy of the State  
Historical Society  
of  
North Dakota



thousand destitute half-breeds around Pembina made a living only by fishing and begging.<sup>28</sup> Later, in 1873, the Legislative Assembly of Dakota Territory requested that Congress remove those members of the Pembina Band still occupying the lands on the Dakota side of the Red River because they constituted "a great nuisance" to the white settlements and were preventing the growth of new settlements.<sup>29</sup>

In 1868, the Sioux threatened again along the border. About fifty lodges, members of Little Crow and Little Six's bands, wintered on the Assiniboine and summered in the vicinity of the Turtle Mountains, making sporadic raids on American territory. John G. Robinson of Pembina wrote:

There is a strong probability of an early Indian outbreak in that country [referring to Manitoba], and should such be the case, it will surely extend here as the Sioux are only waiting the action of the English tribes to begin their diabolical works.

Open threats were made by these Sioux last winter in my hearing against the Americans living in the settlement and upon the border and they were kept from violence at one time by bribes of goods and supplies from Riels [sic] party. . . . Chippewas from Red Lake have attempted to fight the Sioux on the border no less than three times in the last five years and the summer of sixty eight witnessed quite an engagement within half a mile of Fort Garry.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Letter from R. B. Marcy, Inspector General, D. T. to Division Headquarters, August 5, 1868, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>29</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Memorial of the Legislative Assembly of Dakota Territory, 42nd Cong., 3rd Sess., 1873, H. Mis. Doc. 63, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Letter from John G. Robinson to General William T. Sherman (undated), Ft. Pembina Papers.

Robinson also expected a large emigration from the Red River Settlement to Pembina. He felt that Louis Riel planned on resisting Canadian troops, citing as evidence the recruiting of the half-breeds at Pembina by the Riel agents. He was certain that all those of the Red River Settlements opposed to Riel would emigrate to Pembina to escape the civil strife which was "sure to happen in Manitoba."<sup>31</sup> The possession of rifles by half of the Sioux alarmed custom officials at Pembina. They became more concerned as it became evident that unscrupulous British traders were selling extensive amounts of arms and ammunition to other Sioux bands fifty to seventy-five miles west of Pembina near Devil's Lake.<sup>32</sup>

With only six men at Pembina, the Customs Bureau did not have enough men to guard the border properly. "We are utterly destitute," wrote Special Agent Enos Stutsman, "of protection or aid from the Military or the Courts."<sup>33</sup>

He stated his intentions of obtaining a separate judicial district for the Red River so that revenue laws would be enforced; and the rum traffic, an auxiliary to smuggling, could be brought to a halt. Citing the small amount of duties collected at Pembina from the time

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<sup>31</sup>Letter from John G. Robinson to General William T. Sherman (undated), Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>32</sup>U. S., Bureau of Customs, Letter from Enos Stutsman to A. Sargeant, Commission of Customs, October 23, 1968, Reports and Correspondence from Special Agent Enos Stutsman, 1866-1869, as found in the Minnesota State Historical Library in St. Paul, Minnesota.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., October 7, 1868.

of establishment of the port of entry in 1861 until 1868, he felt the establishment of a fort and the use of the military to aid collections would bring the smuggling to an end.<sup>34</sup>

With Louis Riel stirring up the half-breeds in Canada over the question of representation in government and with the possibility of the Sioux going on the warpath, constant excitement gripped the northern settlers. As a result the Minnesota Legislature petitioned Congress for a fort.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, the final decision lay with the military.

Major General Winfield S. Hancock, commander of the Department, recommended its establishment in December, 1869. A post, he felt, constructed near Pembina would exert its greatest force for protective purposes.<sup>36</sup> Citing the Sioux as the primary reason for the post, the general wrote, "on two different occasions they [to the number of 200] have started on the warpath against our settlers but [because of] the efforts of Right Reverend Bishop Tachi of Canada, they have been forced to abandon their designs with great reluctance."<sup>37</sup> Of secondary importance, he thought that two railroads, the Northern Pacific and the

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<sup>34</sup>U. S., Bureau of Customs, Letter from Enos Stutsman to A. Sargeant, Commission of Customs, October 27, 1868, Reports and Correspondence from Special Agent Enos Stutsman, 1866-1869.

<sup>35</sup>Robert W. Frazer, Forts of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 112.

<sup>36</sup>U. S., House, Report of Major General Hancock, Department of Dakota, in Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. II, pt. 2, no. 1, 1870-1871, h. Ex. Doc., pp. 27-28.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

St. Paul & Pacific would quickly lay their tracks northward hastening the settlement of the rich, fertile region.<sup>38</sup>

Sherman's recommendation was submitted to Congress. Congress responded by granting authority to build the post and appropriating \$50,000.00 for its construction.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> U. S., House, Report of Major General Hancock, Department of Dakota, in Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 41st Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. II, pt. 2, no. 1, 1870-1871, H. Ex. Doc., pp. 27-28.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



## CHAPTER II

### BUILDING THE FORT AND ESTABLISHING LAW AND ORDER 1870-1875

After the Congressional appropriation, the Department of War issued General Order Number 43, on March 25, 1870, directing the Department of Dakota to erect a post in the vicinity of the Red River near the international boundary.<sup>1</sup> A board of officers consisting of Colonel George Sykes, Commander of the Twentieth Infantry, and Captain David P. Heap, Surveyor of the Corps of Engineers, departed from Ft. Snelling to select the site of the new post. In early May, 1870, Sykes and Heap arrived at Pembina.<sup>2</sup>

Heap took solar observations to determine the exact location of the 49th Parallel. He discovered that the international boundary line should have been 4,763 feet north of the line set by Long in 1823. After reporting his findings to headquarters, he ran the new boundary line, placing wooden pegs every mile, thirty-five miles west to the foot of the Pembina Mountains.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. Congress, Major General Hancock's Report, 1870-1871, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Post History, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>3</sup>Letter to Adjutant General, Department of Dakota, from David P. Heap, June 9, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

The new line passed north of the Hudson Bay post which lay a quarter of a mile above the line located by Long. Immediately the U. S. Collector of Customs at Pembina, John C. Stoever, descended on the post, took inventory of its stock for assessment of duties, and wrote to the Secretary of Treasury for instructions.<sup>4</sup>

In Washington, the findings of Heap and the assessment of the Hudson Bay post by Stoever was brought to the attention of Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister. At Thornton's request, President Grant decided to maintain the status quo, Long's line, until a new survey of the boundary could be made.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, Colonel Sykes decided that the land near the Red River was too low for an effective, healthy post. Basing his decision upon tales of great floods, particularly that of 1825 when the water rose nine feet in twenty-four hours, Sykes decided to locate the fort on the nearest high ground up the Pembina River. Proceeding up the river, Sykes selected a site on the north bank near St. Joseph some twenty-nine miles from the Red River and the town of Pembina. Satisfied with the terrain, he began laying out the post grounds.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately, alerted customs officials and interested citizens in Pembina protested Sykes selection. Customs Inspector General, R. B. Marcy, wrote to Division Headquarters in Yankton:

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<sup>4</sup>John E. Parsons, West on the 49th Parallel (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1963), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Sherman from Robinson, Ft. Pembina Papers.

The military post . . . should be as near Pembina as possible.

A greater part of the travel and merchandize passing between St. Paul and Winnipeg cross the Pembina River at this point and should international complications result from the existing and prospective difficulties among the people of the Red River settlements or our own border Citizens in that section, a Post in the vicinity of Pembina would be the most advantageous base of operations for troops.<sup>7</sup>

Robinson appealed to General Sherman. He noted that the Pembina River was not navigable, nor was there a sufficient amount of wood available at the Sykes site.<sup>8</sup> Concurring with Robinson, General Sherman wrote, "The Post should be as near Pembina as possible, as its chief and only use is in sustaining the Civil Authorities at that remote point."<sup>9</sup>

The St. Paul representative of Hill, Griggs, and Company, wood and coal contractors with business interests in Pembina, wrote to Senator Alexander Ramsey: ". . . every individual, we believe without an exception in that country have done all in their power to have the location changed nearer Pembina."<sup>10</sup>

Meantime, in compliance with special orders, Company "I" of the Twentieth Infantry under the command of Captain Loyd Wheaton left Ft. Abercrombie in two flatboats bound for Pembina on the Red River.

