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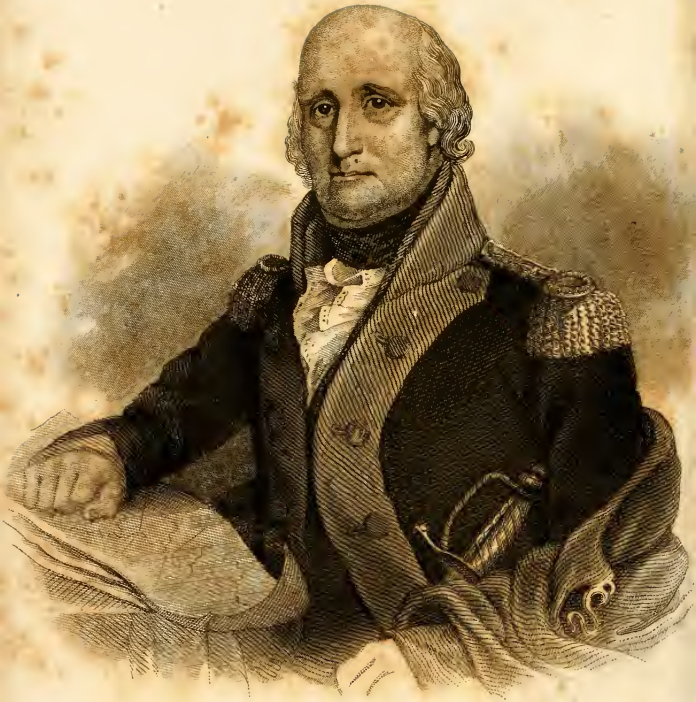

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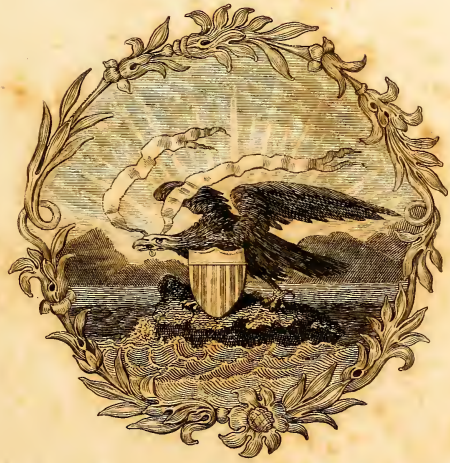

ILLINOIS.

PHILADELPHIA
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co
1856

THE

HISTORY OF ILLINOIS,

FROM ITS

Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.

EDITED BY

W. H. CARPENTER,

AND

T. S. ARTHUR.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1856.

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PHILADELPHIA.

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

THERE are but few persons in this country who have not, at some time or other, felt the want of an accurate, well written, concise, yet clear and reliable history of their own or some other state.

The want here indicated is now about being supplied; and, as the task of doing so is no light or superficial one, the publishers have given into the hands of the two gentlemen whose names appear in the title-page, the work of preparing a series of CABINET HISTORIES, embracing a volume for each state in the Union. Of their ability to perform this well, we need not speak. They are no strangers in the literary world. What they undertake the public may rest assured will be performed thoroughly; and that no sectarian, sectional, or party feelings will bias their judgment, or lead them to violate the integrity of history.

The importance of a series of state histories like those now commenced, can scarcely be estimated. Being condensed as carefully as accuracy and interest of narrative will permit, the size and price of the volumes will bring them within the reach of every family in the country, thus making them home-reading books for old and young. Each individual will,

in consequence, become familiar, not only with the history of his own state, but with that of other states: —thus mutual interest will be re-awakened, and old bonds cemented in a firmer union.

In this series of CABINET HISTORIES, the authors, while presenting a concise but accurate narrative of the domestic policy of each state, will give greater prominence to the personal history of the people. The dangers which continually hovered around the early colonists; the stirring romance of a life passed fearlessly amid peril; the incidents of border warfare; the adventures of hardy pioneers; the keen watchfulness, the subtle surprise, the ruthless attack, and prompt retaliation—all these having had an important influence upon the formation of the American character, are to be freely recorded. While the progressive development of the citizens of each individual state from the rough forest-life of the earlier day to the polished condition of the present, will exhibit a picture of national expansion as instructing as it is interesting.

The size and style of the series will be uniform with the present volume. The authors, who have been for some time collecting and arranging materials, will furnish the succeeding volumes as rapidly as their careful preparation will warrant.

PREFACE.

THE history of Illinois presents many points of singular interest. The villages of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes were founded by French missionaries at a very early period; and the territory formed a part of the French possessions in America until it was ceded to Great Britain in 1763. The romantic expedition of George Rogers Clarke wrested it from the latter power during the Revolutionary War, though it received very little increase of population from immigration until after the commencement of the present century. Since then its delicious climate, and the unexampled fertility of its soil, has been duly appreciated, while the vast works of internal improvement, either completed or in rapid course of construction, attest the energy and enterprise of its people. The

author of this book has endeavoured to exhibit the progress of the State in its several stages of growth; and it is believed that nothing has been omitted that might be regarded either as interesting in itself or as characteristic of its inhabitants.

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HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

CHAPTER I.

The French in Canada—Samuel Champlain—The Jesuit missionaries form the first permanent white settlement—Father Claude Allouez—The Illinois—Fathers Marquette and Dablon—Grand Indian council at St. Mary's—Marquette and Jolliet explore the Mississippi—Their visit to the Illinois Indians—Hospitality and kindness of the latter—Their manners and customs—Marquette visits the Arkansas—Close of the exploration—Return to Green Bay—Death of Marquette—His remains removed from the wilderness—Reverent conduct of the Kiskakon Indians.

THE discoveries of Verrazani, a mariner in the service of France, having given that country a title to certain parts of the Western Continent, in 1627 Samuel Champlain obtained from Louis XIII. a patent of New France, and entered upon its government. The territory so called included the whole basin of the St. Lawrence, together with Florida, or the country south of Virginia. The genius of Champlain, the founder of Quebec, could have devised no better method for extending the power of France on the American continent than by an alliance with the Hurons, and the establishment of mis-

sionaries. Jesuit missionaries were therefore commissioned to form alliances with the savage tribes that inhabited the western wilds. Every tradition bears testimony to the worth and virtues of these men. They may have had faults, the natural result of a stringent adherence to an ascetic religion; but they endured with invincible fortitude, hunger, cold, and nakedness, under the influence of an irrepressible religious enthusiasm. They carved the cross and the name of Jesus on the bark of the trees of the forest; and the rise of several towns of importance amid the forests and prairies of the far West is historically connected with their labours.

In August, 1665, Father Claude Allouéz founded the first permament white settlement on Lake Superior, among the kindly and hospitable Indians of the North-west. He soon lighted the torch of Catholicism at the council fires of more than twenty nations. He came in peace, the messenger of religion and virtue, and he found friends. The Chippewas gathered around him to receive instruction. Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes, and even Illinois, an hospitable race, having no weapon but the bow and arrow, diminished in numbers by wars with the Sioux and the Iroquois, came to rehearse their sorrows in the hearing of this devoted missionary. His curiosity was roused by their account of the noble river on which they dwelt,

and which flowed toward the south. "They had no forests, but, instead of them, vast prairies, where herds of deer, and buffalo, and other animals grazed on the tall grasses." They explained also the wonders of their peace-pipe, and declared it to be their custom to welcome the friendly stranger with shouts of joy. "Their country," said Allouez, "is the best field for the gospel. Had I leisure, I would have gone to their dwellings, to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them."

In 1668 additional missionaries arrived from France, who, following in the footsteps of Father Allouez, Claude Dablon, and James Marquette, founded the mission at St. Mary's Falls, on the shores of Lake Superior. While residing at St. Mary's, Father Marquette resolved to explore the Mississippi, of whose magnificence he had heard so much. Some Pottawatomy Indians having heard him express this resolution, attempted to turn him from his purpose. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the stranger—the great river abounds with monsters which devour both men and canoes." "I shall gladly," replied Marquette, "lay down my life for the salvation of souls." Such was the noble spirit of this brave and worthy missionary, such his entire devotedness to the sacred principles of that religion of which he was the humble expounder.

Continued and peaceful commerce with the French having confirmed the attachment of the Indian tribes inhabiting Canada and the North-west, a friendly alliance was now sought with them which was well calculated to extend the power of France on the continent. In May, 1671, a grand Indian council was held at the Falls of St. Mary's. At this council, convoked by the agents of the French government, it was announced to the tribes assembled from the banks of the Mississippi, the head springs of the St. Lawrence and the Red River, that they were placed under the protection of the French king, formal possession being taken of Canada and the North-west by officers acting under his authority. The Jesuit missionaries were present to consecrate the imposing ceremonial. A cross of cedar was erected; and by its side rose a column of similar wood, on which was engraved the lilies of the Bourbons. The authority and faith of France being thus proclaimed, "the whole company, bowing before the image of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century."

