ARMY LIFE IN WISCONSIN TERRITORY

I

THE HISTORY OF FORT WINNEBAGO

BY ANDREW JACKSON TURNER

II

FORT WINNEBAGO ORDERLY BOOK, 1834–36

III

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR

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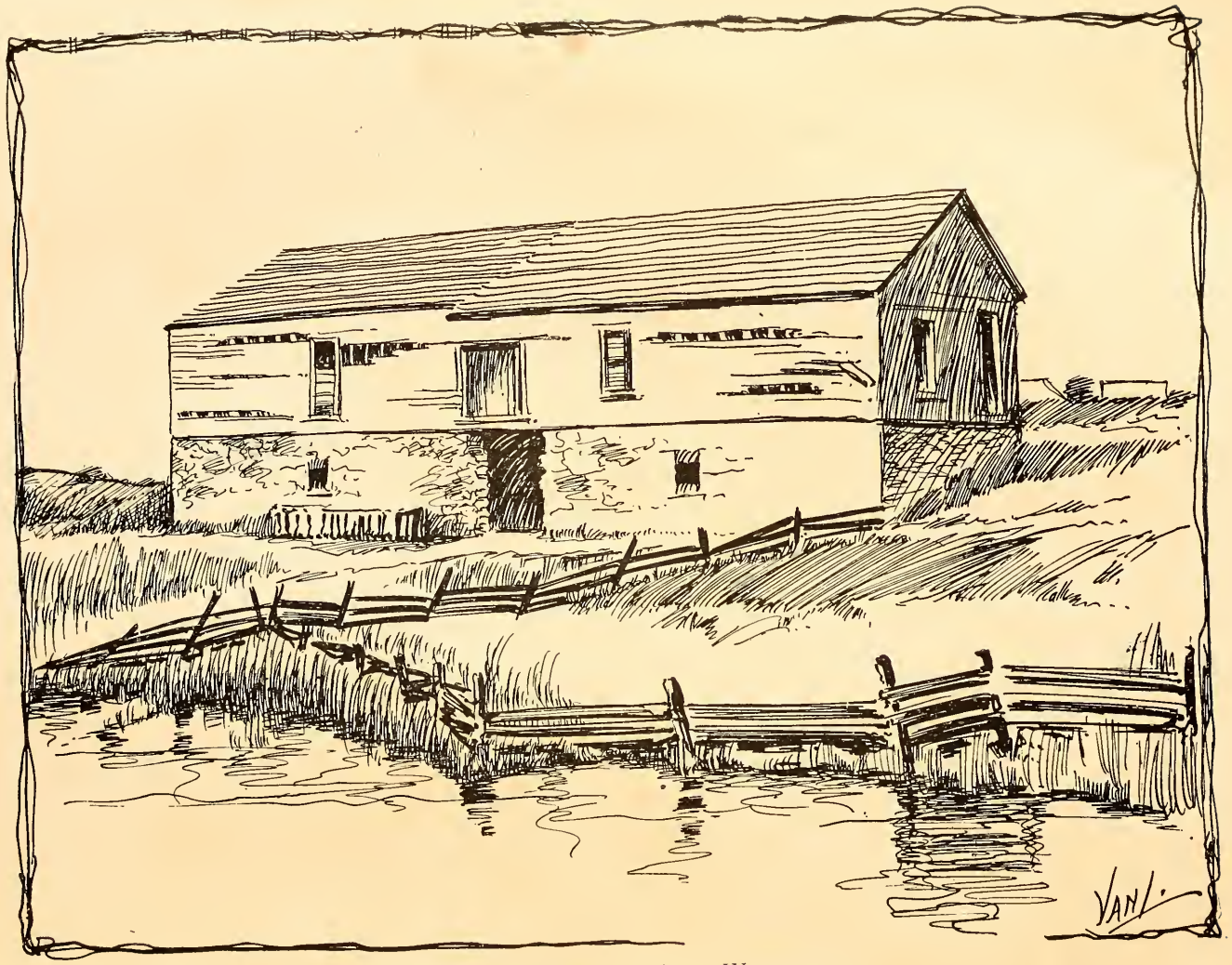
IV

AN ENGLISH OFFICER'S DESCRIPTION OF WISCONSIN, IN 1837

BY CAPT. FREDERICK MARRYAT, C. B.

[From Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIV]

MADISON
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
1898



ALL THAT REMAINS OF FORT WINNEBAGO.

The old commissary building. Drawn by A. J. Van Lishout, from a photograph taken in 1897.

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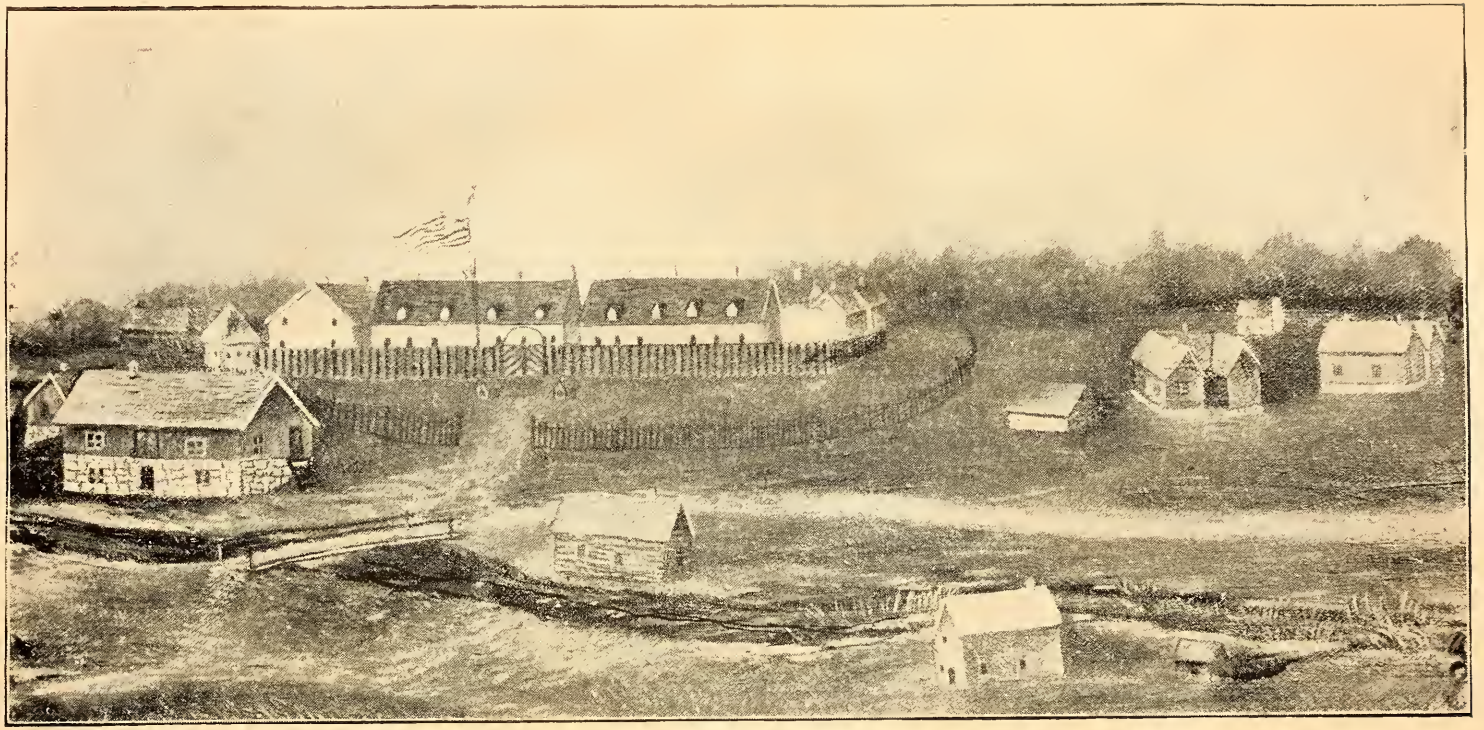

FORT WINNEBAGO IN 1834.

Reduced photographic facsimile of oil painting made by Ira A. Ridgeway, of Portage, in 1896, based with great care on contemporary plans, and recollections of early settlers. The view is from the southwest. The building to the right of the gate is the guardhouse; to the left, the armory. On the opposite side of the square, to the left, were the officers' quarters. The peaked-roof building at the left corner was a blockhouse, and a similar structure was in the corner diagonally opposite. The magazine appears in the corner adjacent to the guardhouse, and at the side of it to the right were soldiers' quarters. The chapel was in the corner diagonally opposite the magazine, but is not visible; as is also the case with some of the other smaller buildings. The log building near the end of the bridge over the Fox river, to the right, was Henry Merrell's sutler's store. The low structure a little to the east of it, was the ice cellar. A little farther along was the surgeon's headquarters (a portion of which is still standing), and a little to the right of it was the hospital. In the distance, looking between the hospital and surgeon's quarters, may be seen the old stone bakery; the blacksmith shop and the carpenter shop were close by, but do not appear on the painting. At the left of the bridge is a commissary building, which is still standing; just in the rear of it was Jones's sutler's store, a portion of which only is discernible. Just beyond the fort, to the left (out of the above picture), was a log theatre. Still farther to the left, on an eminence, was the Indian Agency building.

THE HISTORY OF FORT WINNEBAGO.

BY ANDREW JACKSON TURNER.

To the present generation, old Fort Winnebago (at Portage) is a tradition. To the older citizens of our State, who recall its whitened walls as they appeared above the stockade that inclosed them, and who retain a vivid recollection of many of its appointments and environments, it is a reminiscence; very few there are, now living, who dwelt in the fort from its first occupancy, and who had an acquaintance with those of its garrison who were subsequently illustrious in military and civil life. Of such, some passed their earlier years at the fort in comparative obscurity, awaiting an opportunity to prove their mettle on the sanguinary field of conflict, but these afterward left their impress on the pages of history. Some of their names are still spoken; others who were here, of equal merit, are rarely or never mentioned, for the opportunity came not to them. Much that occurred here has been recorded in various public documents, volumes and papers, but nowhere, I believe, has it all been arranged in a convenient form. So the old fort may be said to have had a history, but no historian. It is not my purpose to attempt an exhaustive history of the fort; but rather to collate what has already been written, but which is so scattered as to involve great research on the part of the student who desires to know as much as possible of its origin and history. I have incorporated in my account some things not found in any published matter, which I have heard related from the lips of those who were there as early as 1830, and who knew its

innermost history. Some of it is of a minor character, but may possess sufficient local interest to warrant the recital.

Although the existence of the lead mines in Southwestern Wisconsin had been known for many years, it was not until about 1822 that they attracted general attention, when adventurers began coming in and commenced mining operations. The Indian title to the lands in that section had not yet been extinguished, or was in dispute; and in any event the Indians were authorized to remain upon them "as long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property." The lands had not been brought into market and were not even surveyed. Nevertheless, "permits" to enter upon the lands claimed by the Indians were issued by certain government officials. This naturally irritated the savages whose lands had been invaded. The conduct of the adventurers toward the aborigines was frequently coarse and brutal, and disturbances were the inevitable result. In them we find the inciting causes that led to the establishment of old Fort Winnebago — so called because the lead region, as well as the Fox-Wisconsin portage, was in the territory of the Winnebagoes.

In 1827, Joseph M. Street, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote to Governor Edwards of Illinois: "The Winnebagoes complained of the trespass of the miners, and the open violation of the treaty by the permits of Mr. Thomas, the agent. No notice was taken of it, and the diggings progressed. The Indians attempted force, which was repelled, and very angry feelings produced."

Col. Thomas L. McKenney, an officer in the regular army, who was superintendent of the Indian trade, also recorded his impressions of the condition of affairs in the lead regions, in this language: "The Winnebagoes were in a state of great excitement, caused by the intrusions of the whites on their lands. They had, after having remonstrated for a long time in vain, made up their minds to endure it no longer, and had so informed Mr. Courier, the sub-agent. A warning was circulated among the miners, who replied:

'We have a right to go just where we please.' Everything appeared threatening. Two thousand persons were said to be over the line, as intruders upon lands belonging to the Indians. The Indians had fallen back, and sent word to the sub-agent that they would see them no more — meaning, as friends. This overt act, this trespass upon their grounds, was the egg out of which the Black Hawk War was hatched. There was no necessity for that war, when, some four years after, it did break out."

For a time prior to 1826, Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, had been occupied by a detachment of United States troops. In October of that year they were ordered to Fort Snelling. When they left they took with them two Winnebagoes, who had been confined in the guardhouse for some supposed offense of a trivial nature. The following spring a rumor was in circulation, and generally believed, that the two Indians had been turned over to the Chippewas, their enemies, to run the gauntlet through a party of the latter tribe, armed with clubs and tomahawks, and that the race for life had resulted in the killing of both of them. Something like this occurred with reference to some Sioux prisoners at Fort Snelling, but the story had no truth as applied to the Winnebago captives. The report had its origin in the murdering of some Chippewas by a party of Sioux. Five of these Sioux were turned over to the United States forces at Fort Snelling to be dealt with by the Chippewas according to the aboriginal custom, and it was determined that they should run the gauntlet: the Chippewas being armed with rifles, instead of tomahawks and clubs, as stated in Smith's *History of Wisconsin* and some other accounts. The whole affair is graphically described by Mrs. Van Cleve,[1] who was an eye-witness of the

[1] Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve was born in Fort Crawford, July 1, 1819, and is said to have been the first white child born within the limits of Wisconsin. She is still living at Minneapolis, Minn. Her book of reminiscences, *Three Score Years and Ten* (Minneapolis, 1895), is an interesting publication, ranking with Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun*, Folsom's *Fifty Years in the Northwest*, etc. Her description of the Chippewa gauntlet, alluded to above, is on pp. 74 et seq.

affair, in her little volume, *Three Score Years and Ten.* All of the Sioux were killed before reaching the goal.

Notwithstanding the falsity of the report, so far as it related to the Winnebagoes in confinement, it had its natural effect upon the disposition of our Indians, whose only creed is a life for a life; and it should not occasion surprise that it provoked retaliation and served to increase the difficulties which are the inevitable accompaniment of an advancing civilization. The whites, on the one hand, entertained nothing but contempt for "blanket Indians," strangely misjudged their disposition, and treated them as legitimate objects of plunder; the aborigines, on the other, sought to protect themselves in the only manner known to them, by taking revenge for imaginary or real wrongs, often committing excesses and cruelties in keeping with their savage nature.

And so we read at the present day, with horror, of the murders of the family of Methode, at Prairie du Chien, in 1827; of Rigeste Gagnier, and the scalping of his infant daughter by a noted Indian chief, Red Bird, and his accomplices of the Winoshic band. Of Red Bird and his subsequent dramatic surrender and death, I will speak further on.

As a component part of a general attack upon the whites, which doubtless had been planned, the keel-boat "Oliver H. Perry," returning from a trip to Fort Snelling with provisions for the troops at that station, was attacked by a band of Winnebagoes off the mouth of the Bad Ax, and a severe battle ensued, with a number of casualties on both sides.

He who reads Reynolds's *Life and Times* will find other explanations for the attack upon this boat, which would have justified almost any conduct upon the part of the Indians; but it is not my present purpose to attempt to locate the largest measure of blame for what was occurring. The idea will suggest itself, however, from the report of Maj.-Gen. Alexander Macomb (general-in-chief of the army) to the secretary of war the following year, stating that "from

the restlessness evinced by the Winnebagoes and other tribes in the Northwest, partly arising from intrusion upon land in the mineral district claimed by them to be within their boundaries, by white people, etc.," he had found it necessary to establish a new military post at the Fox-Wisconsin portage; that due regard was not being given to the rights of the real owners of the soil, and that the whites were not wholly blameless in these matters. However this may be, it had become apparent that an increased military force was necessary in this section. These occurrences have been referred to in historical works as the Winnebago "outbreaks," "disturbances," etc., and sometimes they are dignified as the Winnebago War.

Moses M. Strong, in his *History of the Territory of Wisconsin*, observes: "It may be thought that the results of this war are very meager for the amount of force employed in it. If measured by the amount of blood shed after the murders at Prairie du Chien and on the keel-boat, the criticism is very correct. But if it be intended to suggest that there was no sufficient reason for apprehending that the Winnebagoes contemplated a general uprising against and a massacre of the whites, the thought and suggestion are the result of great ignorance of the intentions of the Winnebagoes, and of the facts in the case. There is satisfactory evidence that the Pottawattomies were allied with the Winnebagoes, and that they were to fall upon and destroy the settlement at Chicago, and it is probable that but for the movements resulting from the efforts of General Cass, who was fortunately near the seat of war, the whole country would have been overrun with a general Indian outbreak."

It may be that this was an exaggerated view of what the Indians contemplated; but it appears clearly that there was abundant reason why General Macomb, in his report to the secretary of war in November, 1828, should have thought it necessary to establish a military post at the portage, which opinion was communicated to the secretary in the

following language: "From the restlessness evinced by the Winnebagoes and other tribes in the Northwest, partly arising from intrusion upon land in the mineral district claimed by them to be within their boundaries, by white people in search of lead; and in consequence of a belief entertained by these tribes, from the smallness of the military force in their neighborhood, in comparison with what it had been several years before, the government might not find it convenient to increase it, and they might therefore with impunity resume the depredations which had led to the establishment of those posts in the first instance; therefore it was found necessary to establish a new post at the portage between the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers and reoccupy Chicago. * * * In order to effect these changes, the first regiment furnished the garrison of the post at the portage of the Ouisconsin and Fox rivers, while it continued to occupy fort Crawford, at the Prairie du Chien, and fort Snelling, at the junction of the St. Peters with the Mississippi. The second regiment, which heretofore occupied the posts at the Sault de St. Marie, Green Bay, and Mackinac, moved down to occupy the posts of forts Gratiot and Niagara, the residue of the regiment being at Houlton Plantations. The fifth regiment, which was stationed with the sixth at the school of instruction at Jefferson barracks, relieved the second at Green Bay, Sault de St. Marie, and Mackinac, besides furnishing two companies for the garrison at Chicago. The march of the fifth regiment by the way of Ouisconsin and Fox rivers must have produced an imposing effect on the tribes of Indians through whose country it passed; an effect which was contemplated by the movement. It will be seen by the accompanying map of the distribution of the troops that there is a complete cordon from Green bay to the Mississippi, which must have a powerful influence over the Winnebagoes, and afforded protection to the Indian trade which passes in that direction; and there is every reason to believe that neither the Winnebagoes nor their confederates will attempt any

hostilities so long as the troops maintain their present positions."[1]

Executing the order of the secretary of war, the adjutant-general of the United States, under the direction of General Macomb, issued "Order 44," under date of August 19, 1828, which directed:

"The three companies of the First regiment of infantry, now at Fort Howard, to proceed forthwith under the command of Major Twiggs of that regiment to the portage between the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers, there to select a position and establish a military post.

"By command of Maj.-Gen. Macomb.

"R. JONES, Adjt.-Gen."

An additional reason for the establishment of the fort is given in the *History of Columbia County*, not referred to in the official reports, which may contain many grains of truth: "There was necessity for some means of protection to the fur trade from Winnebago exactions; * * * the general government at the solicitation of John Jacob Astor, who was then at the head of the American Fur company, and upon whose goods the Indians levied exorbitant tolls, authorized the erection of a post at portage."

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[1] As supplementary to and confirming General Macomb's report, the following extract is taken from the annual report of Peter B. Porter, secretary of war, November 24, 1828: "In the course of the last year the Winnebagoes and other Indian tribes living in the neighborhood of the posts which had been evacuated — emboldened probably by that circumstance — commenced a series of petty, but savage, warfare on the adjoining white population, and rendered it necessary to march a strong military force into the country, the effect of which was to quell, for a time at least, these disturbances. But in the course of the past spring and summer fresh symptoms of discontent and hostility were manifested by the Indians; and the people of Illinois, and more particularly the inhabitants of the lead mine district, became again so much alarmed as to suggest the necessity, not only of permanently garrisoning the former military post of Chicago and Prairie du Chien, but of establishing a new one in the center of the Winnebago country, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Indians, and to serve as a connecting link between the chains of fortifications on the Mississippi and on the lakes." See *Senate Docs.*, No. 1, 20th Cong., 2d sess., vol. i, pp. 17, 18, 26.— ED.

It is true that the company had a post there, and it may be that heavy tolls were exacted; it is quite as likely, however, that with all the tolls that may have been exacted, the Indians were getting the worst of it, for it is not recorded, as far as I know, that that gigantic monopoly ever suffered many losses in their trades with the Indians.