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<sup>7</sup>Letter to Inspector General, Washington, D.C., from R. B. Marcy, June 17, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>8</sup>Sherman from Robinson, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>9</sup>Letter to Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D.C., from General William T. Sherman, Division of the Missouri, June 10, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>10</sup>Letter to Senator Alexander Ramsey, St. Paul, from Hill, Griggs and Co., St. Paul, June 16, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

FIGURE 2

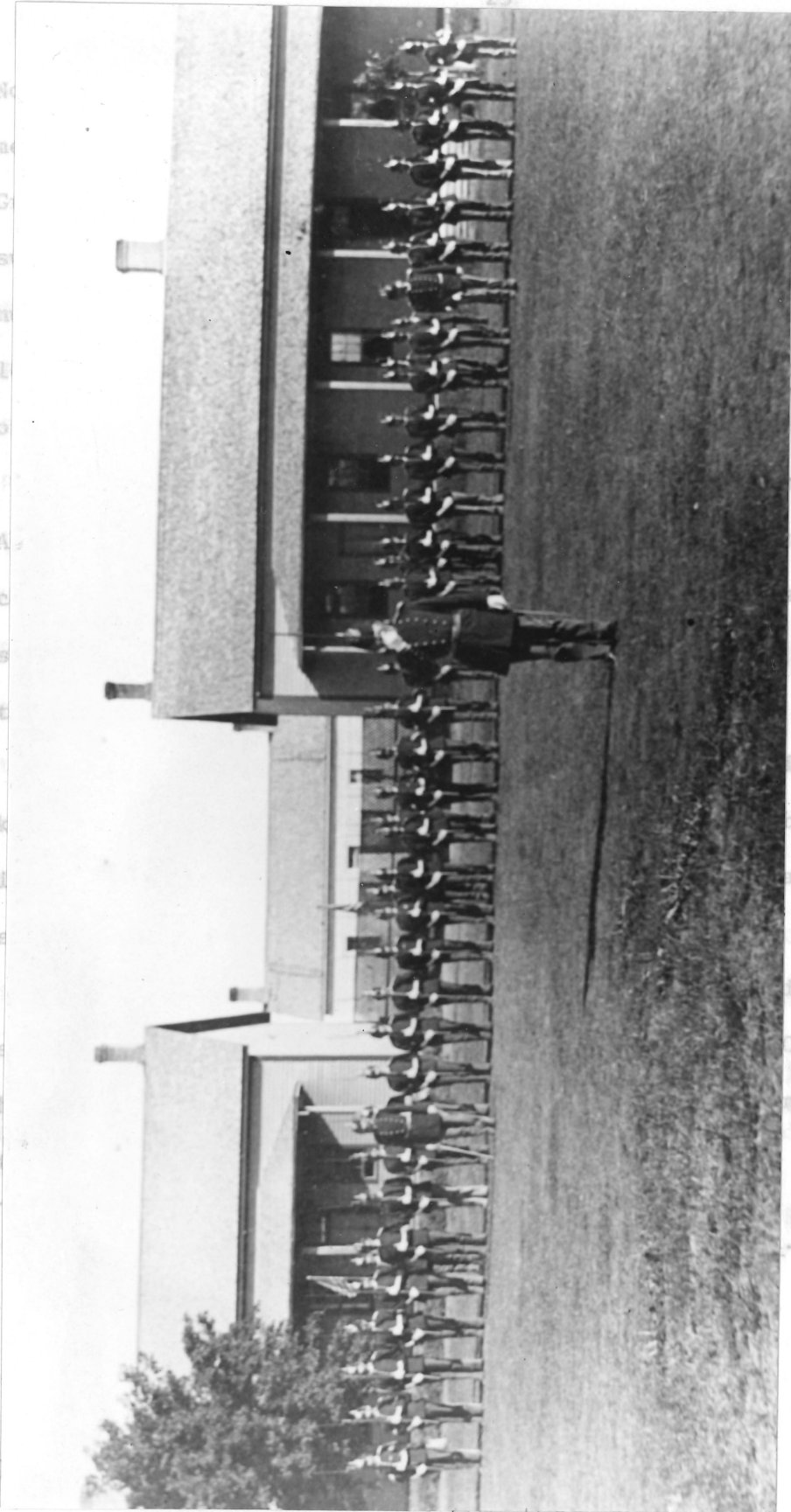
Company "I", 20th Infantry

Courtesy of

The Public Archives

of

Canada



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No vestiges of civilization dotted their journey other than the settlement of Georgetown and a solitary cabin used as a mail station at the Grand Forks. Floating with the current and making extensive use of sweeps, the four officers and forty-four enlisted men made the six hundred mile river trip in nine days. Arriving at Pembina, May 19, 1870, they encamped on the south bank of the Pembina near the junction of the Red River.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, Company "K" of the same regiment with Captain Abram A. Harbach commanding departed from Ft. Totten. The sixty-man company made the overland journey in six days, arriving at the site selected by Sykes on May 20. There they camped awaiting approval of the post location.<sup>12</sup>

Yielding to public pressure, Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, disapproved the proposed location. A new officer board, consisting of Wheaton, Harbach, and Captain Silas T. Toxell, unassigned, were selected to choose a new location.<sup>13</sup>

All during the month of June, the companies sat in their respective camps awaiting the decision of the new board. On July 8, the board convened, and Wheaton reported the findings. The new site was to be:

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<sup>11</sup>Post History, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

All of section 16, 17 and 18. Township one hundred and sixty three (63), North Range Number 51, West of the 5th Principal Meridian. Site selected for post is on section 16 immediately on the Red River of the North one and one fourth miles above (South) of the mouth of the Pembina River.<sup>14</sup>

The post would be situated about two hundred yards from the Red River at low water. The location was chosen because it was the highest point near the Red River, having not flooded since 1851.<sup>15</sup> Section seventeen was chosen because it could provide hay and pasturage, and section eighteen because it had the best stand of timber within five miles of the mouth of the Pembina. All of the reservation was level ground except the southwest corner which was crossed by the winding Pembina River. Thus the military reservation extended three miles east and west and one mile north and south.<sup>16</sup> In August of that year, the range was increased by that part of section fifteen which bordered on the Red River to provide a landing. This added about forty acres to the reserve.<sup>17</sup>

The post plan called for an arrangement in the form of a rectangle laying east and west with all the buildings facing a large

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<sup>14</sup>U. S., Department of War, Entry dated July, 1870, Post Returns from Fort Pembina, North Dakota, 1870-1895 (Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Service), hereinafter cited as Post Returns.

<sup>15</sup>Proceedings of a board of officers following Special Orders No. 101, July 8, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

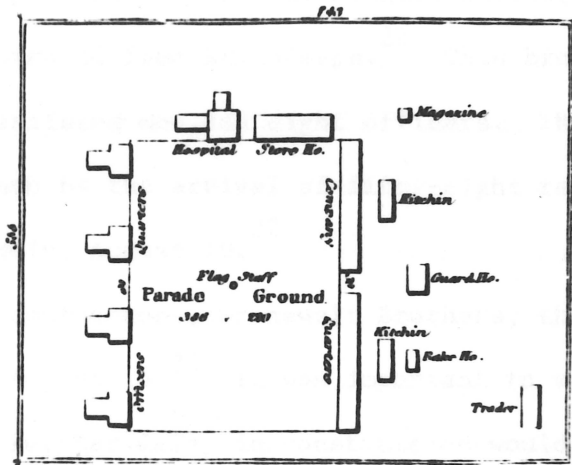
<sup>17</sup>Entry dated August, 1870, Post Returns.

FIGURE 3  
Plan of Fort Pembina  
Courtesy of  
The State Historical Society  
of  
North Dakota



PLAN  
of  
**FORT PEMBINA**  
D.T.

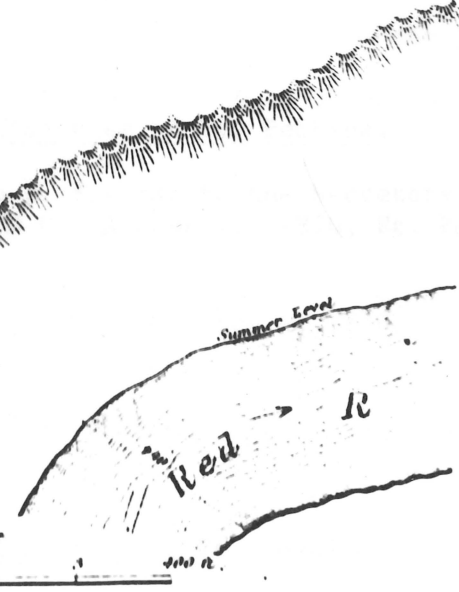
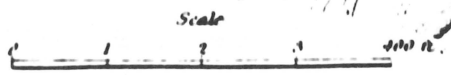
Blacksmith Shop



Landress Ho. Butcher Shop  
Landress 200

Root Ho.

Garden & Ave



parade area measuring 220 x 386 feet, in the center. All of the buildings were to be surrounded by a palisade of logs.<sup>18</sup>

General Sherman approved the location of the post, but he did not like the name. He wrote to the Secretary of War that he preferred a name which distinguished its location; thus he recommended the name "Fort Pembina."<sup>19</sup> The Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, and President Grant approved his recommendation on October 4, 1870.<sup>20</sup>

Company "I" moved camp to the site of Ft. Pembina on July 9. Five days later, Company "K" arrived from St. Joseph.<sup>21</sup> This brought the garrison strength to 108 enlisted men and eight officers. The command was further strengthened by the arrival of fifty-eight recruits from the depot at Ft. Abercrombie, August 10.<sup>22</sup>

Aided by the civilian contractors, Gronewalt Brothers, the erection of the post began on August 16.<sup>23</sup> It was important to work as quickly as possible, for a further delay in construction would leave the men with no winter housing.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>19</sup>Letter from General William T. Sherman to the Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, Washington, D.C., August 10, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>20</sup>Memorandum by the Secretary of War, October 4, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>21</sup>Entry dated July 14, 1870, Post Returns.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., August 10, 1870.