On the 10th of June, 1673, Father Marquette, who had long entertained the idea of exploring the Mississippi, the great river of the West, accompanied by Jolliet, five Frenchmen, and two Algonquin guides, ascended to the head of the Fox River, and carrying their two bark canoes

across the narrow portage which divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin, launched them upon the waters of the latter. The guides now left them, and for seven days they floated down the stream, between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor beast—through the solitudes of a wilderness, the stillness of which overawed their spirits. At length, to their inexpressible joy, their frail canoes struck the mighty waters of the Mississippi, rolling through verdant prairies, dotted with herds of buffalo, and its banks overhung with primitive forests.

Having sailed down this noble stream for about sixty leagues, they discovered, toward the close of June, an Indian trail on its western bank. It was like the human footsteps which Robinson Crusoe saw in the sand, and which had not been effaced by the rising of the tides or the rolling of the waters. A little footpath was soon found, and, leaving their companions in the canoes, Marquette and Jolliet determined to brave alone a meeting with the savages. After following the little path for about six miles they discovered an Indian village. First imploring the protection of Divine Providence, they made known their presence to the Indians by uttering a loud cry. "At this cry," says Father Marquette, "the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognised us as French, especially seeing a 'black gown,' or

at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well adorned, and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke; but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us. Having reached us at last, they stopped to consider us attentively. I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, I therefore spoke to them first, and asked them who they were. 'We are,' said they, 'Illinois;' and in token of peace they presented us their pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village, where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes are called in the country calumets."

Our travellers having arrived at the village, an aged chief bid them welcome to his cabin with uplifted hands, their usual method of receiving strangers. "How beautiful," said the chief, "is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings."

A grand council of the whole tribe was now held, which Marquette addressed on the subject of the Christian religion, informing them at the same time that the French king had subjugated

their enemies, the Iroquois, and questioning them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes which inhabited its banks. The missionary having finished, the sachem of the Illinois arose, and spoke thus:—"I thank thee, black gown, and thee Frenchman," addressing M. Jolliet, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright as to-day; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavour, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it to-day. Here is my son that I give thee, that thou mayest know my heart. I pray thee to take pity on me and all my nation. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us that we may know him." "Saying this," says Marquette, "he placed the little slave near us, and made us a second present, an all-mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave; by this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given of him; by the third he begged us, in behalf of the whole nation, not to proceed further, on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves. I replied that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness

greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who made all."

This council was followed by a festival of Indian meal, fish, and the choicest products of the prairies. The town, consisting of about 300 cabins, was then visited. Its inhabitants, who had never before seen a Frenchman, gazed at them with astonishment, and made them presents. "While we marched through the streets," says Marquette, "an orator was constantly haranguing, to oblige all to see us without being troublesome; we were everywhere presented with belts, garters, and other articles, made of the hair of the bear, and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are their rarities; but not being of consequence, we did not burden ourselves with them. We slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embark, evincing in every possible way the pleasure our visit had given them."

The following is a brief abstract from the account given by Father Marquette of the manners and customs of the Illinois Indians at the period of his visit. Happily, the Jesuits were men of learning and observation, who felt the importance of their position; so that while faithfully discharging the duties of their religious

profession, they carefully recorded the progress of events around them:—

"To say 'Illinois' is, in their language, to say 'the men,' as if other Indians compared to them were beasts. They are divided into several villages, some of which are quite distant from each other, and which produces a diversity in their language, which in general has a great affinity for the Algonquin. They are mild and tractable in disposition, have many wives, of whom they are extremely jealous; they watch them carefully, and cut off their noses and ears when they do not behave well; I saw several who bore the marks of their infidelity. They are well formed, nimble, and very adroit in using the bow and arrow. They use guns also, which they buy of our Indian allies, who trade with the French; they use them especially to terrify the nations against whom they go to war. These nations have no knowledge of Europeans, are unacquainted with the use of either iron or copper, and have nothing but stone knives." When the Illinois go to war, a loud cry is made at the door of each hut in the village the morning and evening before the warriors set out. "The chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by a scarf, ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen. The face is painted with red lead, or ochre, which is found in great quantities a few days' journey from the village. They live

by game, which is abundant in this country, and on Indian corn. They also sow beans and melons. Their squashes they dry in the sun, to eat in the winter and spring. Their cabins are very large, and lined and floored with rush mats. They make all their dishes of wood, and their spoons of the bones of the buffalo. Their only clothes are skins; their women are always dressed very modestly and decently, while the men do not take any pains to cover themselves.

"It now only remains for me to speak of the calumet, than which there is nothing among them more mysterious or more esteemed. Men do not pay to the crowns and sceptres of kings the honor that they pay to it. It seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. Carry it about you and show it, and you can march fearlessly amid enemies who, even in the heat of battle, lay down their arms when it is shown. Hence the Illinois gave me one, to serve as a safeguard amid all the Indian nations that I had to pass on my voyage."

Such is the account left by Marquette of the condition of the Illinois Indians at the time of his visit, in 1673. Taking leave of these hospitable savages, our adventurous travellers once more launched forth on the broad waters of the Mississippi. As they floated down this noble river day after day, they gradually entered on the richer scenery of a southern climate. The

sombre pines of the woods of Canada, the forests of oak and maple, were by degrees exchanged for the lofty cottonwood, the fan-like palmetto, and the noble arborescent ferns of the tropics. They began to suffer from the increasing heat, and from legions of musquitoes which haunt the swampy margin of the stream. At length they arrived at that part of the stream which, upwards of a century before, had been discovered by De Soto and his ill-fated companions, in the country of the warlike Chickasaws. Here they were attacked by a fleet of canoes filled with Indians, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and axes; but when the old men got a fair view of the calumet or peace-pipe, which Marquette continually held up to view, their hearts were touched, and they restrained the impetuosity of their young warriors by throwing their bows and arrows into the two canoes, as a token of peace and welcome. Having been hospitably entertained by these Indians, they were escorted the following day by a deputation in a canoe, which preceded them as far as the village of Akamsea (Arkansas). Here they were received most kindly; the natives continually bringing wooden dishes of sagamity—Indian corn—or pieces of dog flesh, which were, of course, respectfully declined. These Indians cooked in earthen pots, and served their food on earthenware dishes; were very amiable and unceremonious, each man

helping himself from the dish, and passing it on to his neighbor.

It was here that the travellers wisely terminated their explorations. "M. Jolliet and I," says Marquette, "held a council to deliberate on what we should do,—whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discoveries we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31° 40′ north, and we at 33° 40′, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off; that the Mississippi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the Gulf of Mexico, and not on the east, in Virginia, whose seacoast is 34° north. Moreover, we considered that we risked losing the fruit of our voyage if we fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly make us prisoners; and that we were not in condition to resist the Indians who infested the lower parts of the river. All these considerations induced us to return. This we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest prepared for it."

On their return, they left the Mississippi at the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, and entered the Illinois river, which greatly shortened their voyage. The country through which this river flows was found to be full of fertile and beautiful prairies, abounding in wild ducks, swans, parrots, and turkeys. The tribe of Illinois living on its

banks entreated Marquette and his companions to come and live with them; but as Marquette intimated his anxiety to continue his voyage, a chosen party conducted him by way of Chicago to Lake Michigan; and before the end of September all were once more safely landed at Green Bay. Jolliet returned to Quebec to announce the discoveries they had made, whilst Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamies, near Chicago.

Father James Marquette having promised the Illinois Indians to return among them to teach them the gospel, had great difficulty in keeping his word. The hardships of his first voyage had brought on a disease which deterred him from undertaking a second. His malady, however, abating, and having obtained the permission of his superiors, he set out for this purpose in the month of November, 1674, with two men, one of whom had already made his first voyage with him. During a month's navigation on the Illinois lake—Lake Michigan—his health became partially restored; but when winter set in, his old malady returned with increased violence, and he was forced to stop in the river which leads to the Illinois. Here he spent the winter in such want of every comfort, that his illness constantly increased. The ice breaking up on the approach of spring, and feeling somewhat better, he continued his voyage, and at length

was enabled to fulfil his promise to the Illinois, arriving at their town on the 8th of April, where he was enthusiastically received. Being compelled to leave them by the return of his malady, he resumed his voyage, and soon after reached the Illinois lake. His strength gradually failed as he sailed along the shores of the lake, and his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to the end of his journey. Perceiving a little river, with an eminence on the bank not far from its mouth, at his request his companions sailed into it, and carried him ashore. Here they constructed a "wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing." Perceiving his end approaching, he called his companions and embraced them for the last time, they melting in tears at his feet. He then directed that his crucifix, which he wore constantly around his neck, should be held before his eyes; and after repeating the profession of his faith, he devoutly thanked God for his gracious kindness in allowing him to die as a humble missionary of Jesus Christ, and above all to die as he had always prayed that he might die,—in a rude cabin in the forests, destitute of all human aid. He afterward became silent, his whole appearance denoting that he was conversing inwardly with

God. His countenance then suddenly brightened with a smile, and he expired without a struggle.