September 7 following, Maj. David E. Twiggs reported his arrival at the fort which was to be established, as follows:[1]

"FORT WINNEBAGO, September 7, 1828.

"SIR: I have the honor of reporting my arrival at the fort with my command this day. I have selected a position for the fort on the right bank of the Fox river, immediately opposite the portage. The Indians, I am told, are very much dissatisfied with the location of troops here; as yet I have not been able to see any of the chiefs, consequently cannot say with any certainty what their dispositions are.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"D. E. TWIGGS,

"Major First Infantry."

The site selected for the fort was occupied by Francis le Roy, but satisfactory terms were made with him for its occupancy by the government. Macomb's request to have the lands selected for the fort withdrawn from market, was made January 10, 1835, and was approved by President Jackson, February 9 of the same year.

Twiggs reported December 29, 1828, what had been done in the matter of temporary buildings, for the shelter of his command, prior to the construction of the fort buildings proper; the report is here given in full:

"FORT WINNEBAGO, 29 December, 1828.

"GENERAL: I have not received any instructions relative to the construction of the permanent garrison at this place.

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[1] Morgan L. Martin, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 399, speaks of having met Maj. Twiggs at Butte des Morts, with three companies of soldiers in boats on their way to establish the garrison at Fort Winnebago. Jefferson Davis, just graduated at West Point, was one of his lieutenants.

After completing the temporary buildings I commenced procuring materials for the quarters, etc., and soon will have square timber enough for two blockhouses. I have (and will continue through the winter) six saws, sawing flooring, weather boarding and other lumber. We have about twenty thousand feet of all kinds, and hope by spring to have sufficient to complete the buildings. The sash, blinds, etc., will be ready before the end of February. There will be wanting three or four yoke of oxen, and as many carts, the shingles and lime can better be furnished by contract; all the other materials the command can procure; all the buildings had better be frame — logs cannot be had, and if they could, frame is cheaper and much better; all the timber has to be brought from nine to eleven miles, but if the carts and oxen are furnished, and the lime and shingles got by contract, I can with ease complete the garrison by next November. I would be pleased to hear from you on the subject as soon as convenient. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

" D. E. TWIGGS,
" Major First Infantry.

" *To Gen. A. Atkinson, Commanding.*"

The temporary barracks were constructed of logs obtained principally on what is known locally as Pine Island, about six miles west of Portage; they were probably a little east of the fort subsequently erected, and resembled the cabins which are always put up in logging camps for the use of the men; but nothing more definite concerning them is now obtainable. It is presumed that the instructions that Twiggs desired were not long delayed, for we know that active operations for the erection of the fort were soon in progress.

Lieut. Jefferson Davis, later the chieftain of the Confederacy, has recorded the fact that he went up the Yellow River, a tributary of the Wisconsin, some fifty miles distant, and got out the pine logs to be used in the construction of the fort, which were rafted down in the spring and hauled across the portage with teams and were wrought

into proper form with whipsaw, broadax, and adz.[1] Lumbermen still point out the foundations of Davis's dam, which was constructed for flooding out his rafts of timber for use in building the fort. Another party was detailed to get out the needed stone, of which a great quantity was used, at Stone Quarry Hill, the place where the most of the stone used in Portage for building purposes, has ever since been obtained. The bricks were manufactured near the present Wisconsin River bridge, at what we know as "Armstrong's brickyard." Lime was burned by another detail at or near Paquette's farm on the Bellefontaine, one of the best and most widely known farms in the State.[2]

An enormous well was sunk in the very center of the square, around which the usual fort buildings were constructed, and it has continued from its never-failing fountain, to contribute to the comfort of the thirsty pilgrim until the present day; but a modern windmill now does the duty that was formerly so tedious and irksome. So all hands were busy. Officers, who in after years became distinguished in the war with Mexico, the Florida and other Indian wars, and the great conflict involving the perpetuity of our Union, planned and wrought with the common soldier in bringing into form the fort and the necessary accompanying buildings. Stables, hospitals, bakeries, blacksmith shops, commissary buildings, ice-cellars (which were filled from Swan Lake), sutlers' stores, magazines, laundries, bathhouses, etc., rapidly sprang into existence. Gardens were also cleared, and old soldiers have recorded the fact that they could not be excelled in the matter of the quantity and quality of the vegetables produced. A theater was erected, and doubtless professional tragedians would have hidden their faces in confusion if they could have witnessed their own best efforts put to shame. A young lieutenant in the regular army, far removed from the confines of civilization, with the officers' wives and their guests, all cult-

[1] *Jefferson Davis — a Memoir, by his Wife* (N. Y., 1890), vol. i, pp. 80–82. See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 310.— Ed.

[2] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 402.— Ed.

ured ladies, for an audience, would undoubtedly do his best when *Macbeth* or some other equally hair-lifting tragedy was on the boards, in the full glare of the pitch-pine fagots blazing from the fireplace in the rear, and shedding their effulgent rays over the brilliant assemblage.

While all this was going on, regular military duty was not neglected, and drills and parades were indulged in of course; the stars and stripes were regularly given to the breeze at the roll of the drum at guard mounting, and lowered with the same accompaniment at retreat; morning and evening guns were sounded, the *reveille* called the soldiers to duty in the gray light of the morning, and "taps" sent them to retirement in the blue twilight of the evening.

In the regular course of military movements, some of the companies first doing duty here were transferred to different posts, and their places were taken by others; and so it happened that many whose names were enrolled on the scroll of fame in after years, were initiated into the science of war at Fort Winnebago. Perhaps the most prominent of them all was Lieut. Jefferson Davis, then subaltern of Capt. William S. Harney. To his honor, be it said, his services at Fort Winnebago were highly creditable. I have heard it remarked by those who knew him here, that he had no liking for the amusements to which officers, as well as private soldiers, resort to relieve the tedium of camp life; but that he was ever engaged, when not in active service, in some commendable occupation. His services in the lumber camps on the Yellow River, and his successful mission in bringing down fleets of lumber through the Dells of the Wisconsin, attest to his faithfulness as a soldier.

Next to Lieutenant Davis, should be mentioned Maj. David E. Twiggs, of the First Infantry, under whose immediate superintendence the fort was constructed, as already stated. Subsequently, Twiggs distinguished himself at the battle of Monterey, in the Mexican War. He was dismissed from the federal service in February, 1861, for surrendering the United States stores in Texas, before that State had seceded, and was a Confederate general for a time.

One of Twiggs's lieutenants here, was Captain Harney, who was brevetted a colonel for meritorious conduct in several engagements with hostile Indians in Florida, and became famous as an Indian fighter; he was also brevetted a brigadier-general for gallant service in the battle of Cerro Gordo. He retired from active service in 1863, and in 1865 was brevetted a major-general for long and faithful service.

Col. William J. Worth — whose gallant services in the War of 1812, and who in the Mexican War disclosed abilities as a soldier which brought him into the public mind as a proper candidate for the presidency — was stationed here for a time.

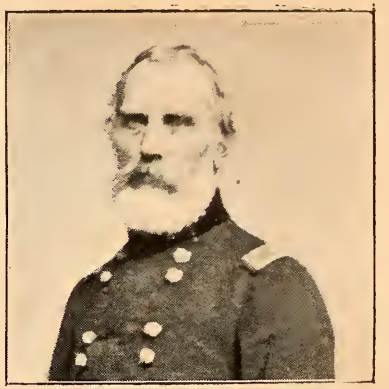
Capt. E. V. Sumner, who became so renowned for his famous cavalry charge at the battle of Cerro Gordo, in which he was wounded, and who subsequently distinguished himself at Contreras, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey, in Mexico, was also here. Captain Sumner led an expedition against the Cheyenne Indians in Kansas; he commanded the left wing of the federal army at the siege of Yorktown; was in all of the battles of the Peninsula, and was twice wounded; was again wounded at Antietam, and at the battle of Fredericksburg commanded the right grand division of the army. He was one of old Fort Winnebago's brightest jewels.

Lieut. Horatio Phillips Van Cleve went to the front early in the War of Secession as colonel of the Second Minnesota, and achieved distinction, retiring with the rank of major-general; he was one of the finest graduates of the old fort. At the battle of Stone River, Van Cleve was in command of a subdivision of the Army of the Ohio, and was severely wounded. Greeley's *History of the American Conflict* erroneously records him as killed. He recovered from his wounds, and served with distinction until the close of the war. Van Cleve married Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark, daughter of Maj. Nathan Clark, at Fort Winnebago in 1836, this lady having been born at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) in 1819, said to be the first woman of pure white

Capt. Wm. S. Harney.

Capt. E. V. Sumner.

Col. Wm. J. Worth.



Lieut J. J. Abercrombie.

Satterlee Clark, Sutler.

Lieut. R. B. Marcy.

Capt. Gideon Low.

Lieut. N. B. Rossell.

OFFICERS AT FORT WINNEBAGO

(With their rank while at the fort.)

blood born within the present limits of Wisconsin. Her father, the major, died at Fort Winnebago and was buried in the old military cemetery, but his remains were subsequently removed to Cincinnati.

Lieut. Randolph B. Marcy was on duty at Fort Winnebago in 1837–40; captain in 1846, and in active service during the Mexican War, later being on frontier duty for many years. During the War of Secession, he was chief-of-staff under his son-in-law, Gen. George B. McClellan, in 1861–62, attaining the rank of inspector-general and brevet brigadier-general. General Marcy was the author of several volumes descriptive of frontier life and service.[1]

Lieut. Nathan B. Rossell joined (1839) the Fifth Infantry at Fort Winnebago, his first post. He was with his regiment in the Mexican War, being severely wounded at Molino del Rey. He was brevetted for distinguished services and was presented by his native state, New Jersey, with a gold sword. He was in command at Fort Albuquerque, N. Mex., when the War of Secession broke out. He was ordered into active service, being killed while in command of the Third Infantry, at Gaines's Mill.

Lieut. Edward Kirby Smith, the dashing Confederate general who kept the Union forces so busy in the Southwest during the Rebellion, was also at the Fox-Wisconsin portage even prior to the establishment of the fort. A stray manuscript leaf from some of the army records left at the fort when it was evacuated, and now in possession of one of the citizens of Portage, contains the proceedings of a court-martial whereat the brevet lieutenant was tried for insubordination, being charged with having "refused to take orders from any d—d militia captain."

Dr. Lyman Foot, eminent as a surgeon and physician,—who spent much of his early manhood at various military posts on the frontier, and who was greatly esteemed for his

[1] *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in 1852* (Washington, 1854); *The Prairie Traveler, a Handbook for Overland Emigrants* (New York, 1859); *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (1866); *Border Reminiscences* (New York, 1872).—Ed.

social qualities and professional attainments,— was long remembered by early citizens of Portage.

Lieut. John Pegram, who became a distinguished Confederate general, and lost his life in one of the engagements near Petersburg; Lieut. John T. Collinsworth, who resigned in 1836 and became inspector-general of the republic of Texas, dying in 1837 at the age of 28; Col. James S. McIntosh, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Molino del Rey, in Mexico, in 1846; Lieut. John J. Abercrombie, who commanded the Union forces at the battle of Falling Waters, one of the first engagements in the late war; Lieut. Alexander S. Hooe, who greatly distinguished himself at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in the latter of which he lost an arm; Lieut. Pinkney Lugenbeel, who was brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco and Chapultepec in the Mexican War, and served in the Army of the Potomac; Lieuts. Ferdinand S. Mumford and Samuel B. Hayman, who acquired honorable distinction in the War of Secession, and undoubtedly others of merit whose names do not occur to me, were here.

Little did these young officers, as they gathered around the festive board and sang:[1]

In the army there's sobriety,
Promotion's very slow,
We'll sigh o'er reminiscences of Benny Havens, O!
Old Benny Havens, O! Old Benny Havens, O!
We'll sigh o'er reminiscences of Benny Havens, O!

do more than dream of the promotion which was soon to be theirs; but the war with Mexico was near at hand, and promotion came to them very rapidly.

Among the earliest to arrive at the fort was Capt. Gideon Low, who came here with his command from Green Bay in

[1] "Benny Havens" was an army melody, very popular at our frontier posts sixty years ago. See "Grant's Appointment to West Point," *McClure's Magazine*, January, 1897. "Benny Havens" was one of the institutions at West Point — a little tavern and bar on the riverbank, just outside of the reservation. It was considered very wild to slip down to Benny's and smoke a cigar and drink a glass of gin.

1831. In the Black Hawk War, Capt. Low was ordered to Fort Atkinson; and after the danger was over there he returned to Fort Winnebago, where he remained on duty until 1840, when he resigned. Prior to his resignation he built the Franklin House, in 1838, which became so famous as a hostelry in the early days of Portage. Capt. Low died at the agency in 1850, and was buried in the cemetery at the fort; but subsequently his remains were removed to the burial lot of his son-in-law, Henry Merrell, in Silver Lake Cemetery.

Some of those who were not in the service directly, but who were at the fort in various capacities, and who afterward became prominent in public affairs, should be mentioned, as a history of Fort Winnebago would not be complete without recalling them.

The distinguished Hungarian political refugee, Count Agostin Haraszthy, was at the fort and had a contract with the government for supplying the garrison with fuel, his headquarters being on one of the "islands" in the marsh a few miles north of the fort. After leaving here he founded the village of Haraszthy, now called Sauk City, and subsequently removed to California, where he was a man of much prominence in public affairs, being a member of the legislature of that State. Later he directed his energies to affairs in Central America and lost his life there while crossing a lagoon, being drowned, or possibly pulled under by an alligator.[1]

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[1] Col. (or Count) Agostin Haraszthy was born in 1812, in the comitat of Bacska, Hungary, his family having been prominent in Hungarian annals for upwards of 700 years. Educated in the law, he was, at the age of 18, a member of Emperor Ferdinand's body guard (of nobles), later being chief executive officer of his (Haraszthy's) district, and then private secretary of the Hungarian viceroy. Upon the failure of the liberal movement of 1839–40, in which he was engaged, he was compelled to fly to the United States. After extensive travels over our country, he wrote a book (in Hungarian) intended to encourage his fellow countrymen to emigrate to America. In 1840–41 he settled in Wisconsin, near Portage, as related by Mr. Turner in the above text; here he had a large tract of land, which he improved at much cost, making necessary roads and ferries. Gaining permission to re-

Of those who were at the Fox-Wisconsin portage in early times, years before the fort had an existence, was Pierre Paquette. He was born at St. Louis in 1796, and married Thérèse Crelie, daughter of the noted Joseph Crelie.[2] His early manhood was spent among the Indians in the Far West, in the fur trade. Subsequently he became the agent of the American Fur Company at the portage, and was the agent of Joseph Rolette in the transportation business. He was slain by an Indian named Mauzamoneka (or Iron

turn temporarily to Hungary, to surrender certain important State papers to that government, he succeeded in saving $150,000 from his confiscated estates, together with a considerable amount of family plate and paintings. With this fortune, he returned to Wisconsin (1842–43), and founded what is now Sauk City, where he planted the first hop-yard in our State, and encouraged others to do likewise; he was highly successful with this crop. He became the head of an emigrant association which brought to Wisconsin large and successful colonies of English, German, and Swiss. In 1848, he made considerable contributions of arms, supplies, and money to his revolutionary compatriots in Hungary. The following year (1849) he removed to California, being elected sheriff of San Diego county. He was for many years a prominent citizen of that State, holding important State and national offices. He is called the Father of Viniculture in California, and published much on that subject — in 1861 being appointed by the governor as special commissioner to visit European vineyards and report thereon; the result of his report was the introduction of 400 distinct varieties of grapes into the Golden State. In 1868, he went to Nicaragua, where, at the head of a company of friends, he obtained valuable privileges for the manufacture of wines and spirits, sugar, and lumber — acquiring 100,000 acres of some of the best land in Central America. It was upon his plantation, the Hacienda San Antonio, near the port of Corinto, that he met his death (July 6, 1870), as stated above by Mr. Turner.

When Haraszthy returned to America in 1842–43, he was accompanied by his mother, who died at Grand Gulf, Miss., 1844–45; and his father (Charles), who, at the age of 80, was buried at sea on his return to San Francisco from Corinto (July 22, 1870). Colonel Haraszthy's wife (née Eleonora Dödinsky) died at Leon, Nicaragua, July 15, 1869; his son, Col. Gaza Haraszthy, died on the family plantation in Nicaragua, December 17, 1878, aged 45; his sons Attila F. and Arpad were born in Hungary and now (1898) live in California; another surviving son (Beba) was born in Sauk City, Wis.; of his two daughters, Ida was born in Peoria, Ill., and Otelia in Madison, Wis.— Ed.

[1] For accounts of Crelie, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, vii, viii, ix.— Ed.

Walker), in 1836, with whom he had had some trouble, at a spot near the present site of the Catholic church in Portage. He was one of the best known men in the West, and his tragic death produced a sensation equal to what might be experienced if the most distinguished man in Wisconsin to-day should be assassinated; for he was a famous man in many ways, and was held in the highest esteem by both whites and Indians. For years after his death he was the most talked-about man in this section. At the time of his death he was living across the river, where Judge Barden now resides, and some of the latter's farm buildings were erected by Paquette. His daughter, Thérèse, who is still living, and a resident of Caledonia, speaks of frequent visits to her father's place by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis and Captain Gideon Low.

Satterlee Clark in writing of him says: "He was the very best specimen of a man I ever saw. He was 6 feet 2 inches in height and weighed 200 pounds, hardly ever varying a single pound. He was a very handsome man, hospitable, generous and kind, and I think I never saw a better natured man."[1]

Henry Merrell said of him: "He was a man of mild disposition, could neither read nor write, but had as true a sense of honor as any gentleman I ever knew, and all who knew him would take his word as soon as any man's bond."[2] Most fabulous stories were often related of his remarkable strength.

Paquette was buried under the old log church which stood in about the center of what is now Adams street, near its junction with Conant street. The church was burned about 1840, and his resting place was marked by a picket enclosure, after which his remains were removed to the lot in the rear of the present Baptist church, and were buried under the entrance to the "L" in the rear of it;[3]

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 316.—Ed.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 383.—Ed.

[3] The church spoken of was the first church in Central Wisconsin, and was built by Paquette for a Dominican priest, Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli,

Another noted character hereabouts was Jean Baptiste Du Bay, whose trading post was on the hill opposite the fort and just east of the Indian Agency, having succeeded to the interest of Paquette, after the latter's death. He killed William S. Reynolds on the premises in 1857, during a land-title dispute, an event that attracted great interest at the time and which ever after clouded an otherwise honorable career.[1]

Henry Merrell was at the fort also; he was a sutler there in 1834, and afterwards became the agent of the American Fur Company, filling many positions of honor and trust; he was the first senator from this district when the State was organized, and his descendants have converted the site of the old military fort from its warlike appearance to the more peaceful one of a well-appointed farm.[2]

So also Satterlee Clark, who was appointed a sutler by President Jackson in 1830; but being a minor he was unable to take charge of the position in his own name, and it was farmed out to Oliver Newbury of Detroit, Clark becoming his clerk. He devoted the most of his time, however, to the Indian trade. Clark was for many years a senator from Dodge county. He was an admirer of Jefferson Davis, and never suffered an opportunity to pass to sound his praises, even during the most exciting days of the War of Secession. So conspicuous was this habit, that he often found himself in controversy with others who were not in sympathy with him. On one occasion, when it fell to me to introduce him to a public assemblage in Portage, to lecture on early times at the fort, I remarked in a spirit of pleasantry: "Our friend who will address you to-night was a companion of Lieutenant Davis at the fort, and it is now impos-

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who came here occasionally to hold services among the Indians and half-breeds, and who in time became distinguished in his order, having founded Saint Clara Academy at Sinsinawa Mound, in Grant county.—A. J. T.

Cf. Moses Paquette's reference to the church built by Pierre Paquette, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 432, 433.—Ed.

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 400–402.—Ed.

[2] See Merrell's "Pioneer Life in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 366–402.—Ed.

Maj. David E Twiggs.

Mrs. John H. Kinzie,
author of *Wau-Bun:*
from painting by G. A. P. Healey.

Lieut. Jefferson Davis, æt. 32.

From an old engraving in Aldrich Collection,
Historical Department of Iowa.

Lieut. John Pegram.

John H. Kinzie,
Indian Agent.