<sup>23</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>24</sup>Letter to the Adjutant General, Department of Dakota from Loyd Wheaton, Ft. Pembina, July 8, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

Two double sets of officer quarters, one company barracks, one guardhouse, one bakery, two company kitchens and one storehouse were erected before the end of the year. The first constructed building, the company barracks, was located on the north side of the parade. The wooden building had a balloon frame measuring 178 x 25 x 14 feet, 9 inches. The foundation was constructed of oak planks placed on oaken posts two and one-half to three feet above the ground according to irregularities of the surface. The frame was covered with pine boards, insulated with felt, and the roof was shingled. Along the south side, a piazza, eight feet wide, extended the full length of the building. Inside, the barracks were divided into four squad rooms with two orderly rooms in the center. Above the orderly rooms was an attic used as the company storeroom and as an access to the roof by means of a trapdoor. Each of the squad rooms had plastered walls and ceiling. Heat was provided by an open fireplace in each squad room, and provisions were made for additional warmth by placing a chimney flue in each room. Most often, a thirty-six inch drum stove was used to heat each squad room sufficiently. Each room had good lighting with six windows, three on each side. A cold air box located in the floor provided adequate ventilation. The rest of the buildings were constructed like the barracks.<sup>25</sup>

The officers quarters, located on the south side of the parade, were double frame affairs one and one-half stories high. Downstairs they had a parlor, sitting room, dining room, and kitchen. The upstairs

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<sup>25</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina. See Figure 3.

contained two large bedrooms and one small one. The parlor had a fireplace, while the rest of the rooms were heated with flues. A water closet with an outside entrance was attached to the kitchen. A veranda graced the front of the building.<sup>26</sup>

The two storied storehouse, located at the west end of the parade, measured 102 x 30 x 15 feet. It contained two rooms in the south end for use by the quartermaster and the commissary. The kitchens, the bakery and the guardhouse were located north of the company barracks. Each kitchen had two pantries and a mess hall with enough seating for an entire company. The bakery to the left of the kitchens contained two ovens, a kitchen and a pantry. Its main purpose was supplying bread for the company mess.<sup>27</sup>

The guardhouse was the farthest north directly in line with the center of the parade. It had a hall down the center with two prison rooms on the west end and a guardroom on the east end. The prison rooms were heated by flues, while the guardroom had an open fireplace. The post surgeon wrote in his report: "The guard house is well adapted for its purposes, but its capacity is too small."<sup>28</sup>

Two hundred and fifty yards southeast of the garrison a stable of the same type of construction, measuring 140 x 30 feet, was built with stalls for fifty-six animals. East of it a temporary log stable

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<sup>26</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

for mules and oxen was erected. Most of the time, the divided log stable was used to store grain in one part and harness and wagon gear in the other.<sup>29</sup>

In September, Major General Winfield Scott Hancock, Commandant of the Department of the Dakota, visited and inspected the post. Work continued on the buildings and construction of a hospital began.<sup>30</sup>

By November 1, 1870, the company barracks were completed. The officers' quarters were completed by early December and all the men evacuated their tents December 11, 1870, and moved into their new quarters.<sup>41</sup>

The following summer workmen completed the remainder of the fort buildings. They included another set of barracks, two more double sets of officers' quarters, a hospital, and a magazine completing the complement of buildings belonging to the post with the exception of the laundress's quarters.<sup>32</sup>

The hospital, located at the southwest corner of the parade, had two parts. One part which was two stories, served as the administrative section. It had a dispensary, dead room, and an attached kitchen ell. The other section, the ward, was only one story. Located at the south end of the ward were one large room and a commode.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

The magazine was the only building on the post made of brick. It was set back from the rest of the buildings off the northwest corner of the parade. Its roof was domed and shingled. The doors were metal sheathed in wood. The completion of the magazine ended construction at the post.<sup>34</sup> All of the building went well except the construction of the second company barracks. When they were almost completed, a tornado passed over the post and destroyed them in June, 1871. After they had been rebuilt, another high wind caused considerable damage demanding extensive repairs.<sup>35</sup>

The post surgeon, Ezra Woodruff, felt that the post's only defect was the lack of washrooms or bathrooms. The sinks [latrines] were located to the rear of the barracks. They were covered with a wooden house, well-policed and disinfected with iron sulfate. Water for washing was hauled from the Red River. Oftentimes the men had to wash outside in the middle of winter.<sup>36</sup>

A headquarters building was never built. Wheaton probably used either his personal quarters or one of the offices in the storeroom for the post headquarters.

Wheaton had an outstanding military career. He entered the military as a sergeant in the Eighth Illinois Infantry in 1861, and rose to the rank of captain. Brevetted lieutenant colonel for his

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<sup>34</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>35</sup>Entries dated June 8 and August 25, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>36</sup>Post Description, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

heroics in the assault on Ft. Blakely, Alabama, in 1865; he was the first man to enter the enemy breastworks after the walls had been breached. In 1894 he received the medal of honor for the feat.<sup>37</sup>

Practically all the officers were Civil War veterans, and most had distinguished careers. The companies were composed of enlisted men, half of whom were of foreign birth. Of the foreign-born, the majority were from Ireland and Germany with a few from Russia, Denmark, Norway, Britain and Canada.<sup>38</sup>

In early November, fifty enlisted men and three officers comprising the First Company of the Ontario Battalion of Rifles camped a quarter of a mile above the boundary line set by Long. Even though the company was south of Heap's line, Wheaton took no action other than reporting it to headquarters at Ft. Snelling.<sup>39</sup> Apparently nothing came of the violation, for Wheaton received no instructions. Also, Heap's line had not been recognized.

The uneventful winter of 1870 brought the first post casualty, Charles I. Rasch, hospital steward, who died March 15, 1871, of pneumonia.<sup>40</sup> The rest of the men attended to duty with occasional visits

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<sup>37</sup>Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903, Vol. II (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 1023.

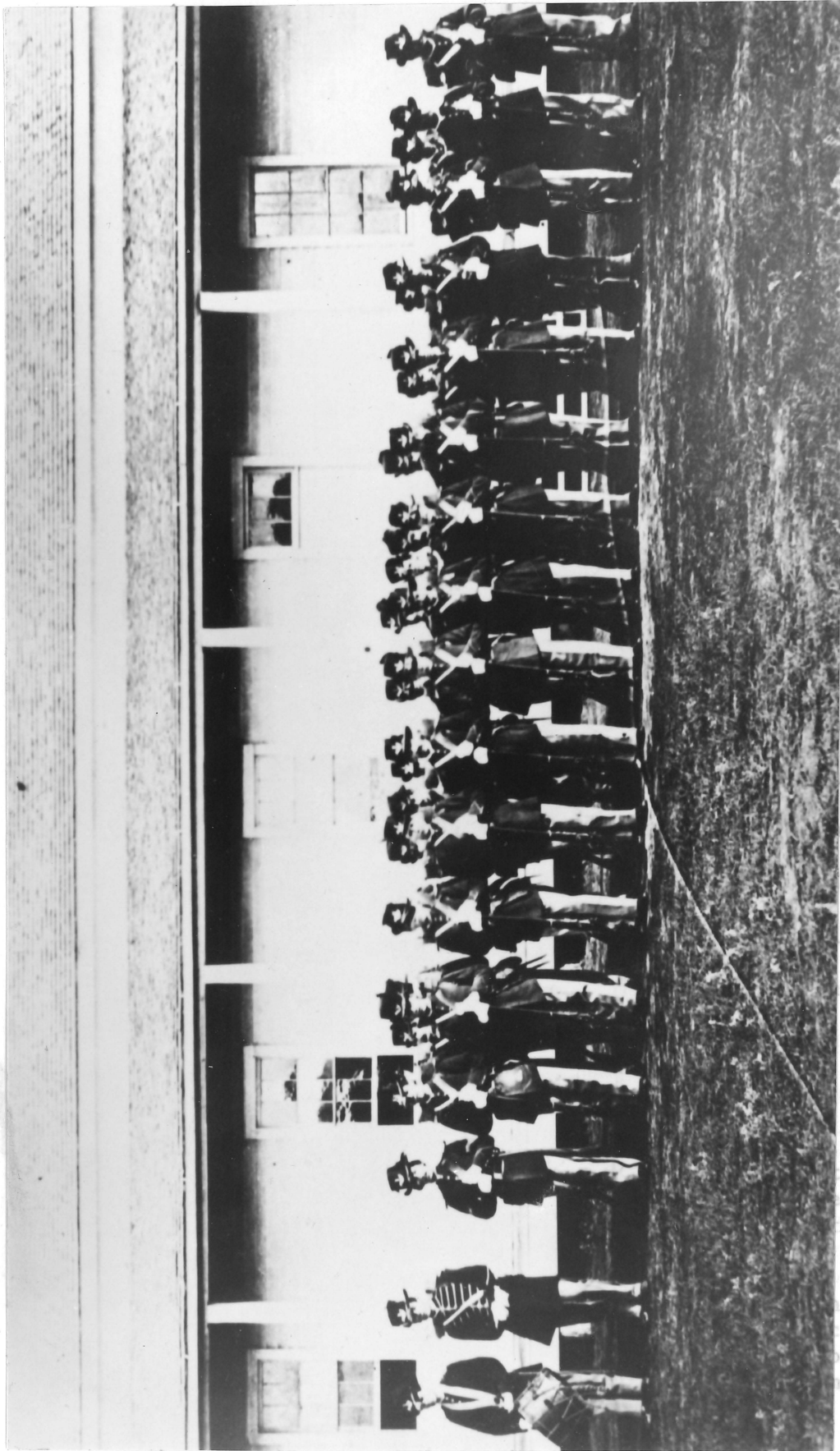
<sup>38</sup>U. S., Bureau of Census, Census of Pembina in 1870, located in the Dakota Room, Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