His two poor broken-hearted companions, after shedding many tears over his inanimate body, carried it devoutly to the grave, and raised a large cross near it, to serve as a mark to passers by.

Did the savages respect that cross? They did. We can pronounce no higher eulogium on Father James Marquette, than the fact that the Kiskakon Indians, to whom he had preached the gospel, returning from hunting on the banks of Lake Illinois, repaired to the missionary's grave, and, after mature deliberation, resolved to act with their father as they usually did with the best beloved of their own tribe. They reverently disinterred the remains, and putting them into a neatly-constructed box of birch bark, removed them from the wilderness to the nearest Catholic church, where they were solemnly buried with appropriate ceremonies.

CHAPTER II.

Robert de la Salle—Aided by Frontenac, obtains a patent of nobility and the grant of Fort Frontenac—His prosperity and visit to France—Schemes favoured by Colbert—First vessel on Lake Erie—Voyage to Green Bay and Illinois—Builds Fort Crevecœur—Loss of the Griffin—Descends the Mississippi and takes possession of its valley in the name of France—Voyage of La Salle to France for military and naval stores—On his return lands in Texas—Disasters in Texas—Unfortunate expedition in search of the Mississippi—Attempts an overland journey to the French settlements in Illinois—Mutinous conduct of his men—Death of La Salle—His character—Fate of his companions.

About the time of the death of Father Marquette there dwelt, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, Robert Cavalier de la Salle, an adventurer of good family, who was educated by the Jesuits. He was engaged in the fur trade with the Indians, in the prosecution of which he had explored Lakes Ontario and Erie. His energy and ability having attracted the attention of Frontenac, the French governor, he repaired to France, and, aided by Frontenac, obtained a patent of nobility, a monopoly of the trade with the Iroquois, and an extensive tract of country in the neighbourhood of Fort Frontenac, on the condition of his keeping the fort in an effective state. Around this stronghold soon clustered the huts

of Indians and the dwellings of French traders. Their flocks and herds increased, pasture-land and corn-covered clearings opened up the forest; groups of Iroquois built their cabins in the environs; the missionaries commenced their labours; canoes multiplied upon the borders of the lake; and La Salle, but yesterday a poor adventurer, suddenly found himself invested with all the power and opulence belonging to a feudal sovereign in the wilderness.

But his ambitious spirit would not let him rest contented with what he had acquired. Having heard of the mighty river of the far West, and the discoveries of Marquette, his imagination became inflamed, and he was induced to undertake schemes of colonization and aggrandizement which ended in disaster and death.

In 1677 La Salle sailed to France and sought an interview with Colbert, then prime minister. To him he proposed the union of New France with the valley of the Mississippi, and suggested their close connection by a line of military posts. He proposed also to open the commerce of Europe to them both. Colbert listened with delight to the gigantic schemes of the young enthusiast, and a royal commission was soon procured, empowering him to explore the valley of the Mississippi, and giving him an exclusive monopoly in the trade of buffalo skins.

On the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle sailed

from France with all needful supplies for the voyage, and merchandise for the Indian trade, and in the month of September arrived again at Fort Frontenac. Having built "a wooden canoe" of ten tons burden—the first that ever sailed on the Niagara river—he ascended that river to the vicinity of the great falls, and, above them, commenced building a ship of 60 tons burden, which, in the summer of 1679, was launched on the waters of Lake Erie, amid a salvo from his artillery and the chanting of the Te Deum. In this vessel, which was called the Griffin, La Salle sailed across Lake Erie, and up the Detroit or strait which separates it from that limpid sheet of water, to which he gave the appropriate name of Lake St. Clair; and having escaped from storms on Lake Huron, and constructed a trading-house at Mackinaw, on Lake Michigan, he cast anchor in Green Bay.

In Green Bay La Salle bartered his goods with the natives for a rich cargo of furs, with which the Griffin was loaded and sent back to Niagara, that the peltry might be sold and a remittance made to his creditors. In the mean time La Salle and his companions, pending the return of the Griffin with supplies, ascended Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, where the missionary Allouez had established a station, and to which he now added a fort, known as the Fort of the Miamies. His whole fortune de-

pended on the return of the Griffin, and of her no tidings were heard. Wearied with delay, he resolved to explore the Illinois territory; and leaving ten men to guard his little fort, La Salle, with a chosen body of thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's river, and transporting his bark canoes across a short portage, entered the Kankakee, a branch of the Illinois river. Descending its narrow stream, the travellers reached by the end of December an Indian village on the Illinois, the natives of which were absent on a hunting expedition. Being in great want of provisions, La Salle took advantage of their absence to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which his followers found large quantities hidden in holes under their wigwams. The corn having been shipped they again set sail, and on the 4th of January, 1680, entered Lake Peoria. The Illinois Indians on the banks of this lake were friendly, and here La Salle erected another fort. As no tidings had been received of his missing vessel, to proceed farther without supplies was impossible; his followers became discouraged, and in great despondency he named his new fort "Crevecœur,"—broken-hearted—in memory of his trials and misfortunes.

La Salle now perceived that he must go back himself to Frontenac for supplies; and to prevent the entire stagnation of discovery during his absence, he requested the Jesuit missionary,

Father Hennepin, who accompanied the expedition, to go to the Mississippi and explore that stream to its source, whilst Tonti, a veteran Italian, was chosen to command in his absence, with instructions to endeavour to strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians. He then, in the month of March, 1680, with only three companions, set off on foot to travel a distance of at least 1200 miles through marshes and melting snows, through thickets and forests, with no supplies but what the gun afforded, a blanket, and a few skins with which to make moccasins, or Indian shoes. No record exists of what befel him on that long journey, which he, however, finally accomplished.

La Salle found, as he fully expected, that the Griffin had been wrecked; that his agents had cheated him; and that his creditors had seized his goods. His courage overcame every difficulty; and by midsummer, in 1680, he returned once more to his little garrison in Illinois, with a body of new adventurers, large supplies of merchandise, and stores for rigging a brigantine. But disasters had befallen his agents during his absence, and the post in Illinois was deserted. Having succeeded in finding Tonti, and collecting his scattered followers, he constructed a capacious barge, and in the early part of January, 1682, La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea.

They landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, La Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighbouring sea, while Tonti examined the great middle channel. They found there two outlets, beautiful, large, and deep. On the 8th they reascended the river a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place beyond the reach of inundations. Here they prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column they affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

"LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682."

The *Te Deum* was then sung, and after a salute of fire-arms the column was erected by La Salle, who laid claim to the whole of the Mississippi valley for the French king, with the usual formalities. After erecting another fort, called St. Louis, and giving the title of Louisiana to the newly discovered territory, La Salle, in the autumn of 1683, returned in triumph to France.

The account given by him of the extraordinary beauty of the Mississippi valley created the utmost enthusiasm among the French people. Preparations were immediately commenced by the agents of the king to provide an extensive outfit, and on the 24th of July, 1684, four vessels, having on board two hundred and eighty persons, ecclesiastics, soldiers, mechanics, and

emigrants, left Rochelle full of ardour and expectation for the far-famed country of Louisana. The soldiers had for their commander Joutel, a man of courage and truth, who afterward became the historian of this disastrous expedition.

Misfortunes overtook them from the very commencement of their voyage. Difficulties arose between La Salle and the naval commander, which impeded the voyage; and on the 10th of January, 1685, they unfortunately passed the mouth of the Mississippi. La Salle soon perceived their error, and wished to return; but this the commander of the fleet refused to do, and they continued their course until they arrived at the Bay of Matagorda, in Texas. Completely tired of disputes with Beaujeau, the naval commander, and conjecturing that the numerous streams which had their outlet in the bay might be branches of the Mississippi, or might lead to its discovery, La Salle resolved to disembark. As the vessels entered the harbour, the store-ship, on which the infant colony mainly depended, was completely wrecked by the carelessness of the pilot. Calming the terrible energy of his grief, La Salle, by the aid of boats from the other vessels, succeeded in recovering a part of the cargo, but night coming on, and with it a gale of wind, the store-ship was utterly dashed to pieces. To add to their distress, a party of Indians came down to the shore to

plunder the wreck, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Several of the men who had now landed became discouraged, and returned to the fleet, which immediately set sail, leaving La Salle with a desponding company of two hundred and thirty souls, huddled together in a miserable fort, built with fragments of the wreck. Stimulated to extraordinary efforts by the energy and example of La Salle, a beautiful spot was selected, and a more substantial and comfortable fort constructed. La Salle was the architect, and marked the beams, mortices and tenons himself. This was the first settlement made in Texas. Desperate and destitute as was the situation of the settlers, they still exceeded in numbers those who landed in Virginia, or who embarked on board the Mayflower, and possessed "from the bounty of Louis XIV. *more* than was contributed by all the English monarchs together, for the twelve united colonies on the Atlantic."