SOME OF FORT WINNEBAGO'S CELEBRITIES
(With their rank while at the fort.)

sible to say whether 'Sat' imbibed his secession ideas from 'Jeff,' or whether 'Jeff' obtained his from 'Sat,'" all of which was received by Clark with his accustomed good-nature. With all of his peculiarities, and often extravagant expressions of speech, he was a most companionable man, and a true courtier to ladies, who admired him.[1] Clark was married at the old Indian Agency house on the hill just opposite the fort, and still standing, to a daughter of Mr. Jones, the sutler. And here it should be stated that this house was built for John H. Kinzie, the sub-Indian agent, who was a son of John Kinzie, whose name occupies so prominent a page in the early history of Chicago, he being a post-trader at Fort Dearborn at the time of the massacre of the garrison by the Indians in 1812.[2]

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[1] See his "Early Times at Fort Winnebago," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 309-321.— Ed.

[2] Mrs. John H. Kinzie was the author of that entertaining volume of reminiscences of life at frontier posts, *Wau-Bun*. From this book (ch. viii), I transcribe her account of her arrival at Fort Winnebago in 1830, in company with her husband, who was to have charge of the Indian Agency. Mrs. Twiggs was the only woman who had preceded her to the fort. After describing the approach to the fort in a canoe, by the tortuous windings of the Fox, Mrs. Kinzie writes:

"Maj. and Mrs. Twiggs and a few of the younger officers (for nearly all the older ones were absent), with our brother Robert, or as he is called throughout all the Indian tribes, 'Bob,' gave us a cordial welcome — how cordial those alone can know who have come, like us, to a remote isolated home in the wilderness. The major insisted on our taking possession at once of vacant quarters in the fort instead of the agency, as had been proposed. No, we must be under the same roof with them. Mrs. Twiggs had been without a companion of her own sex for more than four months, and would certainly not hear of a separation now. But we must be their guests until the arrival of the boats containing our furniture, which, under the care of our old acquaintance, Hamilton Arndt, was making its way slowly up from Green Bay. A dinner had been prepared for us. This is one of the advantages of the zig-zag approach by the Fox river — traders never take their friends by surprise; and when the whole circle sat down to the hospitable board we were indeed a merry company. After dinner, Mrs. Twiggs showed me the quarters assigned to us on the opposite side of the hall. They consisted of two large rooms on each side of the building. On the ground floor the front room was vacant. The one in the rear was to

John H. Kinzie died on a Fort Wayne Railway train January 28, 1865, of heart disease.

When the Kinzies arrived at the fort, they found the Winnebagoes assembled there in anticipation of the arrival of Shawneeawkee (the Indian name for the agent), who was to pay them their annuities. "The woods were now brilliant with many tints of autumn," Mrs. Kinzie wrote, "and the scene around us was further enlivened by groups of Indians in all directions, and their lodges which were scattered here and there in the vicinity of the Agency buildings. On the low grounds might be seen the white tents of the traders, already prepared to send out winter supplies to the Indians, in exchange for the annuity money they were about to receive.

"Preparatory to this event, the great chief of the Winnebago nation, 'Four Legs' (Hootschope), whose village was on Doty's Island at the foot of Lake Winnebago, had

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be the sleeping apartment, as was evident from a huge, unwieldy bedstead of proportions amply sufficient to have accommodated Og, the King of Bashan, with Mrs. Og and the children into the bargain. This edifice had been built under the immediate superintendence of one of our young lieutenants [Jefferson Davis] and it was plain to be seen that both he and the soldiers who fabricated it had exhausted all their architectural skill. The timber of which it was composed had been grooved and carved, the pillars that supported the front swelled in and out in a most fanciful manner; the doors were not only paneled, but radiated in a way to excite the admiration of all unsophisticated eyes. A similar piece of workmanship had been erected in each set of quarters, to supply the deficiency of closets, an inconvenience which had never occurred, until too late, to the bachelors who planned them. The three apartments of which each structure was composed were unquestionably designed for clothes-press, storeroom, and china closet; such at least were the uses to which Mrs. Twiggs had appropriated the one assigned to her. There was this slight difficulty, that in the latter the shelves were too close to admit setting in even a gravyboat, but they made up in number what was wanting in space. We christened the whole affair in honor of its projector, a 'Davis,' thus placing the first laurel on the brow of one who was afterward to signalize himself in cabinet making of quite a different character."

It will be remembered that Davis himself was a member of President Pierce's cabinet, and that he constructed an entire one on his own account as president of the Confederate States.

thought proper to take a little carouse, as is too apt to be the custom when the savages come into the neighborhood of a sutler's establishment. In the present instance, the facilities for a season of intoxication had been augmented by the presence on the ground of some traders, too regardless of the very stringent laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians.

"Poor Four Legs could not stand this full tide of prosperity. Unchecked by the presence of his father, the agent, he carried his indulgence to such excess that he fell a victim in the course of a few days. His funeral had been celebrated with unusual pomp the day before our arrival, and great was my disappointment at finding myself too late to witness all the ceremonies.

"His body, according to their custom, having been wrapped in a blanket and placed in a rude coffin along with his guns, tomahawk, pipes, and a quantity of tobacco, had been carried to the most elevated point of the hill opposite the fort, followed by an immense procession of his people, whooping, beating their drums, howling and making altogether what is emphatically termed a 'pow-wow.'

"After the interment of his body a stake was planted at his head, on which was painted in vermillion a series of hieroglyphics, descriptive of the great deeds and events of his life. The whole was then surrounded with pickets of the trunks of the tamarack trees, and thither the friends would come for many successive days to renew the expression of their grief, and to throw over the grave tobacco and other offerings to the Great Spirit."

We might imagine that the bones of the great Four Legs repose there still, a little in the rear of the Agency building; but they probably do not, for the graves of the Indians were usually very shallow, and the tiller of the soil, as he "drove his team a-field," would often turn their bones to the surface to be whitened in the sun; and it became in after years quite fashionable for white men to desecrate the Indian graves in pursuit of relics. Frequently

no other covering than a roof of slabs, in the form of a ∧ was given to them. The removal of a board would enable one to see the old Indian chief Choukeka or "Spoon Dekorra" sitting upright, with all of his funeral trappings surrounding him.[1] On one occasion, when two of our townsmen, prompted by the spirit of an overweening curiosity, made an inspection of Dekorra's rude mausoleum, to see how the old fellow was getting on, a rabbit was observed keeping vigil with the spirit of the old chieftain.

Continuing her narrative of events occurring at the fort immediately after their arrival, Mrs. Kinzie relates the "calls" they received from the principal chiefs, who had put on their best blankets, gaudiest feathers, and paint to receive their new "mother."

There was Nawkaw or Carrymaunee (The Walking Turtle), who, the principal chief of his tribe, was beside Tecumseh when he fell at the battle of the Thames, and old "Daykauray,"—Schchipkaka (White War Eagle), as Mrs. Kinzie spells it, but which is always written, locally, "Dekorra."[2]

Mrs. Kinzie spoke of her caller as "the most noble, dignified and venerable of his own, or indeed of any tribe. His fine Roman countenance, rendered still more striking by his bald head, with one solitary tuft of long silvery hair neatly tied and falling back on his shoulders; his perfectly

[1] Not to be confounded with the Spoon Decorah of the next generation, whose narrative is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls*, xiii, pp. 448-462.—Ed.

[2] The correct orthography undoubtedly is De Carrie, like that of his father the old chief, who was the reputed grandson of Sebrevoir De Carrie, an officer in the French army, who, after resigning his commission in 1729, became an Indian trader among the Winnebagoes, subsequently taking for his wife the head chief's sister, Morning Glory, spoken of as a most remarkable woman. De Carrie returned to the army and was mortally wounded at Quebec, April 28, 1760, and died of his wounds in a hospital at Montreal. Whether this genealogical tree has been correctly established or not, I will not undertake to determine. It is vouched for in Augustin Grignon's Recollections (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii), and by John T. de la Ronde (*Id.*, vii), who was something of an expert in Indian genealogy; and so let it be accepted as a fact. There certainly are some corroborating and extenuating circumstances to sustain it.

neat, appropriate dress, almost without ornament, and his courteous demeanor, never laid aside under any circumstances, all combining to give him the highest place in the consideration of all who knew him. It will hereafter be seen," Mrs. Kinzie adds, "that his traits of character were not less grand and striking than were his personal appearance and deportment."

Mrs. Kinzie probably had in mind, when she penned the following paragraph, the time when the Indians were reduced to dire extremities for food. The game had been driven off by the troops and war parties the preceding summer, and soup made of slippery elm and stewed acorns was the only food that many of them had subsisted upon for weeks. Their condition was wretched in the extreme, and could only be relieved by the arrival of the stores that were expected to come up Fox River by the boat. While this condition of affairs existed, Mrs. Kinzie wrote: "The noble old De-kau-ry came one day from the Barribault [Baraboo] to apprise us of the state in his village. More than forty of his people he said had now been for many days without food, save bark and roots. My husband accompanied him to the commanding officer to tell his story and ascertain if any amount of food could be obtained from that quarter. The result was the promise of a small allowance of flour, sufficient to alleviate the cravings of his own family. When this was explained to the chief, he turned away. 'No,' he said, 'if my people could not be relieved, I and my family will starve with them.' And he refused, for those nearest and dearest to him, the proffered succor, until all could share alike. When at last the boat arrived, the scene of exultation that followed was a memorable one. The bulky 'Wild Cat,' now greatly reduced in flesh from his long fasting, seized the aristocratic 'Washington Woman,' Madame Thunder, and hugged and danced with her in exuberance of their joy."

The old chief died in 1836, at what is known locally as Caffrey's Place, at the foot of the bluff in Caledonia, and was buried in Portage just in the rear of the old log Cath-

olic church, nearly opposite J. E. Wells's residence, according to John T. de la Ronde; but Moses Paquette, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (vol. xiii), states that his death occurred at the Pete-en-Well on the Wisconsin River. When the order was made to remove the bodies of all persons buried there, Dekaury's remains were bundled into some boxes promiscuously with others, and they now rest in the Catholic cemetery.

Among the Kinzies' other callers were Black Wolf, Talk English, Little Elk, Wild Cat, White Crow, and Dandy,—a nephew of Four Legs, but not the Dandy known to so many of the housewives of Portage, who was omnipresent when pressed with hunger. His pretensions to noble lineage were distinctly repudiated by Yellow Thunder, who regarded his ancestry as tainted with uncertainty. Each of these distinguished callers could point to some special deed or traits of character that elevated him above the common herd, who could not point to so many scalps on their belts, or exhibit other evidences of prowess and greatness.

Among other callers, a little later, was the esteemed Mme. Yellow Thunder, who had been to Washington with Mr. Thunder, and was known by the other Indians as the "Washington Woman." Yellow Thunder had a reputation not a whit less honorable than Dekorra's. The good deeds related of him would fill a volume. His remains repose undisturbed on the west bank of Wisconsin River, a few miles below Kilbourn, where he lived and died, emulating, as well as he could, the virtues of his pale-faced brethren and eschewing their vices. At one time the government at Washington decided to remove him, with the rest of the tribe, to the Winnebago reservation near Omaha, and they did; but the old fellow got back even before the guard who escorted them thither, for he had decided to live in Wisconsin.[1] He purchased a farm and became a tiller of the soil, swore allegiance to the government to which he had no occasion to feel grateful, and died at a great age in 1874.

[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 407 et seq.—Ed.

Mrs. R. B. Marcy.

Yellow Thunder,
Winnebago chief.

Mrs. N. B. Rossell,
sister of Mrs. Marcy.

Mrs. Geo. B. McClellan,
daughter of Mrs. Marcy.

Mrs. Gideon Low.

The soldiers, apart from their garrison duties, were detailed to road-making. The old military highway between Fort Crawford (at Prairie du Chien) and Fort Howard (at Green Bay) was constructed wholly by them, and is still in use. Between times, some of the officers found time to go on the chase for deer in the neighboring forest. An old Indian named Dixon, whose erect form is still frequently seen on Portage streets, loves to tell how he used to paddle a canoe on Swan Lake and in the rice fields for "two good officers" (meaning soldiers of rank) to shoot ducks. He does not remember their names, but one of them had an unusually red head, he assures you, and was always successful in his ducking expeditions. This was probably Lieut. Carter L. Stevenson, who enjoyed the distinction of having a very bright capillary adornment.

So, while old Fort Winnebago's history has not been distinguished by attacks, or massacres, or other stirring scenes, it has not been wholly uneventful.

During the Black Hawk War, which followed the suppression of the Winnebago outbreak, the garrison at the fort was assigned to more active duty. A portion of it was sent to Fort Atkinson to strengthen that post, under command of Captain Low. What remained was so meager as to invite an attack from the Winnebagoes, of whose good intentions the inmates were not well assured. The approach of Black Hawk, in 1832, was heralded, and consternation prevailed. Satterlee Clark, in his reminiscences, states: "In the meantime Black Hawk, learning from the Winnebagoes, who also promised to assist him, that only thirty men remained in Fort Winnebago, determined to burn it and massacre its inmates. They accordingly came and camped on the Fox river about four miles above Swan Lake, and about eight miles from the fort." Clark probably meant Winnebagoes instead of Sacs, as some have inferred from his statement; for Black Hawk did not reach Columbia county. He detoured to the south with his braves, and was attacked and put to flight at what is known as the battle of Wisconsin Heights, in the town of Roxbury, in

Dane county, a short distance south of the town of West Point. Some amusing episodes occurred while the attack was in expectancy, but no serious catastrophe resulted.

Mrs. Van Cleve, in writing[1] of her marriage and other occurrences at the fort, has recorded this incident: "During the following summer [1836] a detachment of troops in command of Col. Zachary Taylor, accompanied by General Brady, came up to Fort Winnebago in consequence of an Indian scare, which was entirely imaginary, and camped on the prairie, just outside the fort. Their coming was a very pleasant event, and the more so because there was not, and never had been, any danger from the Indians, who were very peaceable neighbors. But we enjoyed the visit exceedingly, and the officers were frequently entertained at our quarters, at their meals. Very opportunely for us, the strawberries were abundant, and the flowers, which were beautiful and fresh every morning, were more lovely as ornaments than elegant plate of silver or gold."

At the conclusion of the Black Hawk War, in 1832, a treaty stipulation was entered into for the cession of all the Indian lands south and east of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. One of the stipulations of the treaty was the surrender of certain individuals of their tribe, accused of having participated with the Sacs in some murders. The men were surrendered, according to agreement, and were confined in the "black-hole," as it was called, being an enormous dungeon under one of the fort buildings, to await trial. Although careful supervision was exercised, the Indians proceeded to plan their escape, and in about six weeks they had tunneled their way out under the walls in almost the precise manner that a number of Union officers made their escape from Libby prison thirty years later. That they might be as little encumbered as possible in their flight, they left their blankets behind them; and although it was bitter December weather, they took to the woods and prairies with only their calico shirts and leggins for

[1] In her *Three Score Years and Ten*.— Ed.

covering. The question among the officers of the fort was, how to get the fugitives back. Kinzie, the agent, could promise no more than that he would communicate with the chiefs and represent the wishes of the officers that the prisoners should once more surrender themselves, and thus free those who had the charge of them from the imputation of carelessness, which the government would be very likely to throw upon them. When, therefore, according to their custom, the Winnebago chiefs assembled at the agency on New Year's day, 1833, the agent laid the subject before them. The Indians replied that if they saw the young men they would tell them what the officers would like to have them do. They could themselves do nothing in the matter. They had fulfilled their engagement by bringing them once, and putting them in the hands of the officers. The government had had them in its power once, and could not keep them; it must now go and catch them.

The social amenities of life were not neglected in the least degree by the few ladies who gave grace by their refining presence to fort life. Calls were made and returned then as now, and a lady took her position in a canoe to make or return a call on an acquaintance,— at Fort Crawford down the Wisconsin, 118 miles distant, or down the Fox to Fort Howard, about 175 miles away,— with less ado and trouble in arranging her toilet for the occasion, than is sometimes experienced by our ladies of to-day in making a party call across the street. I have frequently heard a gentleman who was accustomed to escort ladies on such occasions, and paddle the canoe, and who made his bridal tour in that manner from the old Agency house to Green Bay, speak of the rare delight of these trips in a birchen canoe.

The venerable W. W. Haskin, who is spending the evening of his life at Pardeeville,— one of the very few survivors of those who were at the fort when it was garrisoned,— reverts with evident pleasure to an occasion when he chaperoned some ladies at the fort on some of their horseback

gallopings in the oak openings about Stone Quarry Hill; and Mrs. Kinzie, a delicate young lady, and a stranger to life beyond the frontier, has told us most entertainingly in her *Wau-Bun*, of her trips to Green Bay by boat, and of her gallops to and from Chicago, sometimes in mid-winter, following bridle paths through the forest, fording swollen streams (for of bridges there were none), riding across treacherous marshes and through swamps, braving storms and inclement weather, partaking of Indian diet in their lodges at times, and subsisting as best she might, and remembering it all as a pleasant part of life.

Miss Marcy, daughter of Lieutenant Marcy (she later became the wife of Gen. George B. McClellan), gave the garrison a joy with her childish antics, and I have heard habitués of the fort refer with pride to the times when they dandled the dear little miss on their knees. The voice of Major Twiggs's daughter, Lizzie, first resounded in the fort in January, 1831, and so she is entitled to the distinction, as I suppose, of being the first white person born within the present limits of Columbia county.[1]

Mrs. Van Cleve has written: "The memory of the weekly musicals at John Kinzie's pleasant agency, and the delightful rides on horseback over the portage to the point where Portage City now stands, quickens my heart even now." As Mrs. Van Cleve (then Charlotte Ouisconsin Clark) was shortly afterward married to Lieutenant Van Cleve, it is not difficult to guess who her escort was on these occasions. It is recorded that the ladies, ever foremost in good works, had a Sunday school in progress at the chapel, and let us feel well assured the lessons they taught were fruitful of good results.

Neither was education, temporal or spiritual, neglected, as we learn from W. C. Whitford's paper on "Early History of Education in Wisconsin"[2] that Maj. John Green, com-

[1] She died at the age of five, in Washington, D. C.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 331. The latest history of the subject is Stearns's *Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin* (Milw., 1893). —Ed.

INDIAN AGENCY HOUSE, FORT WINNEBAGO.

Formerly occupied by Mrs. John H. Kinzie, author of *Wau-Bun*, and now the farm house of E. S. Baker.

manding officer at Fort Winnebago, engaged, in 1835, Miss Eliza Haight as governess in his family; he allowed the children of other officers at the fort to attend the school. There were in all about a dozen pupils. In the spring of 1840, Rev. S. P. Keyes became both chaplain and schoolmaster of the fort, and taught about twenty children, some of them over twelve years of age.

In the spring of 1833 the garrison was excited over the arrival of a clergyman, the Rev. Aratus Kent, of Galena, who was accompanied by his wife. "This event," Mrs. Kinzie wrote, "is memorable as being the first occasion on which the gospel, according to the Protestant faith, was preached at Fort Winnebago. The large parlor of the hospital was fitted up for the service, and gladly did we say to each other: 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!' For nearly three years had we lived here without the blessing of a public service of praise and thanksgiving. We regarded this commencement as an omen of better times, and our little 'sewing society' worked with renewed industry to raise a fund which might be available hereafter in securing the permanent services of a missionary."[1]

The efforts of the ladies in their religious work were sometimes turned in the direction of the Indians. Explaining the nature of their efforts to our old friend Dandy, he responded: "That is right; I am glad to see you doing your duty; I am very religious myself and I like to see others so. I always take care that my squaws attend to their duties, not reading, perhaps, but such as the Great Spirit liked, and such as I think proper and becoming."

The chapel, after the evacuation of the fort, continued to be used as such, and the late Rev. William Wells and the late Rev. Isaac Smith were accustomed to officiate there. The building is now one of the farm buildings on the Helmann farm, a little east of the old fort.

The spirit of speculation was also abroad, and army officers and their thrifty friends invested in government lands, and laid out on paper many a promising village. One of

[1] *Wau-Bun*, ch. xiv.— Ed.

these embraced a considerable tract of land adjoining the military reserve on the east, fronting in part on Swan Lake and extending back to Stone Quarry Hill, to which was given the pretentious name of "Wisconsinapolis." When the capital of the State was being located, the embryo city received six affirmative votes, to seven in the negative. This proposition has been thought by some, unacquainted with its natural advantages, to have been a preposterous one; as a matter of fact it was a most eligible and appropriate location for the capital. Another village, called "Ida," occupies the precise spot on Swan Lake, platted last year as Oakwood, which promises to become a popular resort. Another one on the south side of Swan Lake was called "Winnebago City," but better known in the east as "Swan Lake City," and now much better known as "Wardle's Farm."