<sup>39</sup>Letter to O. D. Greene, Inspector General, Dept. of Dakota, from Loyd Wheaton, November 3, 1870, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>40</sup>Entry dated March 15, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

FIGURE 4  
Twentieth Infantry  
Courtesy of  
The Public Archives  
of  
Canada





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to the saloons at Pembina. About ten per cent of the garrison spent the winter in the guardhouse and about an equal number were in the hospital.<sup>41</sup>

After spending the summer of 1871 completing the post, the garrison entered its first and only major action during the post's history. During September, rumors circulated in the Red River settlements that an invasion of Manitoba from Pembina would be attempted by the Fenians. These Irish-Americans had conducted a series of unsuccessful raids into Canada from 1866 until 1870, culminating in the disaster at Huntingdon and Eccles' Hill, Quebec.<sup>42</sup>

The rumors reached a feverish pitch in Winnipeg, causing the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, Adam George Archibald, to issue a proclamation, on October 3, 1871, calling for the defense of Manitoba. He asked for all of the citizens of Red River Settlement to volunteer for a militia to stop the invasion. A public meeting was held at a police station in Ft. Garry, and 1,000 men enrolled in the militia.<sup>43</sup>

The rumors were strengthened by the arrival at Pembina of General John O'Neil, Colonel Donally, and more ex-Fenian leaders, plus

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<sup>41</sup>Post Returns, November to May, 1871.

<sup>42</sup>Entry dated October 3, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina. For an authoritative account of the Fenian Raids, read Capt. John A. MacDonald, Troublous Times in Canada (Toronto: W. S. Johnston and Co., 1910). The Fenians were Irish-Americans who wanted to force England into granting Ireland home-rule. They wished to gain sympathetic support for their cause from the United States.

<sup>43</sup>Gilbert McKicken, "The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba," Paper read before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, May 11, 1888, Manitoba Historical Review (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press, 1888), p. 8. Reprint of Governor Archibald's Proclamation.

a Mr. O'Donoghue, an agitator and ex-member of the Riel Provisional Government.<sup>44</sup>

These men were well-known. O'Neil had led the Fenian raid against Ft. Erie, Ontario, the previous year, but had fled in the face of British troops. O'Donoghue had carried a petition from the Metis to President Grant and had been granted a personal interview even though Grant rejected his plea. He had split with Riel at Ft. Garry in early 1870. Riel, who held the fort, had ordered the Union Jack flown over the post, instead of the Metis flag, the shamrocks and fleur-de-lis. O'Donoghue disagreed and, in a fit of anger, left Riel.<sup>45</sup>

The United States Consul in Winnipeg, James Wickes Taylor, kept Archibald informed of the Fenian movements. He also received assurance from the Lieutenant Governor that neither Manitoba or the Canadian authorities would object to a violation of the boundary line by American troops suppressing an invasion by the Fenians.<sup>46</sup>

In the interim, Wheaton, hearing that a body of Fenians were camped near St. Joseph, ordered First Lieutenant Charles O. Bradley with a detachment of mounted infantry to make a reconnaissance along the south bank of the Pembina River. That same morning, October 5, 1871, a party of about forty men broke camp near St. Joseph and marched along

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<sup>44</sup>Entry dated October 6, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>45</sup>Roy P. Johnson, "The Fenian 'Invasion' of 1871," Paper read before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Manitoba Historical Review (Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, 1952), pp. 30-39.

<sup>46</sup>McKicken, "The Abortive Raid on Manitoba," p. 10.

the north bank of the Pembina toward the Hudson Bay Post located just across the boundary line from the Pembina settlement. Under the command of General O'Neil, the party stormed the post taking possession. They arrested Mr. Watt, the one-armed factor of the post, along with his employees. Quickly, they brought in and distributed arms and ammunition which they had concealed in the neighborhood. After that, they proceeded to load the goods from the post into wagons which they obtained by impressment.<sup>47</sup>

When the armed party had approached the border, a half-breed brought the news to the Custom House. Custom House officials sent a note with the half-breed to carry to Wheaton informing him of developments. On the way to Ft. Pembina, O'Neil stopped the half-breed but released him after deciding he was harmless. The half-breed carried the note to Wheaton, arriving at the post about ten o'clock in the morning.<sup>48</sup>

Within a half hour after receiving the note, the two infantry companies hastened toward the Hudson Bay post in wagons. Arriving within a quarter of a mile of the post, Wheaton deployed his troops in a line formation. Then he sent his color bearer to O'Neil to inquire about the objectives of the raid.<sup>49</sup>

The soldier was taken to O'Neil; but before he could tell him his mission, a man ran into the room telling O'Neil that the Americans

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<sup>47</sup>Entry dated October 6, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>48</sup>St. Paul Pioneer, October 12, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

were coming. Pandemonium reigned. O'Neil rushed out leaving his sabre on the table, while O'Donoghue forgot his repeating rifle and knocked a man off the horse which he intended to ride.<sup>50</sup>

The Fenians fled in every direction before the advancing troops, leaving arms and loot behind. Within a short time, most of them were captured. Pursuit beyond the post brought the capture of O'Neil and Donally. O'Donoghue made good his escape, but he was captured by half-breeds and brought to Ft. Pembina that evening. In addition, Wheaton captured seventy-seven .57 caliber breech loading muskets, seventeen muzzle-loading rifles, eleven sabres, and 12,000 rounds of ammunition.<sup>51</sup>

Ironically, the militia from Manitoba never reached the Hudson Bay Post. They travelled through mud as far as the settlement of St. Norbert's where they camped. There they received word of Wheaton's exploits, so they returned to Winnipeg.<sup>52</sup>

All the participants of the raid were held at the fort until the next day when Wheaton signed a complaint against them. They were turned over to the civil authorities for trial by the United States Commissioner.<sup>53</sup>

A hearing was held by the commissioner, W. A. Spenser, on Saturday the seventh of October and again on the following Monday.

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<sup>50</sup> St. Paul Pioneer, October 12, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> McKicken, "The Abortive Raid on Manitoba," p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> Entry dated October 6, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

Wheaton testified for the government, while Enos Stutsman and George F. Potter were witnesses for the defense.<sup>54</sup>

The hearing resulted in the dismissal of the charges, for the commissioner ruled that the act had been committed in Canada and, therefore, the United States had no jurisdiction in the matter. The prisoners were freed, and O'Neil and Donally left Pembina on the stage for St. Paul the same evening.<sup>55</sup>

Arriving in St. Paul, they were re-arrested and brought to trial for preparing (on American soil) for the invasion of a foreign country, a violation of the United States neutrality laws.<sup>56</sup> The press had a field day with the capture, and speculated about the outcome of the trial in St. Paul. After the release of the prisoners at Pembina, Governor Archibald wrote in the Manitoban:

. . . I regret to have to inform you on the same day, the United States civil authorities at Pembina, to whom Colonel Wheaton was obliged to hand over his prisoners, discharged these marauders for reasons which I am unable to comprehend.<sup>57</sup>

The St. Paul Pioneer speculated:

The circumstances of the capture will open a nice question of international law, under which it is not impossible that O'Neil may escape another term of imprisonment.

. . . Whatever may be the judgement of the public upon Fenian raids in general as a means of freeing Ireland from British rule, no one can withhold sympathy from those who literally take their lives in their hands and engage in generous unselfish efforts in behalf of their native land.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Johnson, "The Fenian 'Invasion' of 1871," p. 37.

<sup>55</sup>St. Paul Pioneer, October 14, 1871, p. 2.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Manitoban, October 14, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup>St. Paul Pioneer, October 11, 1871, p. 1.

When the Pioneer interviewed O'Neil, he stated that if he had not been interfered with, he would have had 1,000 men under his command. He also felt that Wheaton had been a "perfect ass" in the making of the arrest.<sup>59</sup>

The trial opened in St. Paul on November 9. Testifying at the trial, Wheaton stated, "I have never seen the English flag floating over the country where the arrests were made; nor to my mind has the American flag floated there; there is some dispute about the jurisdiction of the territory."<sup>60</sup>

On the tenth of November, the charges were dismissed on the grounds that the evidence, showing a preparation for an invasion, was insufficient. O'Neil and Donally left St. Paul, thus ending the Fenian episode.<sup>61</sup>

Interestingly enough, the Fenians could have waged a long battle at the Hudson Bay Post, for it was built for defense. All of the buildings were of logs, and it was surrounded by a palisade with a bastion in each corner.<sup>62</sup> Wheaton's command might have had a difficult task capturing the post.