The summer of 1685 was spent in the construction of this second fort, which was named Fort St. Louis, and La Salle, having finished its erection, set out with a selected party in canoes, in search of the Mississippi. After an absence of about four months, he returned in rags, having lost twelve or thirteen of his men, and completely failed in his object. His presence, however, as usual, inspired hope; and in April,

1686, another expedition was attempted, which was lured into the interior by brilliant fictions of exhaustless mines on the borders of Mexico. This expedition returned without effecting any other discovery than that of the great exuberance and fertility of the soil in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort. La Salle had succeeded in obtaining a supply of maize and beans and five horses from the Indians, but had suffered greatly; and of the twenty men he had taken with him only eight returned, the remainder having either fallen sick, died, or deserted. Affairs had been equally unprosperous at Fort St. Louis during his absence. The only remaining ship was a wreck, and the colony had been rapidly thinned by privation, misery, and exposure, until there remained nothing but a mere handful of desperate, disappointed men.

Amid the ruin of all his prospects, once so proud and flourishing, La Salle alone remained undaunted; and, as a last resource, determined to visit the French settlements in Illinois, or, if necessary, his feudal domain in Frontenac, in order to bring aid to his perishing colony. On the 12th of January, 1687, La Salle set out on his last expedition, accompanied by Joutel, across the prairies and forests of Louisiana. In his company were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had both embarked capital in this enterprise. Each regarded the other for imme-

diate purposes as his friend; and both were actuated by a spirit of bitterness and animosity against La Salle, whom they regarded as the author of all the calamities that had befallen them. Moranget, a nephew of La Salle, was also one of the party following the tracks of buffaloes, who choose by instinct the best routes. La Salle marched through groves and plains of astonishing fertility and beauty; now fording the rapid torrents, and now building a bridge by throwing some monarch of the forest across the stream, until he had passed the Colorado and came to a branch of the Trinity River.

On the 17th of March, 1687, the whole party engaged in a buffalo hunt. Duhaut and L'Archevêque, having been successful, sent their commander word, who immediately despatched his nephew Moranget to the camp. When Moranget came to the spot where Duhaut and the rest were stopping, he found they had reserved for themselves the very best parts of the buffaloes; and hasty and passionate, not considering where he was, nor with whom he was dealing, he "took from them their choice pieces, threatened them, and spoke harsh words." This enraged the mutinous spirits of Duhaut and his companions, who secretly took counsel together how to effect the destruction of Moranget and his associates. Night came on apace, and Moranget and his party having supped, wearied with their day's

travel, laid themselves down to sleep on the prairie. Liotot, the surgeon, now took an axe, and with a few strokes killed Moranget and his comrades. Having good reason to fear the resentment of La Salle, the murderers next resolved to kill him also. Surprised at his nephew's delay, La Salle went forth on the 20th to seek him. Perceiving at a distance birds of prey, hovering as if over carrion, and suspecting himself to be in the immediate neighbourhood of his men, La Salle fired a gun, which was heard by the conspirators, who were thus made aware of his approach. Duhaut and his associate hastened secretly to meet their victim—the former skulking in the grass, the latter showing himself. "Where," said La Salle to L'Archevêque, "is my nephew?" Before an answer could be returned, Duhaut fired, and La Salle fell dead on the prairie. The murderers then approached, and, with cruel taunts, stripped the corpse, leaving it naked and unburied, to be devoured by the wild beasts of the wilderness.

Thus perished La Salle, and with him that colonial settlement which he had attempted to form. His fortitude and bravery must ever command admiration, while his cruel and undeserved death awakens feelings of pity and indignation. Although he was not the discoverer, yet he was certainly the first settler of the Mississippi valley, and the father of colonization in the "far

West." As such his memory is imperishable, and will ever be honoured. The Illinois settlements of Peoria, Kaskaskias, and Cahokia, are the fruit of La Salle's labours. It is true he did not found these places, yet he gave them their inhabitants, for it was by those whom he led into the West that they were peopled. Perseverance and courage, combined with a noble ambition to promote the interests of his country, led him into a gallant but unsuccessful career of enterprise. He did what he could to benefit his country; and if he had lived he might have achieved much more splendid results.

Duhaut now assumed the command, seized on the effects of La Salle and his friends, and took up his line of march toward the Indians. Attempting to grasp at an unequal share of the spoils, Duhaut and Liotot were themselves murdered, and their reckless and blood-stained associates, unfit for civilized life, took refuge among the savages. Joutel, the brother of La Salle, the surviving nephew, and four others, after daring countless dangers, reached the Arkansas, where they found two Frenchmen left there by Tonti on his return from a fruitless research after La Salle.

The handful of men who were in the fort erected by La Salle in Texas appear to have been murdered by the Indians. The fort itself was afterward dismantled by the Spaniards.

CHAPTER III.

Progress of French Colonization—Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria founded—Expedition of D'Iberville—Discovers the mouth of the Mississippi—Letter from M. Tonti to M. de La Salle preserved by the Indians—D'Iberville builds Fort Biloxi and returns to France for reinforcements—First meeting of France and England in the Mississippi valley—Return and death of D'Iberville—Fort Chartres founded—Expedition of D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, against the Chickasas—His defeat and death—Extracts from the letters of Vivier, a French missionary, showing the state of colonization in Illinois during this period—Territorial difficulties between France and England—Extract from a letter written by Father Marest.

THE village of Kaskaskia, in Randolph county, is probably the oldest European settlement in Illinois, and in early times was a place of considerable importance, being the very centre of French colonization. It is not easy to fix the date of its foundation, but it appears to have been established by the French as early as 1683. Father Gravier may be properly regarded as the founder of the Illinois mission, he having been the first to form a grammar of their language. Soon after the settling of Kaskaskia, the missionary Pinet gathered a flock at Cahokia, while Peoria rose near the ruins of Fort Crevecœur.

In 1698 the bold and energetic D'Iberville, having obtained authority to establish a colony in Louisiana, sailed from France with two ships, having on board a number of emigrants, and well provided with supplies and munitions of war. On the 31st of January he anchored in the Bay of Mobile. In two barges, each carrying twenty-four men, and commanded by himself and his brother Bienville, he sailed westward along the coast in search of the Mississippi. Its deep and turbid flood, bearing on its waters vast quantities of timber, the spoils of western forests, guided them to its mouth, and on the 2d of March, 1699, the Mississippi was entered for the first time from the sea. D'Iberville, who had expected a more expanded outlet, at first had his doubts, which were however soon dissipated as he ascended the majestic ocean stream, and met with certain memorials of the visit of his unfortunate predecessors. These were a portion of a Spanish coat of mail, a relic of De Soto's, and the following letter written by Tonti to La Salle, which had been carefully preserved by the Indians, and on which for thirteen years they had looked with wonder and awe.

"At the Village of the Quinipissas, 20th of April, 1685.

"Sir:—Having found the column on which you had placed the arms of France overthrown by the driftwood floated thither by the tide, I caused a new one to be erected about seven leagues

from the sea, where I left a letter suspended from a tree. All the nations have sung the calumet. These people fear us extremely since your attack upon their village. I close by saying that it gives me great uneasiness to be obliged to return under the misfortune of not having found you. Two canoes have examined the coast thirty leagues toward Mexico and twenty-five toward Florida."

After exploring the country, D'Iberville returned to the Bay of Biloxi, between the Mississippi and the Mobile waters. Here he built a fort, with four bastions and twelve cannon, and leaving Bienville, his brother, in command, returned to France for reinforcements.

During his absence, De Bienville, in the month of September, 1699, while engaged in taking soundings in the Mississippi, about twenty-five leagues from its mouth, beheld, to his great chagrin, a British corvette of twelve guns slowly ascending the stream. He immediately sent notice to the intruder that he was within the limits of a country discovered by the French, who had erected strong defences a few miles farther up the river. This intimation had its effect. The ship was put about and stood to sea again, but not until its captain had protested against the encroachment, asserting that the English "had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than

the French, and would soon make them know it." The bend in the river where this interview took place is still called the "English Turn." This was the first meeting of England and France in the Mississippi valley, and from that period till the termination of the war in 1763, these rival nations were almost constantly engaged in hostilities.

D'Iberville died at Havana on the 9th of July, 1706, his excessive toils in the service of his country having brought on a fever from which he never afterward recovered. The French nation, and the colonists, sustained in his death a loss which was irreparable.

The success of a colony depends altogether on the energy of the colonists and a prudent employment of their resources. Two descriptions of settlers came out with D'Iberville. The first, unaccustomed to manual labour, thought only of making their fortunes by the discovery of gold and silver mines, or by the Indian trade. The second, which were by far the most numerous, were not only poor, but idle; and looked for assistance to the bounty of France, instead of to their own industry. Hence, thirteen years after D'Iberville's first expedition to the Mississippi, although two thousand five hundred settlers had been transported into Louisiana, yet, in 1712, the whole country contained only four hundred,

the rest having perished, principally through their own folly and improvidence.