While the officers hunted and fished, and speculated in wild lands and city lots by day, and indulged in games and festivities and theatricals at night, and the ladies knit and crocheted and did bead work and conducted Sabbath schools, and attended to their household duties as well as they could with their surroundings, the soldiers stood sentry, and between times visited the sutler's stores and trading posts, and made merry generally by day and sang "Benny Havens, O!" by night. In brief, army life at Fort Winnebago was very much like army life elsewhere. Athletics and theatricals, games and races, relieved the tedium; and discipline and demoralization, vice and virtue went hand in hand.[1]

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[1] The celebrated English writer, Frederick Marryat, journeyed through Wisconsin in 1837, and in his *Diary in America* (London, 1839, 2 vols.), vol. 1, p. 191, records his visit to Fort Winnebago: "Fort Winnebago is situated between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers at the portage, the two rivers being about a mile and a half apart, the Fox river running east, and giving its waters to lake Michigan at Green Bay, while the Wisconsin turns to the west and runs into the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. The fort is merely a square of barracks, connected together with palisades, to protect it from the Indians, and it is hardly sufficiently strong even for that purpose. It is beautifully situated, and when the country fills up will be-

The old fort, however, like all earthly things, had its day. The approaching war with Mexico had reached its threatening stage; and preparatory for it, orders for the evacuation were issued in 1845, the troops being sent to St. Louis to relieve those stationed at Jefferson Barracks, who had been ordered to the Gulf, and a little later they followed them to the sanguinary fields of Mexico. When the evacuation took place, the fort was left in charge of Sergeant Van Camp; but he died shortly after, when Capt. William Weir was placed in charge, he having been a soldier in the Florida War and afterward at the fort. Later, he was a soldier in the War of Secession. In 1853, the property was sold under the direction of Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, who, as lieutenant in the army twenty-three years before, had assisted in the construction of the fort.[1] Prior

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come a place of importance. Most of the officers are married and live a very quiet and secluded but not unpleasant life. I stayed there two days, much pleased with the society, and the kindness shown to me; but an opportunity of descending the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, in a keel boat, having presented itself, I availed myself of an invitation to join the party, instead of proceeding by land to Galena, as had been my original intention."

[1] The following is a copy of a letter from the secretary of war to the president, regarding the reservation at Fort Winnebago:

War Department, Washington, July 26, 1851.—Sir: By an order made or or before the 28th day of February and written upon a plat of the public lands adjacent to Fort Winnebago, the President directed that (among others) section 4 in township 12 north, and section 33 in township 13 north, range 9 east, be reserved for military purposes. At the time this order was made these sections had not been laid out in full, they were, as will appear by a copy of the plat bearing the president's order herewith marked D, situated on the western limit of the public domain and portions of them, if the lines had been run out, would have fallen within the country then belonging to an Indian tribe. The unsurveyed portions were, however, occupied for public purposes, and buildings were erected and one still standing thereon. By a treaty made in 1848 the Indians have ceded their land in that vicinity to the United States, and when it is surveyed and the lines of sections 4 and 33 completed, the portions of those sections lying within the newly acquired territory will be designated as fractional sections 4 and 33 lying west, etc., etc.

I am now advised by the commissioner of the general land office, in a

to the sale, the board of supervisors of Columbia county, January 7, 1852, formally adopted a memorial asking congress to grant the military reserve at Fort Winnebago for the benefit of the Fox and Wisconsin river improvement. Just why there should have been a desire to donate these lands to a private company, is hard to understand. If Congress had been asked to donate the reservation to the State, very likely it would have been done, as it is the practice of late years to donate abandoned military reservations to the States in which they are situated, for public purposes. It can only be regretted now that it had not been done in this instance. If it had been, the most important results might have followed.

It has been a matter of regret, often expressed, that the old fort should have been allowed to go to decay.[1] It certainly is to be regretted that the historic old spot could

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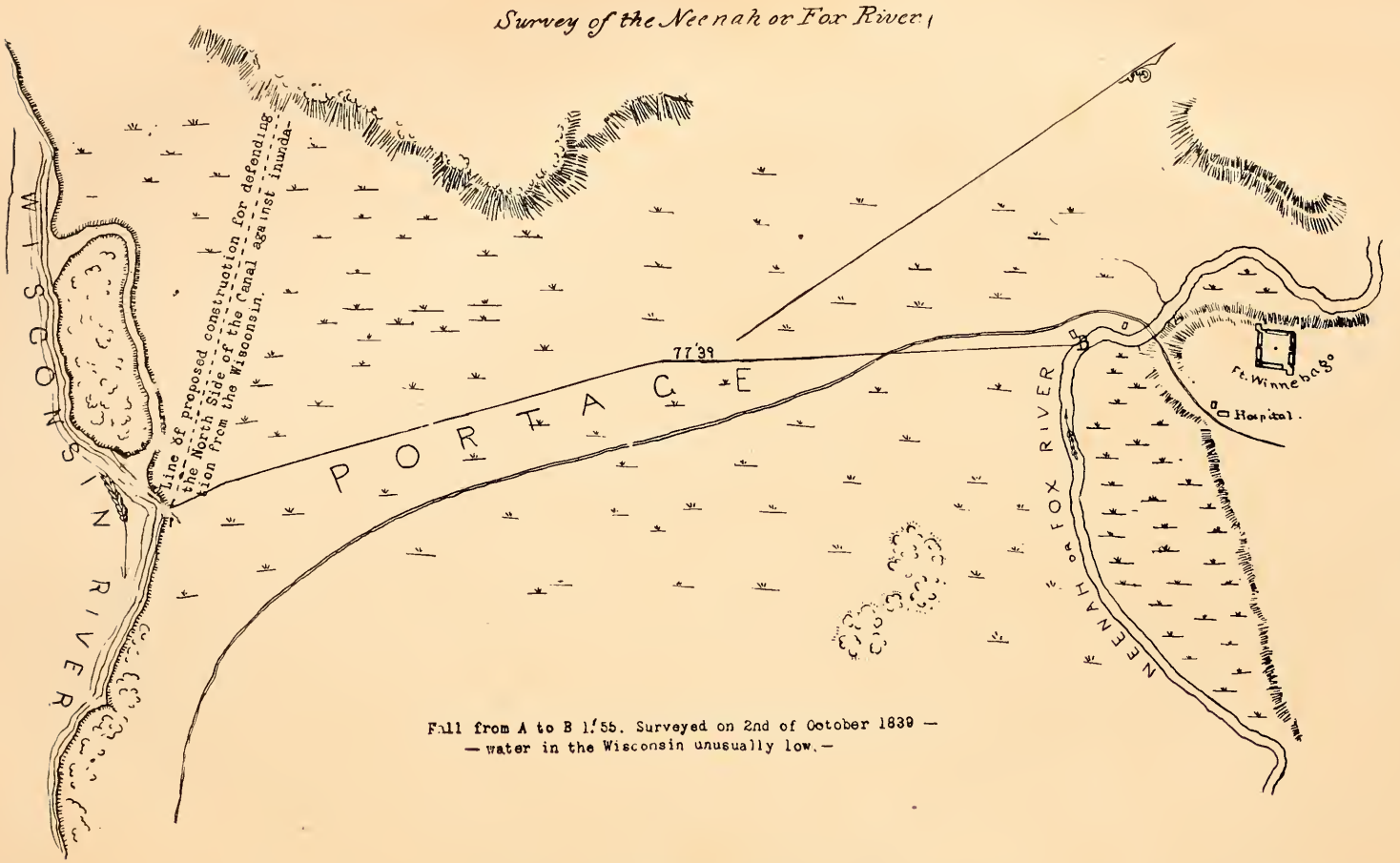
letter herewith marked E, that agreeably to the understanding of his office the executive order as it now stands will not embrace these fractions; "but they will be subject to the operations of the general pre-emption law as other public lands as soon as they shall be surveyed, unless the President acting under advices to be given to that effect by the war department, shall deem it proper to add those portions to the existing reserve made for the use of the fort by President Jackson and in advance of the time of the survey of the same when the pre-emption right can legally attach to them."

Although I think it doubtful under the circumstances whether a pre-emption right could legally attach to these lands, embraced as they are by the terms of the President's order and actually occupied under it, yet to obviate any difficulty I deem it best to pursue the course suggested by the commissioner of the general land office and recommend that "the tract of land which when surveyed will be denominated fractional section 33 lying west of Fox river in township 13 north of range 9 east" and "fraction of section 4 lying west of claim No. 21 of A. Grignon in township 12 north, range 9 east," adjacent to Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, be reserved from sale in fulfillment of the original order of President Jackson above cited. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. M. Conway,
Secretary of War.

To the President — (Approve) — Approved July 29, 1851, and ordered accordingly. Millard Filmore.

[1] A destructive fire occurred in the officers' quarters, March 30, 1856, destroying one of the principal sections of the fort.



THE FOX-WISCONSIN PORTAGE, 1839.

Reduced facsimile of map made by Capt. Thomas Jefferson Cram, T. E, January, 1840, and now in archives of War Department, Washington. Survey made October 2, 1839, by Lieut. Webster, under direction of Captain Cram. The line from A to B, represents the route of the proposed government canal; the double line, is the old portage trail.

not have been donated to the State, but there was no reason why the fort should have been maintained. All occasion for it had passed forever, and in the natural order of events the buildings went to decay. H. D. Bath, editor of the Columbus *Democrat*, visited it in 1871, and gave his impressions of it as it then appeared, in an article published at the time: "Duration and desuetude have been busy upon it. Most of the buildings stand, but they are sadly dismantled and decayed. One of the small yet massive blockhouses was burned simultaneously with the line of buildings forming the end of the quadrangle just within the defenses. The other remains, but it has been prostituted to bovine purposes. A domestic quadruped of that species shelters herself from the nightly attacks of the weather, in the strong inclosure built for refuge from the fury of the savage. On several of the edifices used for officers' quarters and similar accommodations, the massy roofing has descended almost to the ground, and barely depends, in crumpled decay, over the faces of the buildings, as when dilapidation seizes upon human ruins obtruding the tatters into their very eyes. The timbers were all of the best pine. The weather, however, if a slow hewer, is one that never rests and they must soon come down. The battered well with its forty feet of depth, and its never-failing waters, remains in the center of the square, and answers the purpose. Yet the roofed curb and heavy roller, worn with much yielding of pure refreshment, appear about to make a grave of the shaft beneath it, and is in a condition to improvise a tomb for any drawer of water that gives it a call. The magazine wards off the worm as only stone can. Its safe interior has been transmitted into a boudoir for a new-milch cow. The stone bakery is also in a good state of preservation; what use poverty, which makes men burrow wherever they can, has put this to, we did not observe. The only human figure to be discerned about the premises was a red-shirted Celt, pantalooned in what might be the cast-off undress of some former commandant long since gone to glory, and the child he carried in his arms, though there were flitting in

one of the better-preserved buildings, evidences of further family, present and future. He and his brood are the only life now in these former haunts, once so full of frontier life and military animation. The outward walls are littered with posters, ruptured with winds and rains, and placarded with the names of firms telling you where to purchase watches, or adjuring you to buy some nostrum incompatible with debility or death. Silence and abandonment, two owls ancient and voiceless, brood over the place. Existence passes it, but seldom stops. Its early origin and associations attract you thither; then curiosity melts with sadness at its desolation, and you turn from the ruin with no care to visit it again."

The old ruins, however, so graphically described, have at last passed away. Fires destroyed some of them and the balance were razed by purchasers who have converted their timbers into barns and stables. The old commissary building, and a portion of the surgeon's quarters and of the hospital, still remain. Much of the land embraced within the reservation now comprises the stock farm of Merrell & Hainsworth, while the Merrell residence occupies the old fort premises. The well continues to do duty as of yore, and the stump of the old flag-staff is still pointed out to visitors. Lieutenant Davis, in speaking of his career at the fort, once remarked to a former Portage lady, who met him at his home in Beauvoir, Miss., that to procure this staff was a matter of considerable anxiety to him. No timber entirely suitable for the purpose could be found near the fort. Two men, who had been consulted, informed them that the stick must be at least sixty feet in length, tapering gradually to a point, and so free from defects that it would sway gracefully when the flag was given to the breeze; and they were bargained with to bring such a one to the fort.

The fixtures and furniture left at the fort when it was evacuated, were disposed of at auction or carried away at will, and many a family in the vicinage can boast of some old fort relic; the famous "Davises" could have been found

in the inventories of the household effects of some families, and they may be in existence somewhere yet, for aught I know. An old sideboard that was in service at the Agency, presumably Mrs. Kinzie's, is one of the treasures in James Collins's household; and a bureau and sideboard, which constituted a part of the furniture in one of the officer's quarters, is in possession of Mrs. O. P. Williams; as is also the old carved wooden eagle that was perched over the main entrance.

As a necessary adjunct to the fort, a cemetery was established. It was not largely populated from the garrison, and the graves of none of the soldiers who died there during its occupancy are marked by stones. Major Clark and Captain Low were buried there; but, as already stated, their remains were finally removed to family grounds elsewhere. Robert Irwin, Jr., the Indian agent, died there July, 1833. Sergt. William Weir and Private Henry Carpenter were buried there in after years, and their final resting places are appropriately marked.[1] The cemetery seems to have been made general for the public for a period, and not a few of the families of citizens, more or less prominent, were buried there; but finally the national authorities took it directly in charge and built a substantial fence around it, and restricted its use to the military. Burials there in the future must be very few indeed; but it should be the duty of the national government to care for it more befittingly in the future.

The surrender of Red Bird and his accomplices in the Gagnier murder, heretofore referred to, may be said to have marked the close of the Winnebago War (1827). While the troops were in pursuit of the murderers, the old Indian chief, Dekaury, was seized as a hostage for the surrender of Red Bird, although he was charged with no offense

[1] The grave of one of the veterans of the Revolution, who was buried there, is discernible, the stone marking it bearing this inscription: COOPER PIXLEY | Died | Mar. 12, 1855 | Æ 86 y., 7 m., 26 D. | Soldier of the Revolution.

himself. He was informed that if the offenders were not given up within a certain time, he would be executed himself. A messenger was sent out to inform the tribe of the situation, but no tidings came, and the time had nearly expired. Being in poor health, the old chief asked permission to go to the river and bathe, as he long had been accustomed to do. He was informed by Colonel Josiah Snelling that if he would promise, upon the honor of a chief, that he would not leave, he might have his liberty until his time had expired; whereupon he gave his hand to the colonel and promised that he would not leave; then he raised both hands aloft, and in the most solemn manner promised that he would not go beyond the limits accorded to him, saying that if he had a hundred lives he would rather lose them all than forfeit his word. He was set at liberty, and was advised to make his escape, for there was no desire to shoot the old fellow, who had been guilty of no wrong himself. "No! Do you think I prize life above honor?" was his only reply. Nine of the ten days allotted to him had passed, and regularly at sunset of every day Dekaury reported to the colonel; but nothing was heard from the murderers. On the last day, General Henry Atkinson arrived with his troops, and the order for his execution was countermanded.

After the murder of Gagnier, Red Bird and the other Indians implicated in the affair, fled up the Wisconsin River, and a mounted force to operate against the Winnebagoes as a body scoured both sides of the river up to Portage. Maj. William Whistler, who was in command at Fort Howard (Green Bay), had been ordered by General Atkinson to go up the Fox to the portage, with any force at his disposal. A company of Oneida and Stockbridge Indians accompanied Whistler's troops, and were encamped on the bluff opposite the portage where Fort Winnebago was subsequently built, to await the arrival of the general. In the meantime, the Winnebagoes to the number of several hundred, were encamped on the ridge along where Cook street now runs, west of the Catholic church.

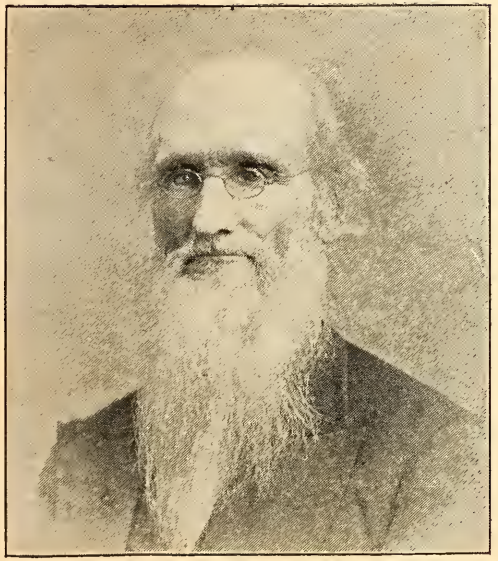
The Winnebagoes had heard of Atkinson's approach and Col. Henry Dodge's pursuit, before they were known to Whistler, and in a few days a great stir was discovered among the Indians. A party of thirty warriors was observed, by the aid of a field glass, on an eminence in the distance. It was Red Bird and his party, coming in to surrender. The details of the surrender of Red Bird have been most graphically described by the historians of the period. I would particularly advise the reader to examine the admirable account of the affair in Colonel McKenney's "The Winnebago War of 1827," in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. v. The heroism of Red Bird and his friend Wekau was one of the most remarkable incidents in the annals of our Indian wars.[1]

The prisoners were sent to Prairie du Chien for trial, before Judge Doty. They were convicted, but for some cause sentence was deferred. While confined, Red Bird sickened and died — committed suicide, Mrs. Kinzie says, in *Wau-Bun*, in consequence of chagrin, the ignominy of his confinement being more than his proud spirit could bear; he had expected death. The historian, William R. Smith, who came to the Territory at a very early period, and was familiar with Indian character, speaking of the affair in his *History of Wisconsin*, states: "The delay of administering justice was to the Indian a matter not comprehended; they scarcely in any instance deny an act which they have committed, and do not understand why punishment should not be immediately inflicted on the guilty. The imprisonment of the body is to them a most insufferable grievance, and they look upon the act as cowardice on the part of the whites, presuming that they dare not inflict such punishment as the crime demands."

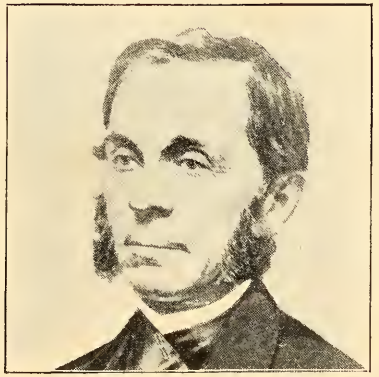
Red Bird's accomplices were subsequently sentenced to be hung December 26, 1828; but before that date they were pardoned by President Adams, one of the implied condi-

[1] Cf. also, general index to *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, for miscellaneous references to surrender of Red Bird and Wekau.— Ed.

tions being that the Indians should cede to the government the lands the miners had already appropriated to their use. Mrs. Gagnier was compensated for the loss of her husband and the mutilation of her infant. At the treaty in Prairie du Chien, in 1829, provision was made for two sections of land to her and her two children; and the government agreed to pay her the sum of $50 per annum for fifteen years, to be deducted from the annuity of the Winnebago Indians. This was the last act in the Winnebago outbreak.



Lieut. H. P. Van Cleve,
Acting Adjutant.



Henry Merrell.

Mrs. C. O. Van Cleve,
Author of *Three Score Years and Ten.*

FORT WINNEBAGO ORDERLY BOOK, 1834-36.

The orderly book of Fort Winnebago, from September 24, 1834, to September 6, 1836, is in the possession of this Society, having been presented by Mrs. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve (now of Minneapolis, Minn.),[1] widow of Lieut. Horatio Phillips Van Cleve, who was, for most of this period, acting adjutant of the Fifth Infantry. The book has 160 pages, and contains the details of official proceedings at the garrison. These are mainly courts-martial, the offenders being privates and non-commissioned officers, many of whom appear to have had ungovernable tendencies towards drunkenness, disorderly conduct, "crossing the Fox river without permission," and introducing intoxicating liquors into the fort. We select the following as being typical of the contents of the volume, and embracing the principal events recorded. It should be explained that the entries were made by clerks, under the direction of the acting adjutant; the latter therefore not being responsible for the somewhat erratic orthography and grammatical construction.

Hd. Qrs. 5th Inft'y
Fort Howard. 29th September. 1834

Spe Order
No. 17

The Detachments of Recruits destined to Fort Winnebago, will proceed tomorrow morning to that Post with as little delay as possible, under the command of Sergt. Leach of (I) Company 5th Inft'y. On arriving at Fort Winnebago, Sergeant Leach will report to the Commanding Officer, and deliver the papers of the Detachment.

By order of Bt. Brig. Genl. Brook
(Signed) W. Chapman,
Adjt. 5th Inft'y.

[1] See *ante*, p. 67.— Ed.