This ended the excitement for the summer of 1871, and the fort returned to normal duties. The companies planted the first gardens at

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<sup>59</sup>St. Paul Pioneer, October 18, 1871, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., November 9, 1871, p. 2.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., November 10, 1871, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup>Johnson, "The Fenian 'Invasion' of 1871," pp. 36-37.



the fort, and spent the summer fighting the insects, mainly grasshoppers, which ate the onions, carrots and cabbages.<sup>63</sup>

In August of 1872, Second Lieutenant Greene of the Corps of Engineers and Mr. Boro, civilian surveyor and chief astronomer, arrived by boat with the instruments of the United States Boundary Commission which was to definitely determine exactly where the 49th Parallel was located.<sup>64</sup>

It had taken Congress more than two years to appropriate funds for the survey, for the Corps of Engineers had estimated in 1870 that the survey would cost \$335,000.00 plus three years field work. Congress had been reluctant to appropriate such a large sum of money for a project of undetermined value.<sup>65</sup>

In September, the sixty-man boundary commission arrived and camped on the post reservation. Since the commission needed protection, Harbach and Company "K" were detailed for escort work. They accompanied the Commission in its work for the next two months. November 10, when the Commission halted its survey because of the approaching winter, the Company returned from escort duty.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Entry dated July 15, 1872, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>64</sup>Entry dated August 3, 1872, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>65</sup>Grand Forks Herald, February 29, 1961 (supplement).

<sup>66</sup>Entries dated September 3 and November 10, 1871, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.



FIGURE 5  
United States Boundary Commission, 1875  
Courtesy of  
The Public Archives  
of  
Canada



FIGURE 6

U. S. Army Ambulance, Company D

Courtesy of

Mrs. W. S. Forrester

Emerson, Manitoba

and

Company D, Escort Work

with the

U. S. Boundary Commission

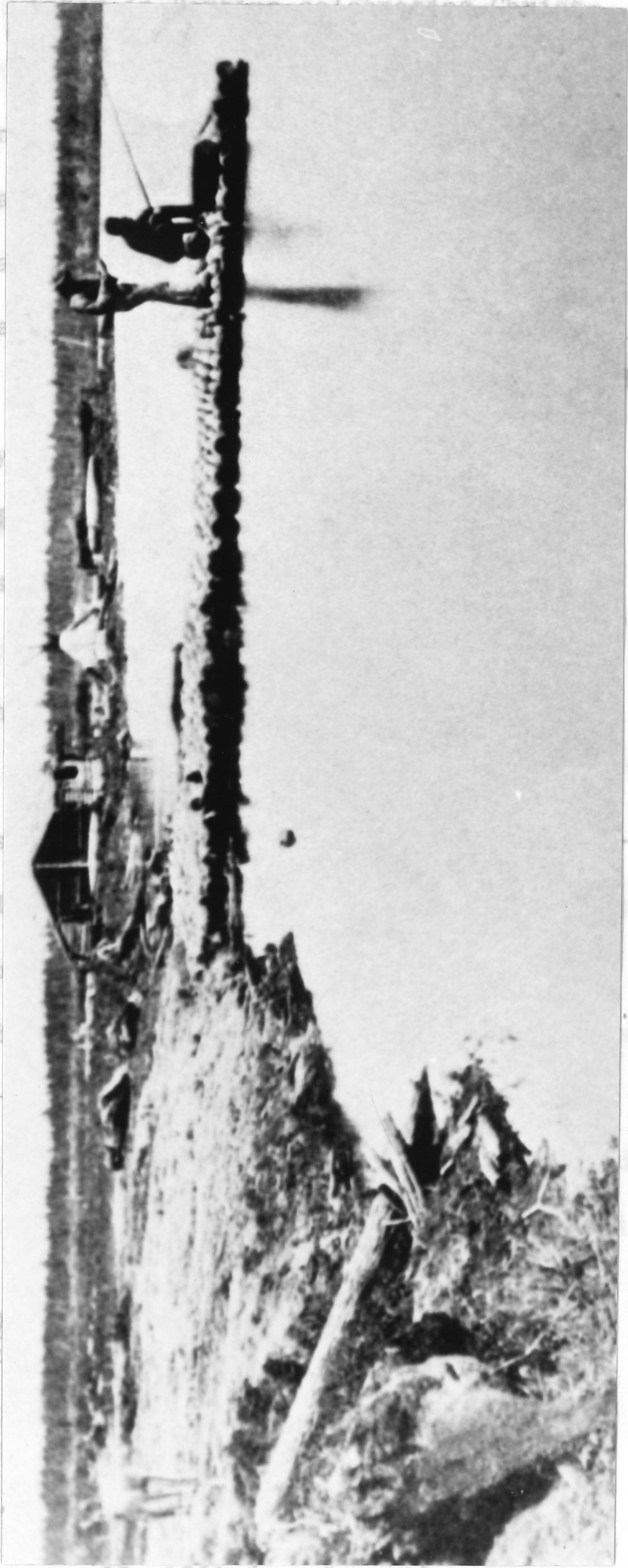
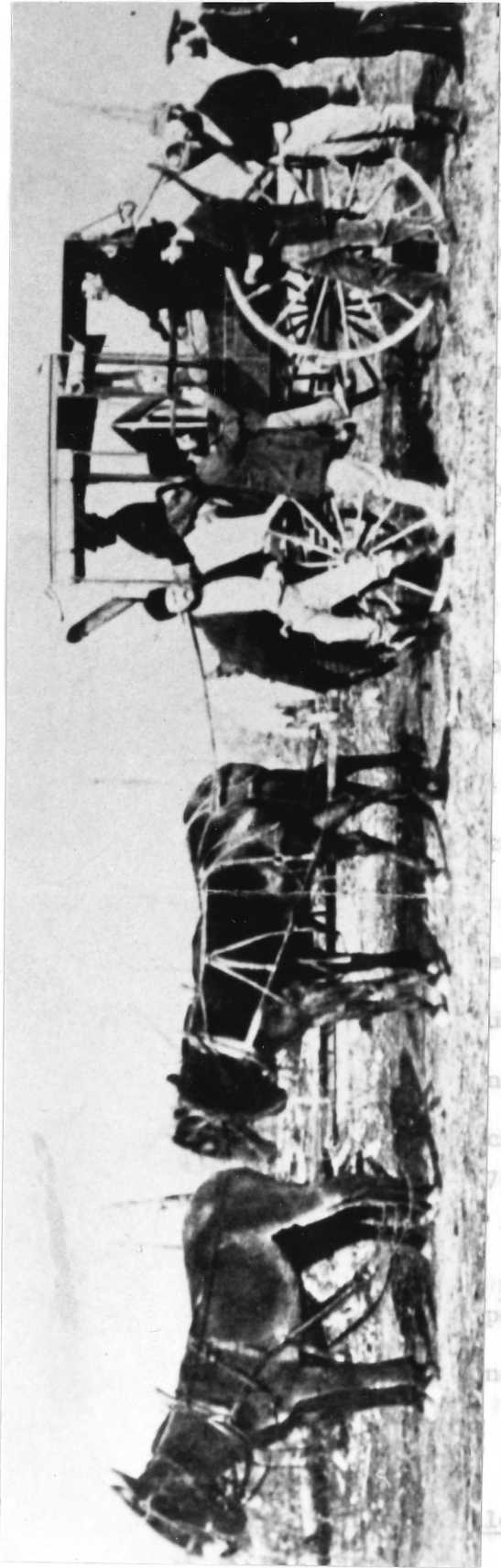
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Northwest Angle

Courtesy of

Mrs. W. S. Forrester

Emerson, Manitoba



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ld, February 29, 1961 (supplement).

The Commission spent the winter in Pembina celebrating Christmas at the fort as guests of the Wheatons.<sup>67</sup>

With the arrival of spring, 1873, the commission resumed its work on June 1; and Company "K" again went on escort duty, serving as a supporting unit to Troops "I" and "D" of the Seventh Cavalry under the command of Major Marcus A. Reno. Reno's troop did not arrive at Pembina until late June, nor did they resume escort duty until July 2.<sup>68</sup>

That summer, the boundary commission completed most of the survey east of Pembina in the vicinity of the Lake of the Woods. The line was difficult to mark because of the large number of lakes and marshes which had to be crossed. Company "K" remained on escort detail all summer until the commission had advanced beyond the jurisdiction of Ft. Pembina.<sup>69</sup>

When the boundary commission finally completed its work the following year, it found that the line drawn by Long was accurate. This meant that all the excitement caused by Heap, Stoever, and Wheaton was without foundation. The Hudson Bay Post was still two or three hundred yards north of the line, and not under the jurisdiction of the United States. Thus, Heap's inaccurate survey cost the United States a large expense in time and money.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Parsons, West on the 49th Parallel, p. 45. Mrs. Wheaton was the only woman on the post at the time.

<sup>68</sup>Entries dated June 22, and July 2, 1873, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Grand Forks Herald, February 29, 1961 (supplement).