The settlements in Illinois were more prosperous. The French in that country had imbibed a love for the chase, in common with the Indians, who had also taught them how to cultivate maize or Indian corn. In their turn the French introduced the cultivation of wheat; and the climate being mild, and the soil fertile, the settlements slowly and gradually advanced in population, while they appear to have somewhat retrograded in civilization.

Father Marest, writing from Kaskaskia, toward the close of 1712, describes the Illinois as "much less barbarous than the other Indians. Christianity, and their intercourse with the French, have by degrees somewhat civilized them. This is particularly remarked in our village, of which the inhabitants are almost all Christians, and has brought many French to establish themselves here, three of whom we have recently married to Illinois women."

The French who had domiciliated themselves among them were at first regarded by the savages with suspicion and distrust; but conciliated by their conduct, and by the labours of the missionaries, they gradually became so attached to the new comers, that a Frenchman could travel anywhere without fear and in perfect safety. The French villages, although upward of one

hundred leagues from each other, were built with such narrow streets, that their inhabitants could carry on an easy conversation with each other across the way. The pursuits of the young men consisted in ascending the rivers for furs and peltries, and in negotiating marriages. On their return, dances and narrations of their adventures signalized their holiday of repose.

During the years 1718 and 1719 the French settlements of Cahokia and Kaskaskia being increased by emigration from Canada, and from France by way of New Orleans, M. de Boisbriant was commissioned by the French government to build Fort Chartres, for the use of the "Mississippi Company," an association which after bringing pecuniary ruin on France resigned its charter to the crown in 1732.

The French had now constructed missionary stations along the Mississippi from Canada to New Orleans. So determined were they on the acquisition of territory that, where they were unable to take formal possession of the soil, they endeavoured to establish their title to its preoccupation by sinking plates of metal with suitable inscriptions in the ground, or by carving the Bourbon lilies on the bark of the forest trees. The English had long viewed these continental acquisitions of territory with jealousy and alarm. The commercial spirit of the French, however, did not keep pace with their ambition. Failing

to furnish the Indians with articles suited to their wants, the English traders took advantage of this error, and drew the traffic to themselves by offering better supplies of goods at lower prices.

Louisiana having come again under the charge of the French government, after the failure of the Mississippi Company, it was determined to punish the Chickasas, who, devoted to the English, constantly interfered with the trade on the Mississippi. Accordingly, the forces of France, from New Orleans to Detroit, were summoned, and on the 10th of May, 1736, D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, led a body of French and Indians to the appointed place of rendezvous. Having waited for ten days without the other forces arriving, D'Artaguette, fearful of exhausting the patience of his Indian allies, ordered the onset. Two Chickasa stations were successfully carried, but in attacking the third unhappily D'Artaguette was dangerously wounded. The Illinois Indians seeing their commander fall, instantly took to flight, leaving him, Vincennes, a brave Canadian, and the Jesuit Senat in the hands of the enemy. The latter could have fled, but refused to do so; and regardless of danger, mindful only of duty, remained to offer the consolations of religion to his dying commander. After the Indian custom, the wounds of the captives were staunched and they

were received into the cabins of the Chickasas and feasted bountifully.

Five days afterward Bienville arrived from the south, but too late to be of any service. He found the Chickasas on their guard and well defended in a log-house, which the English-traders had aided them to fortify, and in vain attempted to drive them from their position. On the 27th of May, having failed in the assault, he commenced an inglorious retreat. The Chickasas now brought forth their captives, whose valour, friendship, and piety could not save them. It was the hour of barbarian triumph, and the ferocious savages danced around the flames which slowly consumed their victims.

In 1739 a renewal of the war was attempted. A French army nearly four thousand strong took up its quarters at Fort Assumption, on the site of Memphis. But from the summer of 1739 to the spring of 1740 this force was wasted by sickness; and a detachment sent into the country of the Chickasas meeting with messengers from the enemy, who supplicated for peace, the calumet was gladly accepted, and the troops withdrawn.

During the next ten years the settlers of Illinois enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace and prosperity. Religious in their habits and moderate in their desires, they lived in close friend-

ship with the surrounding Indians, and at harmony among themselves.

In the summer of 1750, Vivier, a missionary, writing from Fort Chartres, says:—

"We have here whites, negroes, and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. There are five French villages, and three villages of the natives, within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated between the Mississippi and another river called the Karkadiad, (Kaskaskia.) In the five French villages are perhaps eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages. The three Illinois towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls, all told. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs, and horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed; and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans."

The style of living in all the French settlements at this time was exceedingly simple. An arrangement something like a community system existed among them. Two things appear to have chiefly entered into consideration in the construction of their villages, social intercourse and protection from the incursions of the Indians. All their settlements were required to be in the form of villages or towns, and every village had two tracts of land situated at a

convenient distance, a "*common field*" and a "*common.*"

The first was a piece of land comprising an area of several hundred acres, enclosed by the villagers, within which each family possessed its own particular plat, fenced off from the rest. The "common" was a still more extensive tract of land, allowed the village for wood and pasturage, in which each family had a general right. In some cases this tract embraced several thousand acres.

Some pleasant customs existed in these French villages. If the head of a family was sick, or absent, or had met with any casualty, the members of his household sustained but little inconvenience. His plat in the common field was cultivated by his neighbours, and the crops gathered.

Another was not less beautiful. At the close of his daily toil the weary husbandman was usually met by his affectionate wife at the little wicket gate which led to the door of his humble dwelling, and his return home welcomed with a kiss; the children next ran forward to claim from their father a similar salutation—none venturing into the house to invoke a blessing upon the frugal meal until this tender observance was fulfilled.

CHAPTER IV.

English and French territorial claims examined—Commencement of hostilities and conduct of Colonel Washington—Brief sketch of the war from 1756 to 1760—Treaty of peace in 1763 between France and England—Native hostility to the English—Conspiracy of Pontiac—Nine forts captured—Failure of his attack on Detroit—Conciliatory policy of England—Death of Pontiac—Condition of Illinois under the British domination—Government proclamation—Annals of Illinois from 1765 to 1778.

We have traced the progress made by France in colonization, and the establishment of her power and influence in North America. In 1750 France, besides being possessed of Canada in the North, claimed the vast countries watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries by right of discovery. In defence of these claims against the counter claims of England, she had erected a line of forts from Canada to New Orleans, to prevent the encroachment of the English colonists, who were beginning to cross the Alleghany mountains and build picketed stations in the Ohio valley.

Previous to the formation of that body of Virginia land speculators and London merchants, known as the "Ohio Company," incorporated

for the express purpose of settling the valley of the Ohio, the colonists had not ventured beyond the mountains. But when the "Ohio Company" began to execute their projects, and to send first settlers to survey the lands beyond the Alleghanies, and then settlers to take possession, the question of ownership no longer admitting of peaceful discussion, it was determined to decide it by the sword.

England from the very first claimed the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, on the ground that the discovery and possession of the seacoast was a discovery and possession of the country. But her principal claim rested on actual purchases, alleged to have been made from the Indians, of portions of land situated beyond the Alleghanies.

Previous to glancing at the history of the collision which ensued between these two countries, it is but natural to inquire which party had the most equitable claim. It is almost needless to add that neither party had a title to the lands, since they had never been ceded by the natives, who, when appealed to as arbitrators, shrewdly asked, "Where lay the *Indian* lands? for the French claim all on one side of the river, and the English all on the other!"

Owing to its geographical position, and the peaceful character of its Indian population, the territory of Illinois continued undisturbed during

the long and harassing war which followed soon after.

From the commencement of hostilities in 1752, when the French burnt down the first English trading-house established beyond the Alleghanies, until 1758, the repeated campaigns undertaken by the British and colonial troops proved uniformly unsuccessful. The French continued to hold command of the lakes, a complete ascendency over the North-western tribes, and possession of the disputed territories.

It was in these wars that the soldiers of the Revolution were formed. When first commenced, Washington was chosen to negotiate with the enemy. He was present at the disastrous defeat General Braddock in 1755, and by his coolness and decision, aided by the heroic bravery of the Virginia troops under his command, he was enabled to save the army from almost hopeless destruction by covering the retreat of the fugitives. But the year 1758 opened under far different auspices. William Pitt, now the English Secretary of State, had determined on a rigorous prosecution of the war. He saw the difficulties by which his country was surrounded, and roused the whole nation by his energy and genius. He demanded supplies; they were freely granted. He rescinded those odious army regulations, which had caused a just discontent among colonial officers, and allowed all, from the rank

of colonel downward, an equal share of authority with the British. To despair now succeeded hope; to hope, energy and victory. Soldiers enlisted freely, and fought with enthusiasm. Louisburg yielded to Boscawen, Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet, Du Quesne was abandoned on the approach of Forbes, and in 1759 Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and at length Quebec itself, yielded to the British arms. The war was now terminated, and nothing remained for France but negotiation with her conqueror.