Hd. Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Order } Oct. 8th 1834.
No. 130 }

1. The Recruits who arrived here on the 5th inst. are assigned to Comp'ys as follows.—To Comp'y (C) Dominick Flannaghan & James Mc Kinzie. To (D) Carey Aplin, Michel Casey & Hiram Stark. To (E) Wm Carson, Thos. Farrol, Michael Foley, Jas. Mc Donald, Jeremiah Thompson & Thos. Mc Gowan. To (F) Lewis Hanawold, John Nixon, George Smith & George Wood.

2. The above named Recruits, will not be liable to detail for armed service till further orders, a n.com'sd Officer from each Comp'y, will drill the recruits belonging to that Comp'y every day, Sundays excepted, from 10 to 11 O'Clock A. M. and from 3 to 4 O'Clock P. M.—The subalterns will superintend the drill, alternating each week about commencing with (C)

3. Private Aplin of (D) will be reported as learning Music.

4. Sergt. Wilkinson will be reported for duty.

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. D. Van Cleve,
Act. Adj.

Head. Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Order } Oct. 10th 1834.
No 132 }

1t—Before a garrison court Martial of which Capt Low is president was tried,

1t Mus. Benj. Yeomans of (F) Company, 5th Infantry, Charge—1t Mus. Benj. Youmans of (F) Company 5th Infartry is Charged with being absent from the garrison of Fort Winnebago between Tattoo & revilee on the night of 30th Sept. and morning of 1t of Oct. without permission from the proper authority

Charge 2d—Crossing the Fox river without permission during the above specified time.

Charge 3d—Attempting to bring whiskey across Fox river bridge in violation of Garison orders at the time also Specified

Plea — To which Charges the prisoner pleaded as follows — Charge 1t Guilty Charge 2d not Guilty Charge 3d not Guilty

Finding & sentence} The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced confirm his plea to 1t charge. 2d Charge and 3d Charge not proven and do sentence him to have one months pay $6,00 stopped to have a ball & chain attached to his leg and put to labour for 10 days during the interval of which he is to be confined to the Guard house

2d — Corpl. James Scott of (E) company 5th Infy

Corpl. James Scott of (E) company 5th Infy is charged with being drunk on the 8th Oct., 1834 at Fort Winnebago, M. T.

Plea — To which charge the prisoner pleaded not Guilty

Finding & sentence} The court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced do find the prisoner Corpl. James Scott, Guilty of the Charge prefered against him, and do sentence him to be reduced to the ranks in his Company.

3d — The forgoing proceedings of the Garison Court Martial; of which Capt. Low is president, are approved, and the sentences awarded the prisoners; Mus. Yeomans and Corpl. Scott will be carried into effect.

4th — The court is dissolved

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. Van Cleve
Act. Adjt.

Head Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 16th 1834

Order } No 137 }

1st — Before a garison court Martial of which Capt. Low is president was tried

Corpl. Farnam of (F) Company 5th Infantry

Charge; Conduct unbecoming an non commissioned officer

Specification 1st; In this that the said Corpl. Farnam did

introduce ardent spirits in to the Hospital Kitchen and encourage disorderly conduct in the Hospital at Fort Winnebago on or about the 10th Oct. 1834

Specification 2d; In this that the said Corpl. Farnam did cause or persuade private Mc Loughlin of (C) Company one of the attendants to drink of ardent spirits at the Hospital untill he was drunk at Fort Winnebago on or about the 10th of Oct. 1834

Plea 3 — To which Charge and its Specification the prisoner pleaded not guilty

Finding & sentence) The court on the testimony adduced find the prisoners as follows

Guilty of the 1st specification, 2d Specification not proven, Guilty of the Charge and do sentence him to be reduced to the rank of a private sentinel

2d — The foregoing proceedings of the garison court Martial of which Capt. Low is president are approved and the sentence awarded the prisoner will be carried into effect.

3d — The Court is dissolved

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. Van Cleve
Act. Adjt.

Head Qrs. Fort Winnebago
Oct. 23th 1834

Order No 143

1st — A garison court Martial will assemble at 10 Oclock this morning for the trial of such Prisoners as may be brought before it

Lieut. Johnston President
" Hooe
" Ruggles } Members

2d The troops will be mustered and inspected by Companies at 10 oclock A. M. on the last day of the month commencing with E. Labour will cease at ½ past 1 oclock P. M. the day proceding and the guard will not be relieved until after the inspection is completed. The rolls and Company books will be examined at the office of the Command-

ing officer immediately after troop the day following the Muster

3d On the 1st of Nov. and untill further orders the surgeons Call will be given at 10 minutes after 8 oclock A. M. The signal for pease on the trencher at ½ past 8 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum at 9 oclock A. M. Assembly drum at 2 oclock P. M. Signal for Roast Beef at ½ past 2 oclock P. M. and Fatigue drum at 3 oclock P. M.

4th The guard will be turned off at 10 oclock A. M. the first signal to be given 15 minutes before that time excepting on saturdays when the signal for inspection will be given at 10 and that for guard mounting at ½ past 10 oclock A. M.

5th Privt. Robinson of Company (E) will be reported on extra duty under the orders of the Act. Q. M.

6th The resignation of Corporal Post is accepted to take effect this day subject to the approval of the Col. of the Regt.

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 11 } February 26th 1835

1 The troops will be mustered and inspected by Companies on the last day of the month at 10 oclock A. M. commencing with (E). The guard will not be releived until after the inspection is Completed. The Rolls will be examined and signed at the office of the commanding officer on Monday Morning Next immediately after guard Mounting. The party procureing logs will be Mustered absent.

2d — On the 1st of the Month the following alterations in the beats will take place. Surgeons Call 20 Minutes before 8 o'clock A. M. Pease on the trencher at 8 oclock Fatigue drum at ½ past 8 oclock Assembly drum at ½ past 1 o'clock P. M. Signal for Roast beef at 2 oclock and Fatigue drum at ½ past 2 oclock P. M.

3d — The guard will be turned off at 9 oclock A. M. the

first signal to be given 15 Minutes before that time excepting on saturdays when the signal for inspection will be given 30 Minutes after 9 and that for guard Mounting at 10 oclock A. M.

By Order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
March 8th 1835

Order No. 13

1st — The irregular and unmilitary Manner of relieveing sentinels, which some of the corporals have fallen into must be corrected and the officer of the day is required to arrest any one of them who shall deviate from the established and usal mode of conducting the relief.

2d — All the ashes carried from the garison will be deposited at the place where slops are required to be emtied & the Police Tubs will be emtied into the mens sink existing orders require this, and measures will be adopted by the commanding officer to detect all further deviation from it.

3d — Hereafter horses are not to come within the gates of the circular paleing which incloses the garison

By Order of Lieut. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE.
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
April 21st 1835

Order No. 30

All Canoes belonging to individuals in the garrison will hereafter be kept near the bridge and under the charge of sentinel No. 4 during the day & No. 5 in the night. The sentinels will be instructed to permit no enlisted man to use them without being Passed by an officer or an non-commissioned officer of the guard

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signd) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
April 24th 1835

Order No. 32

The Asst. Commissary will pay in Flour to the Companies of this garrison the amount due them respectively from the subsistance Dept. in consequence of the failure of the contractor to furnish beans, such arrangements will be made by the superintendent of the bake house as will ensure a small daily increase of the bread part of the Ration until the amount due the Companies shall have been consumed

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Sgd.) H. P. VANCLEAVE Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
April 28th 1835

Order No. 34

1st The troops will be Mustered and inspected on the 30th Inst. at 8 oclock A. M. by Companies Commencing with E. Labour will cease at half past 1 oclock tomorrow until the inspection is completed and the guard will not be releived until that time. The Rolls will be examined and signed at the office of the commanding officer on the Morning following Muster

2d On the first of May until otherwise ordered the surgeons Call will beat 20 minutes before 7 oclock A. M. Pease on the trencher at 7 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum at half past 7 oclock A. M. Assembly drum at half past 12 oclock M. Roast Beef at 1 oclock P. M. Fatigue drum at half past 1 oclock P. M.

3d The hour for turning off the guard will be 8 oclock A. M., the first call to be given 15 minutes before that time excepting on saturdays, on that day the signal for inspection will be given at 8 oclock and that for guard mounting at half past 8 oclock A. M. Fatigue drum will beat as soon as the call for guard Mounting is given. Other signals are as they are at Present.

4th When Not otherwise ordered the guard will mount

in uniform and it is expected that each individual will habitually present himself for this duty, with his clothing arms & accoutrements in high order.

5th The Flag will be hoisted daily at troop when the weather is suitable, the officer of the day will cause it to be lowered when ever wind or rain renders it necessary during the day

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler,
Sgd. H. P. VANCLEAVE Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 37 } May 4th 1835

1st The following extract from the proceedings of a Council of administration held on the 14th of Sept. 1832 is published for the information of all Concerned. The Camp Women of this Post will wash for the officers & soldiers and at the following Rates. 50 Cents per Dozen or two dollars per Month for single gentlemen, four dollars per Month for Married officers, 50 Cents per Month additional for every Child or Serveant. They may wash for 50 Cents per Month for the soldiers.

2d The Ice house will be opened every Morning at Fatigue drum after Revelly by Sergeant Van Camp when families will supply themselves for the day

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 39 } May 14th 1835

1st The drill of Companies will Commence and take place daily Sundays excepted when the weather permits at 9 O.Clock A. M. and at 5 O'Clock P. M. Continueing one hour each time, the appropriate signals will be given by

the Guard. As a new system of *Tacticks* May in a short time be expected Company Commanders will do well to Confine their attention for the present principly to such parts of the drill as will least likely undergo a Change

2d Pvt. Chellis of E will be releived from extra duty by Pvt. Healey of the same Company

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signd) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 40 — May 16th 1835

1st A Council of administration will Convene to day at 6 oclock P. M. for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it. The Council will Consist of Bvt. Major Clark, Capt. Low and Lt. Johnston Members Lt. Vancleave Secretary.

2d The Council fixed the following prices to the sutlers goods which haveing been approved they are published for All Concerned. Beer 75 Cents per gallon or 12½ Cents per pint Crackers 18¾ Cents per pound. Brooms 31¼ Cents each

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
(Signed) H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 42 — May 24th 1835

The Lieut. Col. Commanding being about to leave the Post Surrenders the Charge of it to Bvt. Maj. Clark, all Concerned will govern themselves accordingly. In performing this last official act he tenders to all his best wishes for their health, happiness, and prosperity

By order of Lt. Col. Cutler
Signed, H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 24th 1835

Order No. 43

Bvt. Maj. Clark assumes Command of the Post as Indicated in order No. 42 of this date, existing orders & regulations of the Garison will be adhered to

By order of Bt. Maj. Clark
Signd H. P. VANCLEAVE
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
May 30th 1835

Order No. 47

1st The 2d Section of the Military road Contemplated in General Order No. 20 of the 1st Ultimo will be Commenced on Monday next[1]

2d Company C and E. will first be employed on it

3d Company D will encamp near Duck Creek* and work towards the Fort (*Make a bridge a cross it)

4th Company C will encamp near Whitneys store house the Ouisconsin and Meet Company E which will Commence at Fox River and for the Present lodge in Quarters

5th The extra and daily duty Men one Gardner for each Company and the noneffective will necessarily remain at the Fort.

6th The Guard Will be reduced to one Non Commissioned officer and 4 Privates one of which Will report to the nonCommissioned officer Specially detailed for police and receive his orders

7th Mason of D now reported learning Music will be reported for duty as a Private

8th Parker of C attendant in Hospital will be relieved by Prouty of the same Company

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

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[1] See *ante*, p. 89.—ED.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
June 4th 1835

Order No. 48

The Guard will habitually dress in white Jackets and Forage Caps until further Orders

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS 5TH INFANTRY
FORT DEARBORN 29th June 1835

Order No. —

Bvt. Brig-Genl Brook Col. of the 5th Regiment of Infantry having been orded to this Post on a General Court Martial takes this oppertunity of expressing his sincere pleasure in witnessing the good Conduct of this Command evinces particular by its Moral behaviour and Character doing themselves high Credit in the opinion of officers and citizens he has not had an oppertunity from particular Circumstances of inspecting it Critically, but has noted both its drill and Police with great satisfaction, he therefore tenders both to the officers and men his best respects for their Military efficacy and Moral worth

Signd Bvt. Brig Genl BROOK Commg, 5th Infy

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
July 3d 1835

Order No. 53

To morrow being the anniversary of american Independance a national salute will be fired at one oclock P. M. under the directions of Lt. Collinsworth. The Company on duty at the Fort will also be under arms, as indicated in No. 92 Genl. Regulations

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Sept. 24th 1835.
No. 68 }

Upon the application of Pvt. Nelson of D Company a court of enquiry will Convene tomorrow at 10 oclock A. M. to investigate the facts relative to his Conduct while a sentinel on Post on the 18th Instant, when it is reported a personal encounter occured between him and a Winnebago Indian which has eventuated in the death of the latter

The Court will be Composed of Capt. Low President Lieuts. Johnston and Lacy Members Asst. Surgeon McDougal recorder and will render its opinion relative to the Culpability of Nelson[1]

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Oct. 1st 1835
No. 71 }

Lieut. Collinsworth will relieve Lieut. Johnston as Treasurer of the Post fund and will also take charge of the Post Library

By order of Bvt. Maj. Clark
(Sgnd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order } Oct. the 4th 1835
No. 72 }

Major Green assumes Command of Fort Winnebago all concerned will govern themselves accordingly. Existing orders and regulations for the government of the garrison will remain in full force until Modified or Countermanded.

By order of Maj. Green
(Signd) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

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[1] The book does not, however, contain further reference to this matter.—ED.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Spec. Order No. 11 — Oct. 5th 1835

Sergt. Brown of E Company 5th Infantry will proceed to Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) in Mr. Rolette's boat and will take under his charge Pvts Peables and Harris deserters from the 1st Infantry. Sergt. Brown on his arival at Fort Crawford will report to the Commanding officer of the Post, and will return by the earliest oppertunity

By order of Maj. Green
(Signed) J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 87 — November 12th 1835

From information received by the Commanding officer, it appears that some pretentions is made to sundry buildings such as Stables &c as privates property by individuals of this command. No such Claim Can be admitted. All or any buildings that May have been, or may hereafter be put up are and will be Considered as public property

The permission granted to any person or persons to put up any building or buildings, being a Matter of accommodation will not entitle any to the right of transfering such building or buildings by sale or otherwise. When the individual or individuals for whose Convenience buildings have been erected in the vicinity of the garrison, leaves the Post and ceases to occupy them for the purposes for which they were erected they will be Considered in the hands of the Quarter Master and disposed of as Circumstances may require, under the directions of the Commanding officer; The building that is present used as a Hospital stable, will be put in good repair for the accommodation of the horses of the surgeon of the Post, as soon as it Conveniently Can be done. No building or enclosure of any description will hereafter be established on this reserva-

tion without the special permission — and the foregoing Conditions expressed in this order

By order of Major Green
Signed, J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 88 } November 12th 1835

The Commanding officer directs that so much of the order of this Morning on the subject of stables &c be Modified as follows Viz. That when an officer is about to leave the Post and has no further use for the property it Can be turned over to his successor or other Military friend belonging to the Post and not to the Quarter Master. The intention and object of the order being only to prevent the establishment of private Claims on the public reservation by any building, or enclosures that have been erected or that May hereafter be erected on the same

By order of Maj. Green
Signd J. T. COLLINSWORTH,
Act. Adjt.

HEAD QRS FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No. 11 } Feb 18 1836

The Major Commanding hase the painful duty to annonce to the command the death of Brevt Major N Clark,[1] he will be buried to-Morrow at 2 Oclock with the honnours of War, when all present except those persons who may be expressly excused will appere under arms in full uniform. The Commanding officer, directs that the escort, [be] composed of four Companies, which in accordance with his owne feelings as well as what is due to the deceased he will command in person. all officers of this command will ware black crape, attached to the hilts of there swords, &

[1] See Mrs. Van Cleve's *Three Score Years and Ten*, pp. 105–107.—ED.

as testimony of respect for the deceased the like bage [badge] will be worn for the period 30 days, the Surgeon of the Post will act as Chaplain

By order of Major Green
Signed J. T. COLLINSWORTH
Act. Agt.

HEAD QRS. FORT WINNEBAGO
Order No 98
23 July 1836

I. Not more than Three men per Company will go on pass at the same time, and on their return they will report in person to their Company Officer, should they not return punctually at the expiration of their permission *or* Should be in a state of intoxication, they will be refused passes for the next 30 days, or confined for trial or *not* at the discretion of their Company Officer.

II. All passes must be Countersigned by the Commanding Officer.

III. Private Mc Donald of "E" Company will be reported on Extra duty "Herdsman" under the Orders of the Actg. Asst. Qr. Master

By Order of Capt. Low
"Signed" J. H. WHIPPLE
Act. Adjt.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

BY ALFRED AUGUSTUS JACKSON.

Black Hawk was chief of a band of Sac Indians. The Sacs are supposed to have come from Canada at an early date.[1] They lived for a long time in the vicinity of Rock Island. Their main village was located at the junction of the Rock and Mississippi rivers. This village, Black Hawk says, had existed for over a hundred years.[2] In this village, he claims to have been born in 1767.[3] The Sacs and Foxes formed a sort of confederacy, and lived together in friendly relations.

In 1804,[4] a treaty was made with the Sac and Fox Indians at St. Louis, by Gen. William Henry Harrison, by which these tribes relinquished their claims to the lands bounded by the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin rivers. The tribes were not immediately removed from the lands described in the treaty, but were permitted to live and hunt upon them so long as the government owned them. Although this treaty was ratified several times, Black Hawk always insisted that his people had not consented to the document, and were not bound by it.[5]

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[1] *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk, dictated by himself* (St. Louis ed., 1882), p. 11; this will be referred to later, as "Black Hawk's Autobiography." See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 136. For bibliography of the Black Hawk War, see *Id.*, xii, p. 217, *note.*

[2] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 16.

[4] *Indian Treaties, U. S. Stat. at Large*, vii, p. 84.

[5] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 8.

About 1828, the public lands about Rock Island were offered for sale by the government. The white population in Illinois had increased so rapidly, that in 1830 it numbered about 155,000. In 1831, the Indians became troublesome, and frequent conflicts occurred between them and the whites. Complaints were made to the government by the white settlers, and the tribesmen were required to move to the west side of the Mississippi.[1] A portion of the Sacs and Foxes, under Keokuk, head chief of the Foxes, peaceably removed across the river as required; but Black Hawk and a portion of the Sacs, who were in sympathy with him, refused to leave. It was the custom of the Indians to leave their village and winter in other portions of the country, west of the Mississippi, hunting and trapping. In the spring of 1831, when they returned from their hunting expedition, they found that the whites had taken possession of portions of the lands they had occupied and cultivated.[2] Black Hawk was greatly dissatisfied with this, and ordered the whites away, threatening them with death if they remained.[3] The settlers became alarmed for their safety, and complained to Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, who reported the fact to Gen. Edmund P. Gaines of the United States Army.[4]

Reynolds, at the request of Gaines, called out 700 volunteers, and 1,500 responded to the call.[5] With this force, and several companies of regulars, Gaines marched to the mouth of Rock River, whereupon Black Hawk with his band moved to the west side of the Mississippi.[6] Gaines threatened to pursue the Sacs across the river and punish them for their disregard of the treaty. To prevent this, Black Hawk made another treaty with Gaines, by which he agreed to remain on the west side of the river, and not

[1] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 84.
[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 224.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[4] Ford's *History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), iii, p. 111.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 113.

to recross it without the consent of the president, or of the governor of Illinois.[1]

Notwithstanding this treaty, the Black Hawk band recrossed the Mississippi below Rock Island, April 6, 1832.[2] This was regarded by Reynolds as an invasion of Illinois, whereupon he issued a call for volunteers, to meet at Beardstown April 22, to protect the settlers and drive the Indians from the State. It may be observed that Black Hawk was not loyal to this government. His sympathies were wholly with the British, and his band was known as the "British band."[3]

It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Abraham Lincoln first became an historic character. His father and mother were born in Virginia,[4] and soon after their marriage emigrated to Hardin county, Kentucky, where Abraham was born on February 12, 1809. At an early day, his father and mother moved into Indiana, and from there into Illinois.[5]

When Reynolds issued his call for volunteers, April 16, 1832, young Lincoln was living at New Salem, near Springfield, in Sangamon county, about 120 miles south from Rock Island.[6] When the call was issued, Lincoln promptly enlisted, and with many of his neighbors went to Beardstown, in Cass county, about 40 miles northwest of Springfield. At Beardstown, the company which he had joined was organized April 21, by his selection as captain.[7] There was another candidate for the position. The method of

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[1] Ford., p. 116.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 116; Lamon's *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1895), p. 100; Wakefield's *History of the War between the U. S. and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 10; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records of Illinois* (Springfield, 1882), p. xv.