In October, 1873, Companies "F" and "D" arrived from Ft. Wadsworth via Ft. Abercrombie for duty at Ft. Pembina, and Company "K" was transferred to Ft. Totten.<sup>71</sup> The command of the post changed in March, 1874, when Major Jonas E. Yard arrived to assume command. In June, Wheaton and forty-two men from "I" Company and eight men from "D" and "F" left the post enroute to Ft. Abraham Lincoln to join the Black Hills Expedition.<sup>72</sup>

During the four years of Wheaton's command, the country had changed rapidly. In 1870 the main means of transportation was by ox-cart, and 3,000 of the noisy vehicles with their greaseless wheels passed through Pembina during that year. The ox-carts also carried the mail, supposedly bi-weekly, but they were slow and uncertain. By taking an oxcart to Ft. Abercrombie and transferring to a stage at that point, a traveler could make the trip between Pembina and St. Paul in about two weeks. In September, 1871, the Minnesota Stage Company started tri-weekly service between St. Paul and Ft. Garry, establishing an express office at Pembina. This shortened the trip between the two points to three or four days.<sup>73</sup>

River traffic also increased as passengers and freight warranted it. For example, the post surgeon recorded in May, 1873, that the first

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<sup>71</sup>Entry dated October 28, 1873, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>72</sup>Entry dated June 8, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina. Purpose of Expedition was to explore the Black Hills.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

boat, the "Selkirk," arrived pushing two barges and carrying seventy-five passengers.<sup>74</sup> Only the "International" operated on the Red in 1870. In the spring of 1874 there were five boats hauling on the river.<sup>75</sup> The increased traffic led to a great increase in Custom receipts. In 1861, only \$478.11 were collected; in 1873 more than \$75,000.00.<sup>76</sup>

The possibility of a railroad loomed not too far in the future. The Northern Pacific went as far as Crookston and the bed had been graded within ten miles south of Pembina, although no track had been laid.<sup>77</sup>

In the fall of 1872 the telegraph had been completed to Pembina serving the fort. The line crossed the parade, and the signal officer had an observatory on the reservation. All the messages which formerly had been carried by dispatch rider were now flashed along the wires.<sup>78</sup>

The Pembina settlement had also changed. In early 1870 only eight whitemen lived in Pembina, six of whom were Bureau of Customs officials. By 1873 more than 500 whites lived in the community. In 1870 the town had only three frame houses. Three years later it had forty, eight saloons, and several stores. The United States Court held sessions twice a year--in the spring and fall. Pembina had a town marshall, and

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<sup>74</sup>Entry dated May 7, 1873, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Entry dated June 8, 1874.

<sup>76</sup>U. S., Bureau of Customs, Letter from Enos Stutsman to A. Sargeant, Commissioner of Customs, October 27, 1868, Reports and Correspondence from Special Agent Enos Stutsman, 1866-1869. The 1873 figure is based on percentage of annual increase.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Entry dated June 8, 1874. Railroad did not reach Pembina until 1878.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.



FIGURE 7

"DAKOTA"

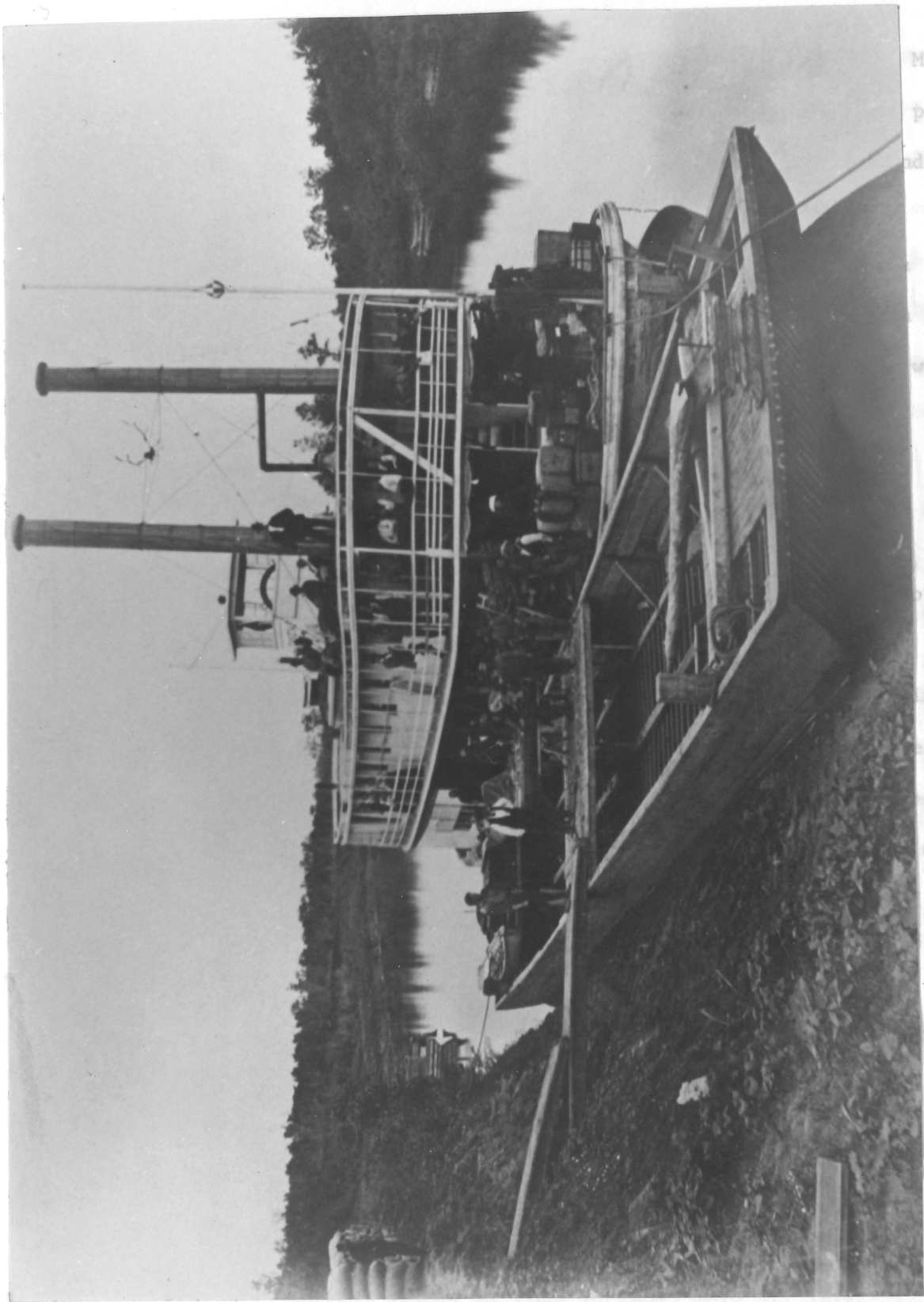
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the surrounding countryside was policed by a United States Deputy Marshal, Judson LaMoure. The Custom House had grown to an important port of entry with thousands of settlers passing through to take up land on the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers.<sup>79</sup>

In other parts of the valley, all the land between Pembina and Grand Forks along the Red had been settled. Grand Forks had grown from the one cabin owned by Nick Coffman in 1870 to a thriving village with 400 to 500 people in 1873.<sup>80</sup>

When Surgeon Woodruff completed his report observing the changes, he wrote:

I have written the above notes, made under my own observations during my four years experience at this post, in order to show the rapid progress of this bleak portion of our country even with the great disadvantages of climate it possesses.<sup>81</sup>

The summer of 1874 was very wet and the people in the Pembina area experienced poor crops and a serious infestation of grasshoppers.<sup>82</sup> On the fifth of July, a messenger from St. Joseph arrived with three ladies fleeing for safety from the Indians. One brought news that members of two families had been massacred within a mile and a half of the village during the night. Everyone feared another Sioux outbreak.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Entry dated June 8, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., Miscellaneous entries during Summer, 1874.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., Entry dated July 5, 1874.

At once, Company "F", with Captain John S. McNaught in command, left the post in wagons in pursuit of those responsible for the massacre. Arriving at St. Joseph, the troop found three men killed. One of the men had been cut in several places with a sabre. The Indians had cut and bruised two women, using gun butts on them. About a mile further down the Pembina River, the Indians had set fire to a tepee which they had thought was empty. A boy had been in the woods when the Indians had arrived, and he aroused his father who was sleeping in the tent. Both escaped out the back of the tepee into the woods.<sup>84</sup>

The St. Paul Pioneer identified the three men killed as O. W. Delorme, Baptiste Delorme, and Baptiste Lorim, all of whom were half-breeds. The Pioneer's reporter also estimated that the Sioux attackers had numbered about one hundred men.<sup>85</sup> Company "F" returned to Ft. Pembina, July 9, without discovering the perpetrators of the massacre.<sup>86</sup>

Later investigation proved that the raiders were Wisconsin Cut Head Sioux [Yanktonians] who had gone to Ft. Totten to break up the friendship between the Sisseton Sioux, who resided there, and the Pembina Band. Failing in this, they sneaked up to St. Joseph and murdered the three half-breeds. By coming from and returning to Ft. Totten, it appeared that the deed had been done by the Sissetons intent upon destroying the friendship.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Entry dated July 9, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>85</sup>St. Paul Pioneer, July 9, 1874.

<sup>86</sup>Entry dated July 9, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Monthly report of Post Surgeon, July 31, 1874.