By the treaty of peace signed at Paris in 1763, France ceded to England Canada and its dependencies, the French posts and settlements on the Ohio, and all that portion of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of the Island of Orleans. Illinois was of course included in the above cession, and after the 10th of February, 1763, acknowledged the supremacy of England. But although the English had succeeded to the power they soon found that they did not possess the influence of their predecessors over the native population.

After Canada and its dependencies had surrendered to the British arms in 1760, General Amherst, of Montreal, despatched Major Rogers to take possession of Fort Detroit. It was here he first encountered the celebrated Pontiac.

"As I approached Detroit at the head of a military force," writes Rogers, "I was met by

an embassy from one who came to let me know that Pontiac was at a small distance, coming peaceably; and that he desired me to halt until he could see me with his own eyes. His ambassador had also orders to inform me 'that he was Pontiac, the king and lord of the country I was in.' When we afterward met, 'he demanded my business into his country, and how I dared to enter it without his leave.' I informed him that it was not with any design against the Indians that I came, but to remove the French out of the country, who had prevented a friendly intercourse between the English and the Indians. He thereupon told me 'that he stood in the path I travelled in till morning;' and gave me a string of wampum, as much as to say, 'You need not march further without my leave.' When he departed for the night, he inquired if 'I wanted any thing that his country afforded; and if I did he would send his warriors to fetch it.' I assured him that any provisions they brought should be paid for; and the next day we were supplied with parched corn and other necessaries. At our second meeting we smoked the calumet together; and he assured me that he had made peace with me and my detachment, and that I might pass through his country unmolested, and relieve the French garrison—that he would protect me and my party; and as an earnest of his friendship, he sent one hundred warriors to

protect and assist us in driving a large herd of fat cattle we had brought from Pittsburg for the use of the army. He sent also to several Indian towns to inform them that I had his consent to enter the country. He attended me constantly till I arrived at Detroit, and was the means of preserving the detachment from the fury of the Indians, who had assembled at the mouth of the strait to cut us off."

But although Major Rogers, by moderate and kind words, and a respectful treatment, succeeded in quieting the suspicion and suppressing the rising indignation of this savage, yet Pontiac afterward attempted to carry all the British posts by treachery, and to massacre their garrisons. His attachment to his "Great Father," the French king, which does him honour, predisposed him to believe that the English had done his ancient ally great injustice. "When the French came hither," said a Chippewa chief, "they came and kissed us—they called us children, and we found them fathers: we lived like children in the same lodge." Pontiac saw, or thought he saw, a want of cordiality in the English toward the Indians. He looked into futurity and foresaw the gradual extinction of his race, the result of the growing power of the English. He therefore laid a plan for a sudden and contemporaneous attack on all their forts, and sought to drive them from the soil of his fatherland.

He despatched runners with a belt of wampum, which he pretended had been sent him by the King of France, to all the Indian tribes on the English frontier, a thousand miles in extent. His measures were taken with so much precaution, that the storm burst on the English unexpectedly; and in the month of May, 1763, nine out of twelve forts were captured by the Indians, and their garrisons either partially or wholly massacred.

The circumstances connected with the surprise of Fort Mackinaw by these savages are somewhat remarkable. The Ottawas encamped in the vicinity, and invited the British officers to a game at ball, of which almost all the garrison became spectators. In the heat of the contest, the ball was hurled as if by accident over the pickets into the fort, and the Indians were suffered to enter and procure it. This was done several times, and the British not suspecting any treachery, at last allowed the Indians to enter in large numbers. They immediately commenced an attack on the fort, the troops were butchered, and the fort destroyed. Niagara and Pittsburg, being regular fortifications, were successfully defended; and the garrison in Fort Detroit were saved by being previously made acquainted with the treachery and plans of their assailants.

Pontiac attacked the latter fort in person.

On the 8th of May he sought an interview with Major Gladwyn, and told him that "the Indians desired to take their new father, the King of England, by the hand." Gladwyn, unsuspicious of his designs, consented to hold a council in the fort the following day. The Indians were now ordered to shorten their rifles, so as to be able to conceal them under their blankets; and Pontiac told them that when he presented to the British commander a belt of wampum, they were to slay the officers, and next, being reinforced by the warriors without, they were to fall upon the garrison and demolish the fort. Happily this treachery was revealed in time to baffle it. Gladwyn ordered the fort to be strengthened, the arms examined, ammunition prepared, and every man, civil or military, to be in readiness. Night came, and as the officers walked the ramparts, the songs and dances of the exulting Ottawas came surging up from their distant camp. In the morning, when Pontiac and his subordinate chiefs approached the gates of the fort, they were admitted. Finding the garrison under arms, Pontiac inquired the reason of this warlike display. He was told that it was necessary to keep young men to their duty, lest they should become ignorant and idle. Reassured by this reply, Pontiac proceeded to the council-chamber, where he startled the assembled officers by the fierceness of his speech and the vehemence

of his gestures. He was, however, suffered to proceed until about to present the wampum belt, when the drums beat an alarm, the guards levelled their muskets, and the officers unsheathed their swords. While Pontiac stood uneasy and disconcerted at this extraordinary display of energy, Major Gladwyn drew aside his blanket, and discovering the shortened gun, reproached him for his treachery. With a display of generosity almost culpable under the circumstances, the baffled savages were ordered to leave the fort.

On the 3d of June, 1763, intelligence was received at Detroit of peace between France and England. General Bradstreet soon after arrived with an army of three thousand men, and Pontiac, who had kept Detroit in a state of siege, relaxed his efforts. The confederated tribes, united merely by the hope of immediate success, presently separated from each other; and old enmities reviving, Pontiac was deserted by all but a few trusty followers.

The English now adopted a conciliatory policy with the natives; and on the 7th of October, 1763, a proclamation was issued by the king, declaring it to be his royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander-in-chief—

"Grant warrants of survey, or pass patents, for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or north-west, or upon any lands

whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, are reserved by the Indians."

The spirit of this proclamation is well seen in the concluding paragraph, which we copy entire:—

"And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements. But that if at any time any of the Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased for us only in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander-in-chief of our colony respectively, within the limits of any proprietary, conformably to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose."

This proclamation did much towards allaying

the distrust and animosity of the Indians; and as they were afterward liberally supplied by English traders with arms, ammunition, and such other commodities as their mode of life required, they became for a time the firm allies of the British government.

Pontiac, deserted by his confederates, and baffled in his attempts to save his country, withdrew in disgust even from his own tribe. When, on the 21st of August, 1764, a treaty of peace was made by General Bradstreet with twenty or more tribes at Detroit, Pontiac refused to negotiate. He abandoned his country, and departing for the west, lived for some years in Illinois, where he repeatedly attempted, but in vain, to bring about a new union and a new war. He was finally assassinated by a Kaskaskia Indian. This savage, who was much attached to the English, attended Pontiac as a spy; and being convinced from a speech which the latter made in council, that he still retained a secret animosity against those for whom he professed a friendship, plunged a knife into his heart and laid him dead at his feet.

At the period when Illinois passed from under the jurisdiction of France to that of Great Britain, the population of all classes, exclusive of the aborigines, could not have exceeded three thousand persons. The cession took place in 1763; but Illinois still remained in possession of the French

till 1765, at which time Captain Sterling of the Royal Highlanders arrived, assumed its govern ment in the name of the king, and established his head-quarters at Fort Chartres. His right to assert the English authority over the territory was made known to the inhabitants by the following proclamation:—

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon, we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

"That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, (the King of France,) may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana, although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it

in the name of his Catholic majesty, (the King of Spain,) and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Sterling, Captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanour, all cause of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the

evils which the march of an enemy into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at head-quarters, New York—signed with our hand—sealed with our seal-at-arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his Excellency, G. MATURIN."

The Catholic missionaries, with their attendants, returning presently to France, many French families directed their course to the vicinity of New Orleans, preferring a country where the Catholic religion was predominant to one under Protestant rule. English emigrants, however, arrived, but not in any considerable number, so that the population of the country was about stationary, and but little change was produced in the condition of the colony until the expedition of Colonel Clarke in 1778.

Captain Sterling remained only a short time in Illinois. He was succeeded by Major Farmer, of whose administration little is known. Colonel Reed was the next governor. He made himself odious by a series of military oppressions, against which the inhabitants made complaints, but with very little success. Colonel Reed having left the country, he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia on

the 5th of September, 1768; and on the 21st of November following, issued a proclamation, in which he stated that he had received orders, as military commandant, to establish a court of justice in Illinois for the trial of civil and criminal causes. Seven judges were accordingly appointed, who held their first court at Fort Chartres, December 6th, 1768. Courts were subsequently held once in each month.

This system, although greatly preferable to the military tribunal which had preceded it, and which had created so much dissatisfaction, was very far from satisfying the claims of the people. They wanted trial by jury, which, being denied them, the court became unpopular. In 1772 Fort Chartres was abandoned by the British garrison in consequence of being undermined by the encroachments of the Mississippi, and the seat of government was removed to Kaskaskia. It is not known at what period Colonel Wilkins left the country, or whether any British officer succeeded him. When Illinois was captured by the Americans under Colonel Clarke, in 1778, M. Rocheblave, a Frenchman, was commandant.