[3] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 78; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 289.

[4] Arnold's *Life of Lincoln* (Chicago, 1887), p. 17; Tarbell's *Early Life of Lincoln* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 36, 37.

[5] Arnold, pp. 17, 18, 28.

[6] *Ibid*, pp. 31, 32; *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records*, p. 176.

[7] Tarbell, p. 138.

election adopted, was for the two candidates to take separate positions, and let each member of the company form in line with the candidate he preferred. Lincoln's line was much longer than that of the other candidate; he was, therefore, declared elected.[1] In a brief autobiographical sketch made later in life, referring to this election, he said: "Then came the Black Hawk War, and I was elected a captain of volunteers, a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since."

Lincoln was, at this time, only a little over twenty-three years of age. He was not the ignorant man that many have been led to believe. Although his advantages for education were quite limited, and would not compare favorably with those enjoyed by most youth of to-day, they were the same as those of his comrades. While he had not had access to many books, he had read with care everything within his reach. What he had read, he had retained. He was naturally studious and thoughtful, and it is probable that in intelligence and prudence he was the superior, not only of his young companions, but of most of the older pioneers of Illinois. It is almost certain, from the somewhat limited knowledge that we have of his early life, that at the time he was elected captain of this militia company he was a brave, earnest, self-reliant man.

The company of which Lincoln was captain, formed a part of the Fourth Illinois Regiment, commanded by Col. Samuel Thompson.[2] This volunteer force was placed under the command of Gen. Samuel Whiteside, of the Illinois volunteers. April 27, this force, accompanied by the governor (Reynolds), commenced its march to Rock Island,[3] by the way of Oquaka, in Henderson county, and Yellow Banks, on the Mississippi, at which latter place it was expected that boats with provisions would meet it.

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[1] Arnold, p. 30.

[2] Lamon, p. 102; Wakefield, p. 13; Armstrong's *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), p. 665.

[3] Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln — a History* (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 90.

The column halted at the crossing of Henderson River, in Henderson county, for the purpose of constructing a bridge. An order was here issued forbidding the firing of arms within fifty yards of the camp. Captain Lincoln violated this order, by firing his pistol within the prescribed limits, and was placed under arrest and deprived of his sword for a day.[1]

On the march, a soldier of a company from Sangamon county broke into the officers' quarters in the night, and stole a quantity of liquors. Of course without the knowledge of the captain, the thief supplied Lincoln's company so liberally that in the morning they were unable to march, and were left behind by the army to get sober.[2] Although Lincoln was without fault in the matter, he was again punished, this time by being compelled to wear a wooden sword for two days.

In those early days, Lincoln was as strict and just in his observance and enforcement of the rights of others, as in his later years. There came into the camp of Lincoln's company a poor, hungry Indian, who presented a begging letter from Gen. Lewis Cass, recommending him for his services to the whites. The men were disposed to regard him as a spy, and to treat him accordingly. Lincoln promptly interfered, declaring that this peaceful Indian should not be killed by them. Some of his men charged him with cowardice, whereupon Lincoln replied, "If any man thinks I am a coward, let him test it!" One of the men said, "You are larger and heavier than we are." Lincoln replied, "This you can guard against; choose your weapons." No weapons were chosen, and the incident ended.[3]

From Henderson River, they marched to Yellow Banks, where they arrived on May 3. There they waited three days for the provision boats, and then proceeded to the

[1] Lamon, p. 102; Herndon and Weik's *Herndon's Lincoln* (Chicago, 1889), i, p. 95.

[2] Lamon, p. 103.

[3] Arnold, p. 34; Herndon, i, p. 95.

mouth of Rock River, where they arrived May 7,[1] and found General Atkinson with a force of regulars, and were mustered into the United States service.

In the memoir of Jefferson Davis by his wife,[2] it is stated that when this volunteer force was called out by Governor Reynolds, Gen. Winfield Scott was in command at Fort Snelling, and dispatched thence to the seat of war two lieutenants to muster in the Illinois volunteers. One of these lieutenants was said to be a "very fascinating young man, of easy manners and affable disposition;" while "the other was equally pleasant and extremely modest;" it is further stated that "a tall, homely young man, dressed in a suit of blue jeans," presented himself to the lieutenants as the captain of a company of volunteers, and was with the others duly sworn in; and that the oath of allegiance was administered to the "young man in blue jeans" by the "fascinating" young lieutenant, first named.

This "fascinating" young officer was Jefferson Davis, who was nearly a year the senior of Lincoln; his "extremely modest" colleague was Robert Anderson, who at the beginning of the War of Secession was in command at Fort Sumter; and the tall, homely, young captain in "blue jeans," was Abraham Lincoln. There may be a grain of truth in this romantic statement, but it is doubtful. At the time Lincoln was elected captain, and mustered into service, Scott was not at Fort Snelling; he was in the East, and did not reach Chicago until July 8.[3] Lieut. Jefferson Davis did not, at that time, come from Fort Snelling; he had for a considerable time been with Col. Zachary Taylor at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien). Neither did Anderson come from Fort Snelling, but from Jefferson Barracks, at St. Louis. It is possible that Lieutenant Davis administered the oath of allegiance, but I am not

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 234.

[2] *Jefferson Davis — a Memoir* (N. Y., 1890), i, p. 182.

[3] *Memoir of Lt. Gen. Scott* (N. Y., 1864), i, p. 219; Mansfield's *Gen. Winfield Scott* (N. Y., 1858), p. 203; *Western Annals* (Cincinnati, 1846), p. 800; *Hist. of Cook Co., Ill.*, p. 204.

aware of any record of such an event. Indeed it is stated upon what is believed to be good authority, that Lincoln and his company were mustered into service by Colonel Taylor himself.[1]

At Rock Island, it was agreed between Generals Atkinson and Whiteside,[2] that the latter should march up the easterly bank of Rock River to the Prophetstown, an Indian village on the east bank of that river, and there rest his army and await the arrival of Atkinson's command in boats. Whiteside proceeded on his march, but only halted at Prophetstown long enough to destroy the village, then proceeded up the river about forty miles, to Dixon's ferry, where Dixon now stands, reaching there May 12.[3] At Dixon's, Whiteside found two battalions of mounted men, under the command of Majors Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey.[4]

Meanwhile, Black Hawk had preceded Whiteside up the easterly bank of the Rock, and at the time of the arrival of the latter at Dixon's was at or near Sycamore Creek. It was the purpose of Whiteside to await at Dixon's the arrival of Atkinson. But Stillman's men became impatient, and desired to march farther north, and ascertain the whereabouts of the fugitive Indians. This the general permitted them to do.[5] May 12, Stillman commenced his march northerly, still along the easterly bank of the Rock.[6] On the afternoon of the 14th, he went into camp at Sycamore Creek, now known as Stillman's Run, in Ogle county, and about eight miles from Black Hawk's camp.[7]

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[1] Legend attached to portrait of Col. Zachary Taylor, in rooms of Chicago Historical Society.

[2] Ford, p. 117; Duis, *Good Old Times in McLean Co., Ill.* (Bloomington, 1874), p. 101.

[3] Tarbell, p. 141; Wakefield, p. 16.

[4] Ford, p. 117.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 117; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

[6] Ford, p. 118; Drake's *Great Indian Chief of the West* (Cincinnati, 1854), p. 147.

[7] Brown's *History of Illinois* (N. Y., 1844), p. 361; Tarbell, p. 142; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 235.

Black Hawk says that when he learned that these white soldiers were near him, he sent three of his young men with a white flag to conduct them to his camp, that he might hold a council with them, and with them descend Rock River again, and return to the west side of the Mississippi. He also sent five others to see what might take place.[1] The three Indians with the flag entered Stillman's camp, and were taken prisoners; the other five, when seen by Stillmen's men, were pursued without orders or officers. When Black Hawk found that his men were being chased by the whites, he formed an ambush, and upon the approach of the latter attacked them so vigorously that they turned and fled.[2] Eleven of Stillman's men were killed. The regiment to which Lincoln's company belonged, was meanwhile at Dixon's Ferry. The next day, Whiteside's force — among them, Lincoln's company — marched to the scene of this disaster and buried the dead.[3]

Later, when Lincoln was in congress, he gave a humorous account of his part in this affair.[4] Lewis Cass was a candidate for the presidency, and his war record was referred to, showing his eminent services to the country, whereupon Lincoln made the following reference to his own military career: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk War, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass to Hull's surrender; and like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly, on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If

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[1] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Moses's Illinois (Chicago, 1889), p. 367.

[2] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 96; Tarbell, p. 142; Ford, p. 118; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 320; Brown, pp. 361, 362; Lamon, p. 105; Duis, p. 101.

[3] Lamon, p. 106.

[4] Arnold, p. 37.

General Cass went in advance of me, in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live, fighting Indians, it was more than I did,—but I had a good many bloody struggles with the musquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry.

"Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, and, thereupon, they should take me up as their candidate for the presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

The time for which the volunteers enlisted having nearly expired, they now became clamorous for their discharge. Whiteside marched them back to Ottawa, in La Salle county, where they were discharged from service; on May 28, Lincoln's company was mustered out, and his office of captain terminated.

Lincoln was evidently a good soldier. It is said of him, that he was always ready for an emergency; that he complacently endured hardships; that he never complained, nor did he fear danger. When fighting was expected, or danger apprehended, he was the first to say, "Let's go;"[1] that he had the confidence of every man of his company, and that they strictly obeyed his orders.[2]

Prior to the discharge of the volunteers commanded by Whiteside, Governor Reynolds had issued another call for 2,000 volunteers.[3] He also made a personal appeal to the volunteers who were mustered out on the 28th, to re-enlist and serve for twenty days more, until the new regiments were formed.[4] In response to this appeal, Lincoln again enlisted, and on May 29 was, this time by Lieut. Robert Anderson, mustered into a company of mounted independ-

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[1] Ford, pp. 123, 124; Lamon, p. 113; Moses, p. 369.

[2] Lamon, p. 112.

[3] Smith's *Hist. of Wis.*, iii, p. 175; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 324. Ford, p. 124; Lamon, p. 113; Armstrong, pp. 676, 677.

ent rangers, under Capt. Elijah Iles.[1] Lincoln furnished his arms and horse; the former were valued at $40, and the horse and equipments at $120.[2]

Iles's company of rangers was held by General Atkinson in reserve for special duty. A few days after being mustered in, they were sent by the general to open communication with Galena, and to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians.[3] Before setting out on this expedition, they reported to Colonel Taylor, at Dixon's Ferry. The company marched to Galena and ascertained the condition of the settlements, then returned to Atkinson's camp at Ottawa.[4] The term of their enlistment having expired, they were, on June 16, mustered out by Lieutenant Anderson.[5]

On the same day, Lincoln again enlisted, this time as a private in an independent company, under Capt. Jacob M. Early, and was again mustered in by Lieutenant Anderson. Once more he furnished his arms and horse, the former being valued at $15, but the horse and equipments at only $85.[6] After Fort Sumter was evacuated, Anderson, then a major, went to Washington and called upon President Lincoln. The latter said to him, "Major, do you remember ever meeting me before?" The major replied, "No, Mr. President, I have no recollection of ever having had the pleasure before." "My memory is better than yours," responded the president, "You mustered me into the service of the United States in 1832, at Dixon's Ferry, in the Black Hawk War."[7]

Atkinson's army was now divided into three brigades, under Generals James D. Henry, M. K. Alexander, and Alexander Posey. Henry's brigade (organized June 20) formed the right wing, Alexander's (organized June 16)

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[1] Lamon, p. 113; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Moses, p. 370.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

[3] Tarbell, pp. 147–152.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 152.

[5] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176; Armstrong, p. 691

[6] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 176.

[7] Arnold, p. 36.

the center, and Posey's (organized June 12) the left wing. June 25, the brigades of Alexander and Henry reached Dixon's.[1]

On the 22nd, Captain Early was ordered by Atkinson to proceed to Dixon's with his company of spies, and report to Gen. Hugh Brady, of the United States army, who was then in command of the regulars.[2] Brady being afterwards taken ill, was obliged to turn over his command to Atkinson.[3] On the 25th, a battle occurred at Kellogg's Grove,[4] a few miles north of Dixon's Ferry, between a small force under Major Dement, and a party of Sacs, in which five whites and nine Indians were killed. Dement having called for assistance, Early's company marched all night and reached the scene of the conflict at sunrise the next morning.[5] The Indians had fled before the arrival of these reinforcements. It is probable that Early's company promptly returned to Dixon's Ferry.[6]

On the 27th, Henry's brigade and the regulars, under Zachary Taylor,[7] accompanied by Atkinson, resumed their line of march up the east bank of the Rock. Early's company of rangers, in which Lincoln was a private, was with Henry. On June 30,[8] this force crossed the Territorial line into what is now Wisconsin, at Turtle Village (of Winnebagoes), where Beloit now stands, and camped on the bank

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[1] Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison, 1885), pp. 145, 217, 218.

[2] *Records of War Dept.;* Brown, p. 367.

[3] Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest* (Wheaton, Ill., 1879), p. 384.

[4] Ford, p. 129; Smith, i, p. 170; Tarbell, p. 154; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 243; Brown, p. 367; Barrett's *Abraham Lincoln* (Cincinnati and N. Y., 1865), p. 43.

[5] Lamon, p. 178. This author mistakes Gratiot's Grove for Kellogg's Grove.

[6] Brown, p. 367.

[7] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246.

[8] Wakefield, p. 4; C. Buckley, in Beloit *Free Press*, Oct. 15, 1891, and Jan. 21, 1892; Barrett, p. 43; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 246; Ford, p. 131; Moses, p. 372.

of the river about a mile above the village. At this time, however, the village had been abandoned.[1]

On July 1, the army continued its march up Rock River.[2] After they had proceeded two or three miles, they saw on the high ground on the west side of the river, an Indian, who was probably a spy.[3] This high ground was undoubtedly the bluff on the west side of the river, north of Beloit. Wakefield, who was with the army, says that they had proceeded a few miles farther, when they came to the place where the Indians who had taken the two Hall girls prisoners, had stayed several days; and that it was a strong position, where the captors could have withstood a powerful force. This was, undoubtedly, what is now called Black Hawk's Grove, on the lands of Levi St. John and J. P. Wheeler. This statement of Wakefield's, to some extent corroborates a like statement in the *History of Rock County*, by Guernsey and Willard, published in 1856.[4] It is also stated in this history that the Hall girls were with the Indians, and were here ransomed.[5] Lincoln was, therefore, here with his company, under General Henry, on July 1, 1832.

When the first agricultural settlers came into Rock county, the tent poles and remains of the Indian camp fires were still to be found in Black Hawk's Grove,[6] and are remembered by some of these settlers, who are still with us. They indicated a more permanent camp than that of a retreating Indian force.

When Black Hawk was in Illinois and in the mining country, he did not have with him his old men and women and children. They were, however, in his company at the Battle of the Bad Ax.[7] They had joined him at some point

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[1] Guernsey and Willard's *History of Rock County, Wis.* (Janesville, 1856), p. 20.

[2] Ford, p. 131.

[3] Wakefield, p. 42.

[4] Guernsey and Willard, p. 19.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Black Hawk's Autobiog.*, p. 107.

after he left Illinois. It is therefore probable that Black Hawk's Grove was the headquarters of his band, from which raids were made in different directions.

Wakefield further says: "We had not marched but a few miles from the place before one of our forward scouts came back, meeting the army in great haste and stated that they had discovered a fresh trail of Indians, where they had just went along in front of us. Major Ewing, who was in front of the main army some distance, immediately formed his men in line of battle and marched in that order in advance of the main army about three-quarters of a mile. We had a thick wood to march through, where the undergrowth stood very high and thick. We marched in abreast in this order about two miles, not stopping for the unevenness of the ground, or anything else — but keeping in line of battle all the time, until we found the Indians had scattered, then we resumed our common line of march, which was in three divisions."[1]

The thick woods referred to by Wakefield, were undoubtedly the heavy timber lying between Janesville and Milton, along the Milton road. As Early's company of rangers, of which Lincoln was a member, was mounted, it was undoubtedly scouting in advance of the army, on this march through Janesville.

On the evening of July 1, Atkinson's force, or one division of it, camped at or near Storrs Lake, but a short distance east of the village of Milton.[2] The following morning, the army proceeded almost directly north, to nearly the north line of Rock county, where they changed to a northwesterly course, leading to Lake Koshkonong. After marching a few miles, they struck the main trail of Black Hawk's force, which appeared to be about two days' old. Early's rangers were still in advance of the column. The forces were halted, and Major Ewing, Major Anderson, and Captain Early went forward to reconnoitre. Ander-

[1] Wakefield, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 43.

son, with his telescope, could see across Lake Koshkonong. I have found no record of the army on July 3. It is alleged that it camped on the north side of Otter Creek, in section 3, in the town of Milton, about two miles from Lake Koshkonong. In 1840, the late Isaac T. Smith located a portion of section 10, adjoining section 3; he made a claim to the land March 4, 1837, before it was in market. At that time, posts set in the ground, where beeves were hauled up to be dressed, were still standing on the south side of Otter Creek, also in section 3.[1]

While at this camp, the scouts captured and brought in an old blind Sac Indian.[2] When the army marched, they left the Indian some food and a barrel of water; but when the forces of either Posey or Alexander arrived, the poor fellow was shot by their scouts, thus being the only Indian known to have been killed in Rock county.

On the evening of July 3, Alexander arrived with his men. He had been sent to Plum River, on the Mississippi, to prevent the escape of the enemy in that direction. July 4, Major Ewing, with his spy battalion, and Colonel Collins and Col. Gabriel Jones were directed to follow the trail up the Rock. Finding that it continued up stream, they returned to camp late in the evening. July 6, Atkinson marched to Burnt Village, at the junction of Whitewater Creek with Bark River.[3] That night, Posey's brigade and Col. Henry Dodge's regiment arrived at the mouth of the Whitewater.[4] Captain Early also returned from a scout, and reported finding a fresh trail, three miles beyond, but this proved to be a mistake. The following day, Atkinson marched several miles up the Rock, and on the 8th returned to the mouth of the Whitewater. Winnebago Indians now reported Black Hawk on the island in Lake Koshkonong, now called Black Hawk's Island. On the

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[1] MS. memoir of Isaac T. Smith.

[2] Ford, p. 131.

[3] Wakefield, p. 45; Moses, p. 373; Brown, p. 368.

[4] Ford, p. 132.

9th, Early's company crossed to the island on rafts, but no Indians were found there.[1]

I have been thus particular in tracing Captain Early's company, for the purpose of showing that Lincoln was with the right wing of Atkinson's army, and marched up the Rock, through Beloit and Janesville, and that he was neither with the left wing of the army under Posey, nor with the center under Alexander. Early's rangers were with Atkinson, scouting on July 2, while Alexander did not join Atkinson until the evening of July 3, and Posey did not come up until the evening of July 6.

By July 10, the provisions of the army were exhausted, and the soldiers were suffering. Henry and Alexander were sent to Fort Winnebago for supplies; Posey was ordered to Fort Hamilton; Taylor, with the regulars, went to Prairie du Chien; Emery's regiment returned to Dixon's with Capt. Charles Dunn, who had been seriously wounded at Burnt Village; while Early's rangers were mustered out, and discharged from the service.[2]

Lincoln was mustered out July 10.[3] The next day he started with his fellows, for his home in Illinois. That night, his horse and that of a comrade were stolen, and they were obliged to walk, except when other more fortunate members of the company permitted them to ride while they walked. The two horseless rangers went from the mouth of the Whitewater to Peoria, and then down Illinois River in a boat.[4] As Peoria lies a little west of south of Janesville, they must have passed through Rock county. It is highly probable that they returned over the trail, through Black Hawk's Grove, over which they had marched only a few days before.

There was issued to Lincoln, as a soldier in the Black Hawk War, on April 16, 1852, under the act of congress of 1850, a land-warrant for 40 acres, which was located by

[1] Ford, pp. 132–134.

[2] Wakefield, p. 45.

[3] Tarbell, p. 155; Lamon, p. 118.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 118.

him in Iowa. Another warrant for 120 acres was issued to him on April 22, 1856, under the act of 1855; this he located in Illinois.[1]

While Lincoln's service in the Black Hawk War was brief, it must have made him familiar with the method of equipping and handling soldiers, and have given him knowledge that in after years was of great advantage to him. He demonstrated during the War of Secession that he possessed high military capacity. As a strategist, he was the equal of the best, and the superior of most of his generals.