For two weeks after the massacre, settlers and Chippewas from along the Pembina gathered at the fort seeking protection. The settlers at St. Joseph left that community in the hands of seven men and two boys who acted as a rear guard.<sup>88</sup>

When the results of the investigation were made known, the people returned to St. Joseph and their farms. As a further precaution against a repeat of the massacre, an outpost was established at St. Joseph; and ten men were detached from service at Ft. Pembina to man it.<sup>89</sup>

This episode was the finale against hostile groups by the military of the post. Although these actions might be insignificant in the annals of other posts, they were important to the development of the Red River country. The presence of the fort brought law and order, thus encouraging the growth of transportation and the rapid settlement of the area.

For the next twenty years until the abandonment of the post, the military spent its time chasing deserters, going on maneuvers, and attending to regular garrison duties.

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<sup>88</sup>Entry dated July 6, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Entry dated July 16, 1874. This outpost was maintained for the next four years.

### CHAPTER III

#### LIFE AT FT. PEMBINA 1875-1895

Building a fort, investigating Indian incidents, chasing ambitious Irishmen, and escorting boundary commissions occupied only a small niche in the life of Ft. Pembina. Most of the time was spent in doing routine post duties. Reville, a dress parade and the flag salute, fatigue duty, lunch, more fatigue duty, and finally, dinner followed by taps made up the regular fort day. Occasionally, the troop went on maneuvers or patrol which helped to break the monotony.

The main fatigue duty consisted of policing the post, hauling water from the Red River, cutting wood for the company stoves, and growing vegetables in the company gardens. Policing the post meant cleaning and disinfecting the sinks, hauling away garbage, and cleaning the stables. The post surgeon, the post commander, and the inspector general from command headquarters inspected the post frequently. The inspector general considered Ft. Pembina one of the three best policed posts of the Department of Dakota.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Report of General Hancock, Department of the Dakota, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1879, H. Ex. Doc., No. 1, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 67-68.

Wood detail consisted of cutting timber from along the banks of the Red River and hauling it back to the fort. Sometimes when the horses contacted "epizootic" [pink eye],<sup>2</sup> or when the temperatures dropped to extreme lows like the winter of 1874-75 when the mean January temperature averaged -20°, the wood detail had difficulty maintaining an adequate supply of wood.<sup>3</sup> However, after 1879 when the banks of the Red had been denuded, civilian contractors supplied the post with wood.<sup>4</sup>

The men disliked water detail. In the summer the detail hauled the water in barrels placed in wagons from the river to the fort where it was stored in cisterns. During the winter the soldiers cut ice and stored it for the next summer's use. The men lacked the proper clothing to be comfortable on the job. The buffalo hide overshoes which the men wore protected the feet, but they were not water proof; too often the men worked with wet feet.<sup>5</sup>

Writing to the post adjutant, the surgeon complained:

The sight of fatigue men doing duty on the water wagon, with their trousers stiff from frost, patches of ice scattered over their blouses and long icicles descending from their faces has led me to think that their discomfort could be alleviated by the use of imperious overalls and strongly-lined fatigue blouses.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Entry dated December 24, 1875, Medical Histories of Pembina.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Entry dated January 20, 1874.

<sup>4</sup>U. S., Army, Outline Descriptions of the Post in Military Division of the Missouri (Chicago: Headquarters of the Military Division of the Missouri, 1872), pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup>Letter to the Post Adjutant from the Post Surgeon, March 6, 1875, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

He compared the superior-clothed British soldier to his poorly equipped American counterpart in cold climates, suggesting that the Army should adopt provisions for appropriate winter clothing. Particularly important, he wrote, would be the issuing of fur caps and mittens. Forage caps were not proper headgear for the Dakota winter, and the men were forced to buy their own in Pembina. Also, he recommended the troop wear long woolen stockings over their boots as the Canadians did.<sup>7</sup>

In 1887 the post was modernized with the installation of new bathhouses and running water. A water main connected a water tank by the river to every building on the fort.<sup>8</sup> A stationary steam engine filled the filtered water tank.

The company gardens furnished fresh vegetables for the post mess. Each of the two gardens was about three acres, and the soldiers spent a good deal of time tending to them. In 1874 the companies harvested 100 bushels of potatoes, one bushel of onions, twenty heads of cabbage, three bushels of beets, and a few parsnips.<sup>9</sup>

The next year, 1875, the gardens yielded well, despite heavy summer rains and a bad infestation of grasshoppers. The troop harvested 173 bushels of potatoes, 232 bushels of onions, 3,250 heads of cabbage, and substantial amounts of other root crops. Yet, by the end of winter the only vegetable still on the menu was potatoes.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Letter to the Post Adjutant from the Post Surgeon, March 6, 1875, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., Monthly Report, December, 1887.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Monthly Report, October, 1874.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Monthly Report, September, 1875.

The depots at St. Paul and Ft. Snelling furnished the quartermasters' and the subsistence stores. The depots shipped the stores by railroad to Breckenridge, Minnesota, and wagoned them to Pembina. The quartermaster at the fort kept a twelve months' supply on hand.<sup>11</sup>

The regular bill of fare at the post proved unexciting but palatable. Boiled beef, beef stew, and fried beefsteak; boiled bacon, baked and fried pork; boiled and fried potatoes; cabbage, turnips, onions, soup and baked beans; hash, and pot pie with flour gravy, made up the main course. For dessert the troop had dried apple or peach pie. Coffee, milk or Red River water were the beverages. In season, the troop enjoyed some variety--fish in the Spring, lettuce in July, and a liberal amount of poultry during the holidays.<sup>12</sup>

The ill received special preference. The hospital kept a cow and purchased eggs, butter and cheese from outside the fort for improving its patients' diets.<sup>13</sup>

Patrol consisted of watching the boundary for smugglers and deserters and helping the civil authorities maintain order. Arresting deserters from different posts, who tried to flee to Canada was a common occurrence. Apparently, the patrols were not always anxious to catch them. In one case, a deserter hid in a culvert to escape a pursuing

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<sup>11</sup>U. S., Army, Outline Descriptions, pp. 17-18. Grain was not supplied locally until 1879.

<sup>12</sup>Monthly Report, December, 1874, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.



patrol, whereas the commander of the patrol, stopping on the road overhead, told the deserter to stay hidden or they would have to make an arrest.<sup>14</sup>

The rate of desertions from Ft. Pembina was quite high. Usually, however, after spending some time in Canada, the deserters turned themselves in at the fort. Penalties for such desertions consisted of a dishonorable discharge, forfeit of pay, and a year's sentence at hard labor.<sup>15</sup>

In assisting the civil authorities, the post commander helped the peace officer at Pembina subdue unruly citizens and apprehend criminals. When two horse thieves stole horses in Pembina, a posse and members of the command pursued them. Just before the thieves crossed the international boundary fifteen miles east of Pembina, the posse caught them and hanged them as a lesson for others.<sup>16</sup> From time to time, part of the command left the post on detached service to other posts-- Ft. Totten, Ft. Abraham Lincoln, the Lower Brule Agency, and the Lower Cheyenne Agency.<sup>17</sup> Maneuvers took place infrequently, but became more common in the latter life of the fort. The command usually went into the surrounding countryside anywhere from three to twenty miles and

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<sup>14</sup>David W. Thomson (father of the author), private interview at Orleans, Minnesota, May 28, 1968, as told to him by an ex-soldier of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>15</sup>Miscellaneous Entries, 1870-1895, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina, generally about eight per cent.

<sup>16</sup>David W. Thomson, May 28, 1968, as told to him by author's grandfather.

<sup>17</sup>Miscellaneous Entries, Post Returns, 1874-1890.

bivouacked. In one instance the troops marched to the author's grandfather's farm twenty miles east of Pembina, camped overnight, and marched back to the fort the next day.<sup>18</sup> Besides practicing maneuvers, the men received practical field training in pitching and striking tents, posting and relieving sentinels, digging sinks, litter drill, cooking in the field, and policing the camp.<sup>19</sup>

In the early years, there was little social activity at the fort other than the observance of the holidays during which the command took the day off except for essential duties. As the post and the settlement of Pembina prospered, the social life became more animated.

The enlisted men made frequent trips to the saloons of Pembina, and excessive drinking was common. During the cold winters too many men died of what the surgeon called "typhoid pneumonia"--drinking and exposure.<sup>20</sup>

In December, 1874, a soldier, one Michael Carland, disappeared while inebriated. His remains were found the next March along the Joe River, ten miles east of the post. As a result of his disappearance, the post commander made drunkenness an "uncommon offense" during the cold winter months.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>David W. Thomson, May 28, 1968, as told to him by the author's grandfather.

<sup>19</sup>Monthly Report, October, 1894, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Miscellaneous Entries, 1870-1895.