CHAPTER V.

Causes which brought about the American Revolution—Employment of Indians by the British—The Illinois settlements the grand sources of Indian hostilities—George Rogers Clarke—Sends spies into Illinois—His interview with Patrick Henry—Receives instructions to attack the British posts in Illinois—Expedition to Kaskaskia—John Saunders—Stratagem by which Kaskaskia was captured—Cahokia surrenders.

THE authority of England was now, to all human appearance, permanently established in Illinois; but causes soon came into operation which effected its overthrow.

The enormous expenses incurred by England in the war with France had embarrassed her finances; and as this expense was brought on partly by the defence of her colonial possessions in America, she claimed the right to draw from them in future a revenue sufficient to defray the cost of their support and protection. Accordingly, in 1765, a bill was passed by Parliament, entitled the Stamp Act, by which all bonds, deeds, notes, and various other business papers in America, were required to be drawn on stamped paper, this stamped paper to be purchased only of agents appointed by the British government. Against this the colonists loudly protested. They denied the right of Parliament to tax them in

any shape whatever; and declared that they would submit to no imposts that did not emanate from their own representatives. These remonstrances had a temporary effect, and on the 19th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed.

But the right of the English government to tax her colonies was still insisted on, and a second attempt was made to raise a revenue by the imposition of duties on paper, glass, lead, paint, and tea. As the duties were laid on these goods without the consent of the colonists, popular indignation was once more aroused. To allay its fury, the British ministry promised a repeal of all the duties with the exception of a nominal one on tea. But the principle involved was retained. When the ships arrived with the obnoxious article, the tea was allowed to be landed and stored in some of the ports; while in others the vessels were ordered to return without discharging their cargoes. At Boston the ships were boarded by a party disguised as Indians, who broke open the tea-chests and poured their contents into the sea; and at Annapolis the owner of a ship partly freighted with tea was compelled to set fire to his own vessel. Public meetings were now called, and a congress of colonial delegates met in Philadelphia on the 1st of September, 1774, the members of which, after long and grave deliberation, adopted a declaration of colonial rights and a petition to the king.

But in addition to the tyranny of taxation without representation, every position assumed by British ministers in reference to the justice of the imposition of these duties was false. "Will these Americans," said one of them, "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence till they are grown up to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms,—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the weight of that heavy burden under which we lie?" The reply of Colonel Barré was prompt and emphatic:—"They planted by your care! No; they were planted by your oppressions. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe—the most subtle, and, I will take it upon me to say, the most formidable people on the face of the earth; and there, at their own cost and by their own toil and energies, erected their dwellings in the wilderness. They nourished by your indulgence! They grew up by your neglect. As soon as you began to extend to them your care, that care was displayed in sending persons to rule them: men who were sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey on their substance: these men you promoted to the highest seats of justice,—some who,

to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valour amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emoluments. And believe me, the same spirit of freedom which actuated these people will accompany them still. God knows that I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat. I deliver the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you,—having seen that country and been conversant with its people." Such was the state of the question between England and her colonies at the commencement of the war.

From an early period in the revolutionary war, an alliance with Indians had been contemplated by both parties. We have seen that they were employed by both France and England in the contest between them. It is a well-known historical fact, that the question about the employment of Indians was discussed not only in the British Parliament but in Congress. Washington himself advised this step in a letter to Con-

gress on the 19th of April, 1776,* in which he said, that as the Indians would soon be organized in support of one side or the other, he would suggest that they be engaged for the colonies; and on the 3d of June Congress empowered him to raise two thousand of them for service in Canada. On the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners.† That Indians were present as the allies of England on the field of battle cannot be denied.

We have seen that, up to the period when the British gained possession of the Illinois country, its forests and prairies had been exempted from the evils of war. But at the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, those once peaceful wilds became the nurseries of hostile bands of Indians, who, instigated by the British, and supplied by them with arms and ammunition, deluged the American frontiers with blood. The first American settlements west of the Alleghanies were made in Kentucky, the early history of which abounds in the most thrilling narratives of border warfare. The character of Boone is well known; but we have now to introduce to the notice of the reader George Rogers Clarke, who, although a Virginian by birth, is deservedly cele-

* Sparks's Washington, vol. iii. p. 364.
† Secret Journals, vol. i. pp. 43–47.

brated, not only as one of the ablest defenders of the Kentucky frontier, but as having most successfully arrested the ravages of the Indians.

Col. Clarke comprehended, at an early day, the whole policy of the British. He found that the sources of Indian devastation were Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. Arms and clothing were supplied at these military stations as stimulants to the bloodthirsty warriors; and he rightly judged that, by the capture of the British posts, the evil would be remedied. Such being the conclusions of Clarke, in the summer of 1777 he sent two spies to Kaskaskia, who reported that great activity prevailed among the French population of that place; that the Indians were encouraged in their predatory excursions by the inhabitants generally, and more especially by English agents; and that the French and Indians had been told by English traders and others that the Virginians and Kentuckians were the most cruel and barbarous people on earth. They also reported that strong evidence of affection for the Americans existed among some of the inhabitants.

In December, 1777, Col. Clarke hastened to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and submitted to Governor Patrick Henry his plan of attack on the Illinois settlements. His scheme received the approval of the governor and council. The preliminary arrangements were soon made.

Twelve hundred pounds were advanced to defray the expenses of the expedition, and orders were issued to the Virginia commandant at Fort Pitt to supply Clarke with ammunition, boats, and all other necessary equipments.

On the 4th of February, 1778, Col. Clarke commenced his march, furnished with two sets of instructions—one public, authorizing him to proceed to the Kentucky frontier for its defence; and the other private, ordering an attack on the British post at Kaskaskia, from which we make the following extract:—

"You are to proceed with all convenient speed to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of one hundred and fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, armed and properly equipped for the enterprise; and with this force attack the British force at Kaskaskia.

"It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon, and military stores to a considerable amount at that place, the taking and preservation of which would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the State.

"For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c. down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for boats;

and, during the whole transaction, you are to take especial care to keep the whole destination of your force secret; its success depends upon this. Orders are therefore give to Captain Smith to secure the two men from Kaskaskia. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

"It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects, and other persons, as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and neighbourhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State (for it is certain they live within its limits) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever shall be afforded them, and the commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which it is expected you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are in no instance to depart."

These instructions, considering the provocations that existed, are in the highest degree honourable to the governor and council. It was found impossible, however, to raise more than

three companies; and with these Colonel Clarke descended the Ohio, where he took possession of and fortified Corn Island, opposite the present city of Louisville, Kentucky. Here he was joined by Captain Bowman, and a company from Kentucky under Captain Dillard. He now disclosed to the troops their real destination, many of whom received the tidings with unbounded applause. These gallant sons of Kentucky thought with their commander that the secret of Indian hostilities lay somewhere in the West, and the whole detachment was eager to be conducted thither. There were others, however, to whom the perils of the expedition were less inviting. On the morning appointed for starting, Captain Dillard discovered, to his great mortification, that a number of his men had deserted. The disappointment was cruel, and its consequences alarming. A party on horseback sent after the fugitives captured seven or eight of them, but the rest had dispersed through the woods. These fugitives, after enduring more hardships than those who followed Clarke, finally obtained shelter in a fort, into which they were for some time indignantly refused admission.

After reviewing his little army, and equipping it after the Indian fashion for a march across the country, on the 24th of June, during a total eclipse of the sun, Colonel Clarke sailed down the Ohio, and landed on an island at the mouth

of the Tennessee River. Here he encountered a party of hunters who had recently come from Kaskaskia, and from whom he learned that the garrison was commanded by one M. Rocheblave, that the militia were well disciplined, and that spies were stationed along the Mississippi River, who were directed to keep a sharp look-out for the Kentuckians. The hunters also informed Clarke that the fort which commanded the town was kept in order as a place of retreat, but had no regular garrison, and that the military defences of the place were attended to merely as a matter of form, and not from any belief in the necessity of being prepared for any sudden attack, which was not at all expected in that quarter. The hunters thought that by a sudden surprise the place might be easily captured, and having offered their services as guides, John Saunders was chosen to conduct the expedition. The boats were now dropped down to a point on the Illinois shore, and concealed a little above the place where Fort Massac was afterward built, and the little army took up its line of march through the wilderness.

Having travelled upward of one hundred miles, on the third day their guide became so bewildered that he could no longer direct their course. A suspicion immediately arose among the men that he intended to betray them, and they demanded his instant death. He begged, however,

to be allowed to go a short distance and try to find the way. Permission was granted by the commander-in-chief, and a guard ordered to accompany him, by whom he was told that if he did not conduct the army into the hunter's road to Kaskaskia, which he had so frequently travelled, and which led through a country that no woodsman could well forget, he should be hanged. After searching for some time, the poor fellow exclaimed, "I know that clump of timber," and immediately pointed out the direction of Kaskaskia, his innocence being at once clearly established.