It is of interest to recall the names of those connected with the Black Hawk War who were or became distinguished in the history of the Northwest, and most of whom were with General Atkinson as he marched through Rock county. Among these, were Col. Zachary Taylor, who won renown in the Mexican War, and afterwards became president; Abraham Lincoln, who also became president; Jefferson Davis, later the president of the Confederate States; Robert Anderson, who commanded Fort Sumter at the beginning of the War of Secession, and later became a major general; Albert Sidney Johnston, who became a general in the Confederate army, and commanded the Southern forces at the battle of Shiloh, where he was killed by the fire of an Illinois regiment; Gen. Henry Dodge, who was twice appointed governor of Wisconsin Territory, twice elected delegate of the Territory in congress, and twice elected to the United States Senate; W. S. Harney, in later years a general in the United States army; Col. William S. Hamilton, son of Alexander Hamilton; Col. Nathan Boone, a son of Daniel Boone, of Kentucky; Maj. Sidney Breese, later chief justice of the supreme court of Illinois; Capt. Charles Dunn, who became a member of the Wisconsin supreme court; Capt. John H. Roundtree, who for many years was a member of the State senate; John Reynolds, governor of Illinois; O. H. Browning, afterwards a United States senator from Illinois, and secretary of the interior; John J. Hardin, who as a general was killed at the battle of Buena

[1] Herndon, p. 101.

Vista, Mexico; E. D. Baker, who became a senator and a general, and was killed at Ball's Bluff, in the War of Secession,—and many others.

Abraham Lincoln was again in Rock county, in 1859. An invitation had been extended to him to deliver the annual address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, at its fair held that year in Milwaukee. He delivered his address on Friday, September 30. Upon his return from Milwaukee, the following day, he accepted an invitation by the Republican club of Beloit to deliver an address in that city. He was met at the railway station by the members of the club, a band of music, and a large number of the citizens of Beloit, and escorted in a carriage to the Bushnell House (now the Goodwin House), where he took dinner. At two o'clock he was escorted to Hanchett's Hall, at the corner of Broad and State streets, where he was introduced to a large and enthusiastic audience by John Bannister, the president of the Republican club, and presented a most conclusive vindication of the principles of the Republican party. His address was a review of the then somewhat famous article, "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories," contributed by Stephen A. Douglas to *Harper's Monthly*, for the preceding month of September.[1] The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for the speaker.

At that time, I was secretary of the Republican club of Janesville. Learning, on the morning of Saturday, that Lincoln was to deliver an address in Beloit in the afternoon of that day,—I had heard the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, at Freeport, in August, 1858,—it seemed to me very desirable that Mr. Lincoln address the Republicans of Janesville. I was at that time living with my partner, James H. Knowlton. Both Mr. and Mrs. Knowlton were out of the city; not wishing, therefore, to take Mr. Lincoln to the home of Judge Knowlton in the latter's absence, I asked William M. Tallman if he would entertain the speaker while in our city, which he assured me he would

[1] *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xix, p. 519.

be pleased to do. I then asked him to accompany me to Beloit, to invite the speaker. I took Judge Knowlton's carriage and driver, and with Mr. Tallman started for Beloit. On Main street, near Milwaukee street, we met Daniel Wilcox, one of the publishers of the *Gazette*, and I requested him also to accompany us to Beloit, which he did. When we reached Hanchett's Hall, Lincoln had commenced his address. At its close, we introduced ourselves to him, and extended to him an invitation to return with us to Janesville and address our people that evening. This he consented to do, and we immediately returned to Janesville, reaching there before dusk. Finding James H. Burgess at Beloit, he accepted our invitation to ride back to Janesville with us.

While returning from Beloit to Janesville, we came up what is known as the prairie, or town-line road. This runs near the trail followed by Black Hawk and Atkinson's army. While coming over the prairie between Beloit and Janesville, Lincoln recognized the route over which he had marched twenty-seven years before, and freely talked with us about it.

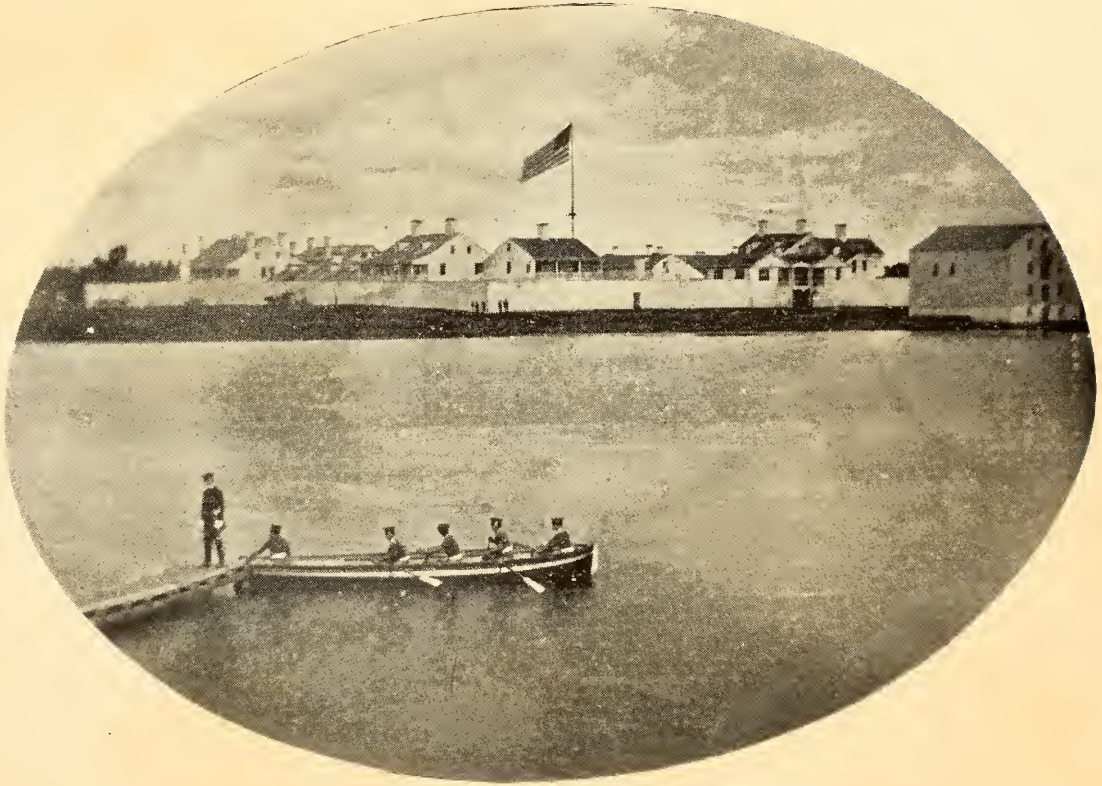
On reaching Janesville, the news that Lincoln had arrived and would address the people that evening, spread rapidly through the city, and a large audience gathered in what was then known as Young America Hall, in the Myers building. He was introduced to the audience by Dr. R. B. Treat, president of the Republican club, and spoke entirely and with great effect, upon the political topics of the day.

Mr. Lincoln remained with the Tallmans until Monday morning. On Sunday, he attended the Congregational Church with the Tallman family, and on Monday morning left Janesville for his home in Illinois. He was never in Wisconsin again.

I have made out the probable itinerary of Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War (1832), as follows:

April 21st, enlisted at Beardstown, Ill.; 22nd to 26th, at Beardstown, Ill.; 27th, commenced the march to the mouth

of the Rock River; April 27th to May 3rd, on the march from Beardstown to Yellow Banks; 3rd to 7th, marched from Yellow Banks to Fort Armstrong, at the mouth of Rock River; 8th, at Fort Armstrong; 9th, commenced the march to Dixon's, by way of the Prophetstown; 10th and 11th, on the march from Fort Armstrong to Dixon's; 12th to 14th, at Dixon's, mustered into service; 15th, marched to Stillman's Run; 16th, returned to Dixon's; 19th, marched north from Dixon's; 20th to 22nd, north of Stillman's Run, searched for Black Hawk; 23rd to 26th, marched to Ottawa; 27th, mustered out at Ottawa, and re-enlisted in company of Capt. Elijah Iles; 29th, at Ottawa, mustered into Capt. Iles's company; May 29th to June 15th, in camp with General Atkinson at Ottawa, and on march to Galena and return; 16th, at Ottawa, mustered out by Robert Anderson; 16th to 20th, at Ottawa, enlisted in the company of Capt. Jacob M. Early; 20th, mustered in; 21st, at Ottawa; 22nd, at Ottawa, ordered by Atkinson to march to Dixon's and report to General Brady; 23rd and 24th, at Dixon's, and scouting in that vicinity; 25th, marched to Kellogg's Grove; 26th, returned from Kellogg's Grove to Dixon's; 27th, marched north on the easterly side of Rock River, with Henry's brigade; 28th and 29th, on the march; 30th, reached Turtle Village, where Beloit now stands; July 1st, marched up Rock River to Black Hawk's Grove, at Janesville, and to Storrs Lake, at Milton; 2nd, marched from Milton north, towards Lake Koshkonong, camped on Otter Creek, and scouted in advance of the army; 3rd, scouted near Lake Koshkonong; 4th, followed Indian trail north of Lake Koshkonong; 5th and 6th, scouted in vicinity of Lake Koshkonong, and marched to Burnt Village, at junction of Whitewater Creek with Bark River; 7th, marched north of Lake Koshkonong; 8th, returned to Burnt Village; 9th, crossed to Black Hawk's Island, in Lake Koshkonong, scouting; 10th, mustered out of service, at Burnt Village; 11th, left Burnt Village for home, by way of Peoria.



FORT HOWARD, WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

Built on west side of Fox River, at Green Bay, 1816. From a daguerreotype taken about 1855.

AN ENGLISH OFFICER'S DESCRIPTION OF WISCONSIN IN 1837.

BY FREDERICK MARRYAT, C. B.[1]

We stopped half an hour at Mackinaw to take in wood and then started for Green Bay, in the Wisconsin territory. Green Bay is a military station; it is a pretty little place, with soil as rich as garden mould. The Fox river debouches here, but the navigation is checked a few miles above the town by the rapids, which have been dammed up into a water-power; yet there is no doubt that as soon as the whole of the Wisconsin lands are offered for sale by the American Government, the river will be made navigable up to its meeting with the Wisconsin which falls into the Mississippi. There is only a portage of a mile and a

[1] The popular writer who is known as "Captain Marryat," wherever English books are read, visited the United States and Canada in 1837–38, and as the result of his travels wrote a work in two volumes, entitled *A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions* (Philadelphia: Cary & Hart, 1839); contemporaneously, he published in London a work with a similar title, in three volumes, devoted entirely to comments on American institutions. In volume i, of the *Diary* proper, pp. 185–205, the captain gives the description of Wisconsin Territory in 1837, which is presented below. He had been traveling through Canada, and at Windsor embarked for Green Bay on the "Michigan, one of the best vessels on Lake Erie; as usual, full of emigrants, chiefly Irish." After leaving Wisconsin, he went up the Mississippi River in a steamboat, to St. Paul, then descended the Mississippi to St. Louis, with a side-trip to the lead-mines in the Galena district, and later leisurely proceeded up the Ohio by relays, in steamboats, thence returning to the cities of the Atlantic coast. Marryat had been a captain in the British navy, but resigned in 1830. At the time of his American visit he was in the full tide of his literary popularity, having published *Snarleyyow* in 1837, previous to leaving home.—Ed.

half between the two, through which a canal will be cut,[1] and then there will be another junction between the lakes and the Far West. It was my original intention to have taken the usual route by Chicago and Galena to St. Louis, but I fell in with Major F——, with whom I had been previously acquainted, who informed me that he was about to send a detachment of troops from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago, across the Wisconsin territory. As this afforded me an opportunity of seeing the country, which seldom occurs, I availed myself of an opportunity to join the party. The detachment consisted of about one hundred recruits, nearly the whole of them Canada patriots, as they are usually called, who, having failed in taking the provinces from John Bull, were fain to accept the shilling[2] from Uncle Sam.

Major F—— accompanied us to pay the troops at the fort, and we therefore had five waggons with us, loaded with a considerable quantity of bread and pork, and not quite so large a proportion of specie, the latter not having as yet become plentiful again in the United States. We set off, and marched fifteen miles in about half a day passing through the settlement Des Péres, which is situated at the rapids of the Fox river. Formerly they were called the Rapids des Péres, from a Jesuit college[3] which had been established there by the French. Our course lay along the banks of the Fox river, a beautiful swift stream pouring down between high ridges, covered with fine oak timber.

The American Government have disposed of all the land on the banks of this river and the lake Winnebago, and consequently it is well settled; but the Winnebago territory in Wisconsin, lately purchased of the Winnebago Indians, and comprising all the prairie land and rich mineral country from Galena to Mineral Point is not yet offered for sale; when it is, it will be eagerly purchased; and the American

[1] See map, *ante*, p. 96.

[2] An English military phrase, signifying enlistment.—Ed.

[3] The mission of St. Francis Xavier, established by Father Claude Allouez in 1671.—Ed.

Government, as it only paid the Indians at the rate of one cent and a fraction per acre, will make an enormous profit by the speculation. Well may the Indians be said, like Esau, to part with their birthright for a mess of pottage; but, in truth, they are *compelled* to sell — the purchase-money being a mere subterfuge, by which it may *appear* as if their lands were not wrested from them, although, in fact, it is.

On the second day we continued our march along the banks of the Fox river, which, as we advanced, continued to be well settled, and would have been more so, if some of the best land had not fallen, as usual, into the hands of speculators, who aware of its value, hold out that they may obtain a high price for it. The country through which we passed was undulating, consisting of a succession of ridges, covered with oaks of a large size, but not growing close as in forests; you could gallop your horse through any part of it. The tracks of deer were frequent, but we saw but one herd of fifteen, and that was at a distance. We now left the banks of the river, and cut across the country to Fond du Lac, at the bottom of Lake Winnebago, of which we had had already an occasional glimpse through the openings of the forest. The deer were too wild to allow of our getting near them; so I was obliged to content myself with shooting wood pigeons, which were very plentiful.

On the night of the third day we encamped upon a very high ridge, as usual studded with oak trees. The term used here to distinguish this variety of timber land from the impervious woods, is *oak openings*. I never saw a more beautiful view than that which was afforded us from our encampment. From the high ground upon which our tents were pitched, we looked down to the left, upon a prairie flat and level as a billiard table, extending, as far as the eye could scan, one rich surface of unrivalled green. To the right, the prairie gradually changed to oak openings, and then to a thick forest, the topmost boughs and heads of which were level with our tents. Beyond them was the whole broad expanse of the Winnebago lake,

smooth and reflecting like a mirror the brilliant tints of the setting sun, which disappeared, leaving a portion of his glory behind him; while the moon in her ascent, with the dark portion of her disk as clearly defined as that which was lighted, gradually increased in brilliancy, and the stars twinkled in the clear sky. We watched the features of the landscape gradually fading from our sight, until nothing was left but broad masses partially lighted up by the young moon.

Nor was the foreground less picturesque; the spreading oaks, the tents of the soldiers, the wagons drawn up with the horses tethered, all lighted up by the blaze of our large fires. Now when I say our large fires, I mean the *large* fires of *America*, consisting of three or four oak trees, containing a load of wood each, besides many large boughs and branches, altogether forming a fire some twenty or thirty feet long, with flames flickering up twice as high as one's head. At a certain distance from this blazing pile you may perceive what in another situation would be considered as a large coffee-pot (before this huge fire it makes a very diminutive appearance). It is placed over some embers drawn out from the mass, which would soon have burnt up coffee-pot and coffee altogether; and at a still more respectful distance you may perceive small rods, not above four or five feet long, bifurcated at the smaller end, and fixed by the larger in the ground, so as to hang towards the huge fire, at an angle of forty degrees, like so many tiny fishing rods. These rods have at their bifurcated ends a piece of pork or ham, or of bread, or perhaps of venison, for we bought some, not having shot any; they are all private property, as each party cooks for himself. Seeing these rods at some distance, you might almost imagine that they were the fishing rods of little imps bobbing for salamanders in the fiery furnace.

In the mean time, while the meat is cooking, and the coffee is boiling, the brandy and whisky are severely taxed, as we lie upon our cloaks and buffalo skins at the front of our tents. There certainly is a charm in this wild sort of

life, which wins upon people the more they practice it; nor can it be wondered at; our wants are in reality so few and so easily satisfied, without the restraint of form and ceremony. How often, in my wanderings, have I felt the truth of Shakespeare's lines in "As You Like It."

> "Now, my co-mates and partners in exile,
> Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
> Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
> More free from peril than the envious court?
> Here feel we but the penalty of Adam —
> The seasons' difference."

On the fourth day we descended, crossed the wide prairie, and arrived at the Fond du Lac, where we again fell in with the Fox river, which runs through the Winnebago lake. The roads through the forests had been very bad, and the men and horse shewed signs of fatigue; but we had now passed through all the thickly wooded country, and had entered into the prairie country, extending to Fort Winnebago, and which was beautiful beyond conception. Its features alone can be described; but its effects can only be felt by being seen. The prairies here are not very large, seldom being above six or seven miles in length or breadth; generally speaking, they lie in gentle undulating flats, and the ridges and hills between them are composed of oak openings. To form an idea of these oak openings, imagine an inland country covered with splendid trees, about as thickly planted as in our English parks; in fact, it is English park scenery, Nature having here spontaneously produced what it has been the care and labour of centuries in our own country to effect. Sometimes the prairie will rise and extend along the hills, and assume an undulating appearance, like the long swell of the ocean; it is then called rolling prairie.

Often, when I looked down upon some fifteen or twenty thousand acres of these prairies, full of rich grass, without one animal, tame or wild, to be seen, I would fancy what thousands of cattle will, in a few years, be luxuriating in those pastures, which, since the herds of buffalo

have retreated from them, are now useless, and throwing up each year a fresh crop, to seed and to die unheeded.

On our way we had fallen in with a young Frenchman, who had purchased some land at Fond du Lac, and was proceeding there in company with an American, whom he had hired to settle on it. I now parted company with him; he had gone out with me in my shooting excursions, and had talked of nothing but his purchase: it had water; it had a waterfall; it had, in fact, everything that he could desire; but he thought that after two years he would go home and get a wife; a Paradise without an Eve would be no Paradise at all.

The price of labour is, as may be supposed, very high in this part of the country. Hiring by the year, you find a man in food, board, and washing, and pay him three hundred dollars per annum (about £70 English).

The last night that we bivouacked out was the only unfortunate one. We had been all comfortably settled for the night, and fast asleep, when a sudden storm came on, accompanied with such torrents of rain as would have washed us out of our tents, if they had not been already blown down by the violence of the gale. Had we had any warning, we should have provided against it; as it was, we made up huge fires, which defied the rain; and thus we remained till daylight, the rain pouring on us, while the heat of the fires drying us almost as fast as we got wet, each man threw up a column of steam from his still saturating and still heated garments. Every night we encamped where there was a run of water, and plenty of dead timber for our fire; and thus did we go on, emptying our waggons daily of the bread and pork, and filling up the vacancies left by the removal of the empty casks with the sick and lame, until at last we arrived at Fort Winnebago.

We had not to arrive at the fort to receive a welcome, for when we were still distant about seven miles, the officers of the garrison, who had notice of our coming, made their appearance on horseback, bringing a handsome britchska and gray horses for our accommodation. Those who were

not on duty (and I was one) accepted the invitation, and we drove in upon a road which, indeed, for the last thirty miles had been as level as the best in England. The carriage was followed by pointers, hounds, and a variety of dogs, who were off duty like ourselves, and who appeared quite as much delighted with their run as we were tired with ours. The medical officer attached to the fort, an old friend and correspondent of Mr. Lea of Philadelphia, received me with all kindness, and immediately installed me in one of the rooms in the hospital.

Fort Winnebago is situated between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers at the Portage, the two rivers being about a mile and a half apart; the Fox river running east, and giving its waters to Lake Michigan at Green Bay, while the Wisconsin turns to the west, and runs into the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien. The fort is merely a square of barracks, connected together with palisades, to protect it from the Indians; and it is hardly sufficiently strong for even that purpose. It is beautifully situated, and when the country fills up will become a place of importance. Most of the officers are married, and live a very quiet, and secluded, but not unpleasant life. I stayed there two days, much pleased with the society and the kindness shewn to me; but an opportunity of descending the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, in a keel-boat, having presented itself, I availed myself of an invitation to join the party, instead of proceeding by land to Galena, as had been my original intention.