<sup>21</sup>Entries dated December 15, 1874, and March 20, 1875, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

Although excessive drinking was common, a temperance lodge flourished at the post. To combat the lodge, some of the more ingenious soldiers formed a drinking club called the "Lime Kiln No. 2" which held discussions over a bottle of "old rye." However, the club lasted only a short time before it went bankrupt.<sup>22</sup>

In January, 1877, the social season started with a whirl when the officers gave a banquet for the citizens of Pembina commemorating the Battle of New Orleans. They followed this with a "mardi gras" in February for "eight prominent citizens of the town."<sup>23</sup> Not to be outdone by their superiors, Company "F" gave a successfully attended dance. Thereafter, it became common for the two companies to hold weekly balls during the winter, trying to see who could plan the most successful event.<sup>24</sup>

The officers and their ladies often went to Ft. Dufferin across the border near Emerson and visiting between the two forts was common.<sup>25</sup> Generally, the association between the garrison and the people of Pembina was good. There were, however, incidents which caused hard feelings. In one particular case, when three buffalo robes were stolen at a post dance, the post reporter decried the incident in the Pembina Pioneer:

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<sup>22</sup>Pembina Pioneer, January 22, 1880, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup>Miscellaneous Entries, 1870-1895, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

. . . indignation runs high at this dastardly attempt to throw discredit upon a class of men who have a hard enough row to hoe fighting against social ostracism.<sup>26</sup>

Yet, later the observation was recorded in the same newspaper:

Probably everyone knows the beauties and enjoyments of our average parties, but no one who was not present can begin to appreciate the general and specific delights which fell to the lot of those present last Friday night at the garrison when the young and gay gathered for a good time. There was nothing to mar the general good feeling and everything and everyone was merry as a marriage bell.<sup>27</sup>

Matrimony among the enlisted men and the girls of Pembina was also popular, but much of the time there were not enough girls to go around, evidenced by an advertisement in the Pembina Pioneer:

"Wanted: Paterfamiliae with marriageable young daughters, to settle around the Fort. Speedy engagements are guaranteed."<sup>28</sup> The advertisement must have obtained results, for the following year the post commander required that enlisted men obtain his permission before marriage.<sup>29</sup> Other diversions from the post routine were church services by visiting clergymen or the post chaplain, the post social club, the music and singing class, the post library, croquet, baseball, and the meetings of the Emerson Encyclic Literary Society.<sup>30</sup>

The men had little disease. Occasionally a case of consumption, scarlet fever, diptheria, or small pox occurred but not often. Each

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<sup>26</sup>Pembina Pioneer, December 18, 1879, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., June 8, 1883, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., August 14, 1879, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., February 5, 1880, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup>Miscellaneous Entries, 1870-1895, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

time an epidemic raged in Pembina, the surgeon quarantined the post. The stringent health inspections and excellent policing helped to keep outbreak of dreaded diseases at a minimum. Education was not neglected. classes giving instructions in carpentry, blacksmithing and wheelwrighting were taught.<sup>31</sup>

Lack of field action did not seem to bother the soldiers at Ft. Pembina.

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<sup>31</sup>Miscellaneous Entries, 1870-1895, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout the years of operation the composition of the garrison changed a number of times and after the Twentieth Infantry, companies of the Seventeenth, Fourth, Fifteenth, and Twenty-Second Regiments manned Ft. Pembina.<sup>1</sup>

Except for one occasion when a company was awaiting transfer to a new location, no more than two companies were ever stationed at the post. The maximum garrison strength reached approximately two hundred men in 1878. In the waning years of the post, garrison strength dropped to a minimum of twenty-one enlisted men and two officers in 1890. The average size of the garrison during the twenty-five year period was 125 enlisted men and eight officers.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the commanding officers of the post compiled excellent service records, for example--Wheaton, Collins and Brayton. Often they received a select promotion upon leaving. The author can find no record of "bad conduct" by any of them.<sup>3</sup>

After 1890, the need for military protection in the Pembina area did not exist. Civil law enforcement officers were strong enough

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup>Post Returns, 1870-1895.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., See Appendix B for a list of the post commanders.

to control the border and any domestic disturbances that might occur. Thus abandonment of the post became inevitable.

The War Department began preliminary abandonment in 1891, when the post cemetery was disinterred and the bodies of twenty-one soldiers and two children were transferred to Custer Battlefield Cemetery.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, one of the two companies was transferred. From that time until abandonment no more than one company lived at the post.<sup>5</sup> In 1893, the meteorological records were discontinued, records which the surgeons had kept since 1870.<sup>6</sup>

The Army began thinking about abandoning the post on May 25, 1895. An incendiary fire began in an unused building; and within an hour's time the fire, fanned by a strong south wind, burned all the buildings except the officers' quarters, the guardhouse, the water tank, the hospital and the magazine. The Pembina Volunteer Fire Department rendered help in trying to contain the fire but to no avail.<sup>7</sup>

Fighting the fire was difficult, for the wooden-shingled magazine caught fire twice, threatening to blow the post and all the personnel off the map. With this imminent danger, the company was forced to seek protection along the bank of the Red River.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Entry dated June 29, 1891, Medical Histories of Ft. Pembina.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., Entry dated May 15, 1891.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Monthly Report, March, 1892. Still a new water main was laid at the post, indicating some desire to continue it.

<sup>7</sup>Grand Forks Herald, May 28, 1895, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

The fire caused damages estimated at \$25,000.00 to government property, and \$5,000.00 to the soldiers, who lost almost all of their personal effects. All of the general orders, circulars, and special orders at the post were destroyed; and only the medical records and the post returns were saved.<sup>9</sup>

On July 11, 1895, the Secretary of War directed the garrison to abandon the post. All the serviceable property was to be moved to the other posts, and the unserviceable goods were to be sold locally.<sup>10</sup>

On August 15, 1895, abandonment came. After lowering the flag, Company "E", Twenty-Second Infantry marched to St. Vincent, Minnesota, where they boarded a special train to take them to Ft. Assiniboine, Montana.<sup>11</sup>

A small detachment of ten men under a Lieutenant Ely stayed at the post in a custodial capacity until final disposition of the stores and the post could be made. On September 26, 1895, the detachment left when their duties were accomplished.<sup>12</sup>

In December the Secretary of War turned the reservation over to the Department of Interior for disposal. Three years later it was sold at a public auction.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Grand Forks Herald, May 29, 1895, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Letter to General John R. Brooke, Commander of the Department of Dakota, from Major E. W. Davis, Headquarters of the Army, dated July 11, 1895, Ft. Pembina Papers.

<sup>11</sup>Grand Forks Herald, August 16, 1895, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>U. S., Congress, House, Report of General John R. Brooke t-Headquarters of the Army, August 23, 1895, in Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, pt. 1, 1895, H. Ex. Doc., p. 132.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.



During its time the fort brought the one thing that was needed to the area, stability. The threat of Indian attacks from Canada and the nearness of Dakota Indian Country made the area unstable. The ordinary settler did not wish to go to the frontier, build a home, break the sod, and embattle the injustices of nature only to lose his scalp as a final reward.

It may be argued that the development of transportation, especially the railroad, led to the great flow of settlers to the Red River Valley. This is partly true, yet the advance of the railroad took place after the settlers had come, not before.

In steamboating, the number of boats increased from one in the 1860's to five three years after the post was built, answering the great response of the pioneer to free land in a place that had security and a place of refuge in the event of trouble.

The settlement of the Valley coincided with the general westward movement after the Civil War. Whether the land between Grand Forks and Pembina would have filled so rapidly is a speculative case, but the author does not believe this.

When its usefulness had ended, the fort passed from the scene like the Indian and the buffalo. Security had come to the Red River Valley.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

COMPANIES AND DETACHMENTS  
STATIONED AT  
FT. PEMBINA

<u>Company</u>	<u>Regiment</u>	<u>Term of Service</u>
"I"	20th Infantry	May, 1870-June, 1874 (detached service 1874-October, 1877)
"K"	" "	May, 1870-October, 1873
"D"	" "	October, 1873-December, 1876
"F"	" "	October, 1873-December, 1876
"E"	17th Infantry	October, 1876-July, 1882
"K"	" "	October, 1876-July, 1882
"A"	4th Infantry	July, 1882-September, 1882
"E"	" "	July, 1882-September, 1882
"B"	" "	September-November, 1882
"I"	" "	September-November, 1882
"B"	15th Infantry	November, 1882-May, 1891
"I"	" "	November, 1882-August, 1890
Detachment	3rd Infantry	May, 1891-June, 1892
"E"	22nd Infantry	June, 1892-August 15, 1895
Detachment	" "	August 15-September 26, 1895

APPENDIX B

POST COMMANDERS AT  
FT. PEMBINA

<u>Post Commander</u>	<u>Regiment</u>	<u>Term of Duty</u>
Capt. Loyd Wheaton	20th Infantry	March 25, 1870-March, 1874
Maj. Jonas E. Yard	" "	March, 1874-September, 1875 September, 1875- December, 1877
Capt. Edward Collins	17th Infantry	December, 1877- August, 1882
Lt. Col. Henry L. Chipamm	4th Infantry	August-November, 1882
Maj. Charles M. Brayton	15th Infantry	November, 1882- September, 1886
Capt. Charles M. DeLang	" "	September, 1886-June, 1887
Capt. Chambers W. Mckibbon	" "	June, 1887-October, 1888
Maj. Hugh A. Theaker	" "	October, 1888-July, 1891
1st Lt. Frank P. Avery	3rd Infantry	July, 1891-February, 1892
2nd Lt. William C. Neary (Temporary)	22nd Infantry	February, 1892-June, 1892
1st Lt. Jacob H. Kreps (Temporary)	" "	June, 1892-July, 1892
Capt. Charles W. Minor	" "	July, 1892-January, 1895
Maj. Matt Hooton	" "	January, 1895- August 16, 1895

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