The boat had been towed up the Wisconsin with a cargo of flour for the garrison; and a portion of the officers having been ordered down to Prairie du Chien, they had obtained this large boat to transport themselves, families, furniture, and horses, all at once, down to their destination. The boat was about one hundred and twenty feet long, covered in to the height of six feet above the gunnel, and very much in appearance like the Noah's Ark given to children, excepting that the roof was flat. It was an unwieldy craft, and to manage it, it required at least twenty-

five men with poles and long sweeps; but the army gentlemen had decided that, as we were to go down with the stream, six men with short oars would be sufficient — a very great mistake. In every other respect she was badly found, as we term it at sea, having but one old piece of rope to hang on with, and one axe. Our freight consisted of furniture stowed forward and aft, with a horse and cow. In a cabin in the centre we had a lady and five children, one maid and two officers. Our crew was composed of six soldiers, a servant and a French *halfbred* to pilot us down the river. All Winnebago came out to see us start; and as soon as the rope was cast off, away we went down with the strong current, at the rate of five miles an hour. The river passed through forests of oak, the large limbs of which hung from fifteen to twenty feet over the banks on each side; sometimes whole trees lay prostrate in the stream, held by their roots still partially remaining in the ground, while their trunks and branches offering resistance to the swift current, created a succession of small masses of froth, which floated away on the dark green water.

We had not proceeded far, before we found that it was impossible to manage such a large and cumbrous vessel with our few hands; we were almost at the mercy of the current, which appeared to increase in rapidity every minute; however, by exertion and good management, we contrived to keep in the middle of the stream, until the wind sprung up and drove us on to the southern bank of the river, and then all was cracking and tearing away of the woodwork, breaking of limbs from the projecting trees, snapping, cracking, screaming, hallooing and confusion. As fast as we cleared ourselves of one tree, the current bore us down upon another; as soon as we were clear above water, we were foul and entangled below. It was a very pretty general average; but what was worse than all, a snag had intercepted and unshipped our rudder, and we were floating away from it, as it still remained fixed upon the sunken tree. We had no boat with us, not even a *dug-out* — (a canoe made out of the trunk of a tree,) — so one of

the men climbed on shore by the limbs of an oak, and went back to disengage it. He did so, but not being able to resist the force of the stream, down he and the rudder came together — his only chance of salvation being that of our catching him as he came past us. This we fortunately succeeded in effecting; and then hanging on by our old piece of rope to the banks of the river after an hour's delay, we contrived to reship our rudder, and proceeded on our voyage, which was a continuation of the same eventful history. Every half hour we found ourselves wedged in between the spreading limbs of the oaks, and were obliged to have recourse to the axe to clear ourselves; and on every occasion we lost a further portion of the frame work of our boat, either from the roof, the sides, or by the tearing away of the stancheons themselves.

A little before sunset, we were again swept on to the bank with such force as to draw the pintles of our rudder. This finished us for the day; before it could be replaced, it was time to make fast for the night; so there we lay, holding by our rotten piece of rope, which cracked and strained to such a degree, as inclined us to speculate upon where we might find ourselves in the morning. However, we could not help ourselves, so we landed, made a large fire, and cooked our victuals; not, however, venturing to wander away far, on account of the rattlesnakes, which here abounded. Perhaps there is no portion of America in which the rattlesnakes are so large and so numerous as in Wisconsin. There are two varieties; the black rattlesnake, that frequents marshy spots, and renders it rather dangerous to shoot snipes and ducks; and the yellow, which takes up its abode in the rocks and dry places. Dr. F——[1] told me he had killed inside of the fort Winnebago, one of the latter species, between seven and eight feet long. The rattlesnake, although its poison is so fatal, is in fact not a very dangerous animal, and people are seldom bitten by it. This arises from two causes: first, that it invariably gives you notice of its presence by its rattle; and secondly, that

[1] Dr. Lyman Foot, see *ante*, p. 77.

it always coils itself up like a watch-spring before it strikes, and then darts forward only about its own length. Where they are common, the people generally carry with them a vial of ammonia, which, if instantly applied to the bite, will at least prevent death. The copper-head is a snake of a much more dangerous nature, from its giving no warning, and its poison being equally active.

The river has been very appropriately named by the Indians the "Stream of the Thousand Isles," as it is studded with them; indeed, every quarter of a mile you find one or two in its channel. The scenery is fine, as the river runs through high ridges, covered with oak to their summits; sometimes these ridges are backed by higher cliffs and mountains, which half way up are of a verdant green, and above that present horizontal strata of calcareous rock of rich gray tints, having, at a distance, very much the appearance of the dilapidated castles on the Rhine.

The scenery, though not so grand as the high lands of the Hudson, is more diversified and beautiful. The river was very full, and the current occasionally so rapid as to leave the foam as it swept by any projecting point. We had, now that the river widened, sand banks to contend with, which required all the exertions of our insufficient crew.

On the second morning, I was very much annoyed at our having left without providing ourselves with a boat, for at the gray of dawn, we discovered that some deer had taken the river close to us, and were in mid-stream. Had we had a boat, we might have procured a good supply of venison. We cast off again and resumed our voyage; and without any serious accident we arrived at the shot-tower, where we remained for the night. Finding a shot-tower in such a lone wilderness as this gives you some idea of the enterprise of the Americans; but the Galena, or lead district, commences here, on the south bank of the Wisconsin. The smelting is carried on about twelve miles inland, and the lead is brought here, made into shot,[1] and

[1] See Libby's "Chronicle of the Helena Shot Tower," *Wis. Hist Colls.*, xiii.—ED.

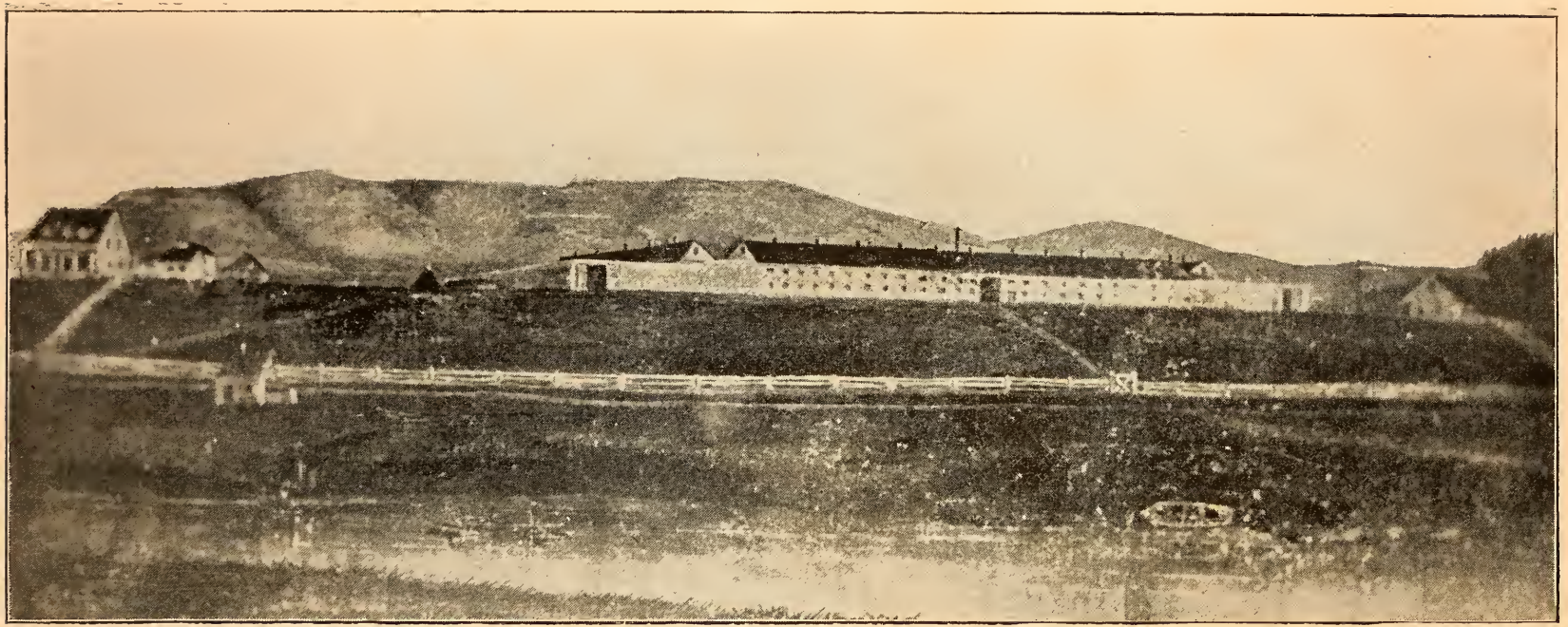
then sent down the river to the Mississippi, by which, and its tributary streams, it is supplied to all America, west of the Alleghanies. The people were all at work when we arrived. The general distress had even affected the demand for shot, which was now considerably reduced.

On the third day we had the good fortune to have no wind, and consequently made rapid progress, without much further damage. We passed a small settlement called the English prairie — for the prairies were now occasionally mixed up with the mountain scenery. Here there was a smelting-house and a steam saw-mill.

The *diggings*, as they term the places where the lead is found (for they do not mine, but dig down from the surface), were about sixteen miles distant. We continued our course for about twenty miles lower down, when we wound up our day's work by getting into a more serious *fix* among the trees, and eventually losing our only *axe*, which fell overboard into deep water. All Noah's Ark was in dismay, for we did not know what might happen, or what the next day might bring forth. Fortunately, it was not requisite to cut wood for firing. During the whole of this trip I was much amused with our pilot, who, fully aware of the dangers of the river, was also equally conscious that there were not sufficient means on board to avoid them; when, therefore, we were set upon a sand-bank, or pressed by the wind on the sunken trees, he always whistled; that was all he could do, and in proportion as the danger became more imminent, so did he whistle the louder, until the affair was decided by a bump or a crash, and then he was silent.

On the ensuing day we had nothing but misfortunes. We were continually twisted and twirled about, sometimes with our bows, sometimes with our stern foremost, and as often with our broadside to the stream. We were whirled against one bank, and, as soon as we were clear of that we were thrown upon the other. Having no axe to cut away, we were obliged to use our hands. Again our rudder was unshipped, and with great difficulty replaced. By this time we had lost nearly the half of the upper works of the boat, one

portion after another having been torn off by the limbs of the trees as the impetuous current drove us along. To add to our difficulties, a strong wind rose against the current, and the boat became quite unmanageable. About noon, when we had gained only seven miles, the wind abated, and two Menonnomie Indians, in a *dug-out*, came alongside of us; and as it was doubtful whether we should arrive at the mouth of the river on that night, or be left upon a sand bank, I got into the canoe with them, to go down to the landing-place, and from thence to cross over to Prairie du Chien, to inform the officers of the garrison of our condition, and obtain assistance. The canoe would exactly hold three, and no more; but we paddled swiftly down the stream, and we soon lost sight of the Noah's Ark. Independently of the canoe being so small, she had lost a large portion of her stem, so that at the least ripple of the water she took it in, and threatened us with a swim; and she was so very narrow, that the least motion would have destroyed her equilibrium and upset her. One Indian sat in the bow, the other in the stern, whilst I was doubled up in the middle. We had given the Indians some bread and pork, and after paddling about half an hour, they stopped to eat. Now, the Indian at the bow had the pork, while the one on the stern had the bread; any attempt to move, so as to hand the eatables to each other, must have upset us; so this was their plan of communication:—The one in the bow cut off a slice of pork, and putting it into the lid of a saucepan which he had with him, and floating it alongside of the canoe, gave it a sufficient momentum to make it swim to the stern, when the other took possession of it. He in the stern then cut off a piece of bread, and sent it back in return by the same conveyance. I had a flask of whiskey, but they would not trust that by the same perilous little conveyance; so I had to lean forward very steadily, and hand it to the foremost, and, when he returned it to me, to lean backwards to give it the other, with whom it remained till we landed, for I could not regain it. After about an hour's more paddling, we arrived safely at the landing-place. I



FORT CRAWFORD, WISCONSIN TERRITORY.

Built at Prairie du Chien, 1826. From photograph of a contemporary painting. Wisconsin River in the foreground.

had some trouble to get a horse, and was obliged to go out to the fields where the men were ploughing. In doing so, I passed two or three very large snakes. At last I was mounted somehow, but without stirrups, and set off for Prairie du Chien. After riding about four miles, I had passed the mountains, and I suddenly came upon the beautiful prairie (on which were feeding several herd of cattle and horses), with the fort in the distance, and the wide waters of the upper Mississippi flowing beyond it. I crossed the prairie, found my way into the fort, stated the situation of our party, and requested assistance. This was immediately despatched, but on their arrival at the landing-place, they found that the keel-boat had arrived at the ferry without further difficulty. Before sunset the carriages returned with the whole party, who were comfortably accommodated in the barracks — a sufficient number of men being left with the boat to bring it round to the Mississippi, a distance of about twelve miles.

Prairie du Chien is a beautiful meadow, about eight miles long by two broad, situated at the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Mississippi; it is backed with high bluffs, such as I have before described, verdant two-thirds of the way up, and crowned with rocky summits. The bluffs, as I must call them, for I know not what other name to give them, rise very abruptly, often in a sugar-loaf form, from the flat lands, and have a very striking appearance: as you look up to them, their peculiar formation and vivid green sides, contrasting with their blue and gray summits, give them the appearance of a succession of ramparts investing the prairie. The fort at the prairie, which is named Fort Crawford, is, like most other American outposts, a mere enclosure, intended to repel the attacks of Indians; but it is large and commodious, and the quarters of the officers are excellent; it is, moreover, built of stone, which is not the case with Fort Winnebago or Fort Howard at Green Bay. The Upper Mississippi is here a beautiful clear blue stream, intersected with verdant islands, and very different in appearance from the Lower Mississippi, after it has been joined

by the Missouri. The opposite shore is composed of high cliffs, covered with timber, which, not only in form, but in tint and colour, remind you very much of Glover's landscapes of the mountainous parts of Scotland and Wales.

I made one or two excursions to examine the ancient mounds which are scattered all over this 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 latterly been used by the Indians as burial places, there is no doubt; but I suspect they were not originally raised for that purpose. A Mr. Taylor has written an article in one of the periodicals,[1] stating his opinion that they were the burial places of chiefs; and to prove it, he asserts that some of them are thrown up in imitation of the figure of the animal which was the heraldic distinction of the chief whose remains they contain, such as the beaver, elk, &c. He has given drawings of some of them. That the Indians have their heraldic distinctions, their *totems*, as they call them, I know to be a fact; as I have seen the fur traders' books, containing the receipts of the chiefs, with their crests drawn by themselves, and very correctly too; but it required more imagination than I possess, to make out the form of any animal in the mounds. I should rather suppose the mounds to be the remains of tenements, sometimes fortified, sometimes not, which were formerly built of mud or earth, as is still the custom in the northern portion of the Sioux country. Desertion and time have crumbled them into these mounds, which are generally to be found in a commanding situation or in a string as if constructed for mutual defence. On Rock River there is a long line of wall, now below the surface which extends for a considerable distance, and is supposed to be the remains of a city built by a former race, probably the Mexican, who long since

[1] Stephen Taylor's "Description of Ancient Remains, Ancient Mounds, and Embankments, principally in the counties of Grant, Iowa, and Richland, in Wisconsin Territory," in *American Journal of Science and Arts*, vol. xliv, pp. 21–40.

retreated before the northern races of Indians. I cannot recollect the name which has been given to it.[1] I had not time to visit this spot, but an officer showed me some pieces of what they called the brick which composes the wall. Brick it is not — no right angles have been discovered, so far as I could learn; it appears rather as if a wall had been raised of clay, and then exposed to the action of fire, as portions of it are strongly vitrified, and others are merely hard clay. But admitting my surmises to be correct, still there is evident proof that this country was formerly peopled by a nation whose habits were very different, and in all appearance more civilised than those of the races which were found here; and this is all that can be satisfactorily sustained. As, however, it is well substantiated that a race similar to the Mexican formerly existed on these prairie lands, the whole question may perhaps be solved by the following extract from Irving's Conquest of Florida.

"The village of Onachili resembles most of the Indian villages of Florida. The natives always endeavoured to build upon high ground, or at least to erect the house of their cacique or chief upon an eminence. As the country was very level, and high places seldom to be found, they constructed artificial mounds of earth, capable of containing from ten to twenty houses; there resided the chief, his family, and attendants. At the foot of the hill was a square, according to the size of the village, round which were the houses of the leaders and most distinguished inhabitants."

I consider the Wisconsin tertitory as the finest portion of North America, not only from its soil, but its climate. The air is pure, and the winters, although severe, are dry and bracing; very different from, and more healthy than those of the Eastern States. At Prairie du Chien every one dwelt upon the beauty of the winter, indeed they appeared to prefer it to the other seasons. The country is, as I have described it in my route from Green Bay, alternate prairie,

[1] Reference is here made to the prehistoric remains at Aztalan.— Ed.

oak openings, and forest; and the same may be said of the other side of the Mississippi, now distinguished as the district of Ioway. Limestone quarries abound, indeed, the whole of this beautiful and fertile region appears as if nature had so arranged it that man should have all difficulties cleared from before him, and have little to do but to take possession and enjoy. There is no clearing of timber requisite; on the contrary, you have just as much as you can desire, whether for use or ornament. Prairies of fine rich grass, upon which cattle fatten in three or four months, lay spread in every direction. The soil is so fertile that you have but to turn it up to make it yield grain to any extent; and the climate is healthy, at the same time that there is more than sufficient sun in the summer and autumn to bring every crop to perfection. Land carriage is hardly required, from the numerous rivers and streams which pour their waters from every direction into the Upper Mississippi. Add to all this, that the Western lands possess an inexhaustible supply of minerals, only a few feet under the surface of their rich soil — a singular and wonderful provision, as, in general, where minerals are found below, the soil above is usually arid and ungrateful. The mineral country is to the south of the Wisconsin river — at least nothing has at present been discovered north of it; but the northern part is still in the possession of the Winnebago Indians, who are waiting for the fulfilment of the treaty before they surrender it, and at present will permit no white settler to enter it. It is said that the other portions of the Wisconsin territory will come into the market this year; at present, with the exception of the Fox river and Winnebago Lake settlements, and that of Prairie du Chien, at the confluence of the two rivers Wisconsin and Mississippi, there is hardly a log-house in the whole district. The greatest annoyance at present in this western country is the quantity and variety of snakes; it is hardly safe to land upon some parts of the Wisconsin river banks, and they certainly offer a great impediment to the excursions of the geologist and botanist; you are obliged to look

right and left as you walk, and as for putting your hand into a hole, you would be almost certain to receive a very unwished-for and unpleasant shake to welcome you.[1]

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Here, for the first time, I consider that I have seen the Indians in their primitive state; for till now all that I had fallen in with have been debased by intercourse with the whites, and the use of spirituous liquors. The Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien were almost always in a state of intoxication, as were the other tribes at Mackinaw, and on the Lakes. The Winnebagoes are considered the dirtiest race of Indians, and with the worst qualities: they were formerly designated by the French, *Puans*, a term sufficiently explanatory. When I was at Prairie du Chien, a circumstance which had occurred there in the previous winter was narrated to me. In many points of manners and customs, the red men have a strong analogy with the Jewish tribes; among others an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is most strictly adhered to. If an Indian of one tribe is killed by an Indian of another, the murderer is demanded, and must either be given up, or his life must be taken by his own tribe; if not, a feud between the two nations would be the inevitable result. It appeared that a young Menonnomie, in a drunken fray, had killed a Winnebago, and the culprit was demanded by the head men of the Winnebago tribe. A council was held; and instead of the Menonnomie, the chiefs of the tribe offered them whiskey. The Winnebagoes could not resist the temptation; and it was agreed that ten gallons of whiskey should be

[1] Here, the author discourses upon the "squatting" customs, with especial reference to the Galena region. He goes on to say that he "remained a week at Prairie du Chien, and left my kind entertainers with regret; but an opportunity offering of going up to St. Peters [St. Paul] in a steam-boat, with General Atkinson, who was on a tour of inspection, I could not neglect so favorable a chance." He visited Fort Snelling, and describes the Falls of St. Anthony, and then discusses the Sioux Indians thereabout. At this point, we renew our extract from the *Diary*.—Ed.

produced by the Menonnomies, to be drunk by all parties over the grave of the deceased. The squaws of the Menonnomie tribe had to dig the grave, as is the custom,— a task of no little labour, as the ground was frozen hard several feet below the surface.

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