On the 4th of July, 1778, Clarke's party, with their garments torn and soiled, and a three weeks' growth of beard, approached Kaskaskia, and secreted themselves in the woods in its neighbourhood. Here they halted till dark, detachments having been sent forward to reconnoitre the village; these soon returned and reported that "the militia had been called out the day before; but as no cause for alarm apparently existed, they had been dismissed, and that every thing was quiet—that there was a number of men in the town, and but few Indians, the greater part having recently left."

Clarke now determined to turn to good account the terror with which the English had inspired the minds of the Kaskaskians against the Virginians and Kentuckians. He rightly judged

that if he was fortunate enough to gain possession of the town, and then endeavoured by his conduct to confirm the fears of the Kaskaskians, that when undeceived there would be a natural revulsion of feeling, and they would become valuable friends and allies. This policy was completely successful. The assailants were formed into three divisions, two of which received orders to cross the river and invest the town, while the third, which was commanded by Colonel Clarke himself, took possession of the fort. This plan of attack succeeded admirably. The fort was immediately taken, and its governor, M. Rocheblave, made prisoner, while the other two divisions, having crossed the river, entered the town and intimidated the inhabitants by a succession of Indian yells. In a moment men, women, and children ran screaming in all directions, "Les long couteaux! Les long couteaux!" The long knives! the long knives! and the streets were immediately cleared. In about two hours the inhabitants were all disarmed and the town completely at the mercy of its invaders.

During the night the troops, in obedience to orders, continued to patrol the place in small parties, in every possible direction, yelling and whooping in the most approved Indian fashion, while the people remained quiet in their houses. Next day the soldiers were removed to the suburbs, and the inhabitants allowed to walk about

the streets. As soon, however, as they were seen congregating together, Clarke had some of them arrested and put in irons without allowing them to speak a word. This display of military despotism entirely subjugated the Kaskaskians, who, filled with the utmost consternation, expected neither mercy nor compassion.

At last M. Gibault, the village priest, and five or six elderly gentlemen, obtained permission to wait on Clarke. If they were surprised at the sudden capture of their town, they were much more astonished at the personal appearance of the captors. The clothes of Clarke and his men were ragged and dirty, and their aspect frightfully savage and disgusting. So completely had the expedition confounded all ranks and distinctions, that the deputation were at a loss whom to address as the commander-in-chief. Colonel Clarke being pointed out, the priest, in a subdued and humble voice, which indicated what he felt, said:—"That the inhabitants expected to be separated, never to meet again on earth, and they begged for permission through him to assemble once more in the church to take a final leave of each other." Colonel Clarke, aware that he was suspected of hostility to their religion, carelessly replied that the Americans never interfered with the religious opinion or practices of others, but left every man to worship God as he pleased, and that they might hold a meeting

in their church if they pleased, but on no account must a single person leave the town. An attempt at further conversation was sternly repelled, and the deputation abruptly dismissed.

The priest and people presently assembled in the church, and the houses were all deserted. The solemn, mournful chant ascended. The affecting service closed after being protracted to an unusual length, and the priest with a second deputation waited on the stern conqueror to express, in the name of the village, "their thanks for the indulgence they had received." The deputation now sought to plead with Clarke on the subject of their separation, and endeavoured to apologize for their conduct. They assured him that they did not understand the nature of the contest between the English and the Americans; that they were precluded by the remoteness of their situation from obtaining accurate information; that some of their number had expressed themselves in favour of the Americans, and others would have done so if they dared; and that their conduct had been influenced by the British commandant, whom they supposed they were bound to obey. "They were sensible," they said, "that their present situation was the fate of war, and they could submit to the loss of property, but they begged not to be separated from their wives and children, and requested to

be permitted to retain some clothes and provisions for their future support!"

Colonel Clarke having gained his object, and seeing them overcome by their fears, now resolved to try the effect of that lenity and generosity of conduct which had been all along secretly intended as the ultimatum of this stern, painful, though necessary policy. He therefore suddenly addressed them thus:—

"What do you take us to be? Do you think we are savages—that we intend to massacre you all? Do you think Americans will strip women and children, and take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen disdain to make war on helplessness and innocence! It was to protect our own wives and children from Indian barbarity and cruelty that we have penetrated this wilderness. We have conquered this, and will subjugate every other British post where savages are supplied with arms and ammunition to murder us. We do not war against Frenchmen. The King of France, your former master, is our ally. His ships and soldiers are fighting for the Americans. Go and enjoy your religion, and worship where you please. Any insult offered to it will be immediately punished. Your friends in confinement shall be released. Your fellow-citizens may dismiss all apprehensions, and are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual. No man's property shall be molested. We are

convinced that you have been misinformed, and have been prejudiced against Americans by British officers. We are your friends, and have come to deliver you from British authority and usurpation."

The effect this speech was electric. The air immediately resounded with the joyous huzzas of the inhabitants for freedom and the Americans. The people once more assembled in the church, not with tears, but with grateful and happy countenances. The *Te Deum* was sung. The cannon roared. The bells rang a merry peal, and the utmost hilarity everywhere prevailed. Thus, by a happily concerted plan, the town of Kaskaskia was conquered, the authority of the British overthrown, and the government of the Americans, and those principles of liberty for which they contended, established firmly in the affections of its inhabitants.

Colonel Clarke, having effected this most desirable revolution, next turned his attention to the small village of Cahokia, situated about sixty miles higher up the Mississippi. Some gentlemen of Kaskaskia who were apprized of his intentions, offered to accompany the detachment which, with Major Bowman at its head, was ordered to surprise that post. They assured Colonel Clarke that the people of Cahokia were their relations and friends, and they had no doubt of their acting in unison with them when the cir-

cumstances in which they were placed should be explained. Several Kaskaskia gentlemen preceded the detachment to announce to the Cahokians the change of government. This expedition was also successful, and the post was taken without bloodshed. Indeed, there was not a dozen British soldiers in the garrison. The Cahokians were at first very much alarmed when the cry of "Les longs couteaux" was raised, but their fears were speedily allayed. The people took the oath of allegiance, and in a few days the utmost harmony prevailed. Cahokia was at this time a place of considerable trade, it being a depot for the distribution of ammunition and arms to the Indians. A considerable body of the latter were encamped in the neighbourhood, but they dispersed on the approach of the Americans.

CHAPTER VI.

The capture of the British post at Vincennes—Complimentary resolution of the Virginia legislature—Negotiations of Clarke with the Indians—His mode of treating them—The Meadow Indians attempt his life—Affecting and romantic incident—Fort Vincennes recaptured by Colonel Hamilton, Governor of Detroit, and the whole garrison, consisting of one officer and one private, allowed to march out of the fort with the honours of war—Expedition of Colonel Clarke against Vincennes—Incidents on the march—Fort Vincennes re-taken by the Americans—Governor Harrison's letter to Colonel Clarke.

NOTWITHSTANDING his brilliant and almost unexpected success at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, Colonel Clarke felt that there was no certainty of his retaining these places so long as the British military station at Fort Vincennes remained unconquered. His force was too small to allow him to throw a garrison into Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and leave him a sufficiency of military strength with which to attempt the subjugation of Fort Vincennes. In this state of perplexity, Colonel Clarke resolved to advise with M. Gibault, the Roman Catholic priest of Kaskaskia, who was also the priest of Vincennes, and to obtain from him a knowledge of the defences of the fort, and of the best way to effect its re-

duction. M. Gibault informed him that Governor Abbot had gone to Detroit on business; that a military expedition against the fort was wholly unnecessary; that the inhabitants were mostly French, and pledged himself to bring them over to the side of the Americans if Colonel Clarke would permit him to use his influence for that purpose. The offer of M. Gibault was accepted, and through his agency and influence the inhabitants threw off their allegiance to the British, the garrison was overpowered and expelled, and the American flag displayed from the battlements.

Colonel Clarke had now by policy rather than by force effected the reduction of all the British posts in Illinois; and on the 23d of November, 1778, the legislature of Virginia passed the following complimentary resolution:—

"*Whereas*, authentic information has been received that Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clarke, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this commonwealth, on the river Mississippi and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this commonwealth in particular:—

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this house are justly due to the said Colonel Clarke, and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance,

in so hazardous an enterprise, and for the important services thereby rendered their country."

The British posts in the West having been reduced, Clarke next endeavoured to conciliate and win over to the American cause the numerous and powerful Indian tribes inhabiting this extensive region. It was in this wild and dangerous diplomacy that his genius especially displayed itself. He had carefully studied the Indian character. His policy was not to invite the Indians to form treaties, because he was satisfied that they always interpreted such invitations as an evidence of fear and weakness on the part of those who gave them. He therefore maintained the strictest reserve, let the Indians make the first overtures; and when he made presents, did it with an apparently parsimonious hand, as if he gave them away unwillingly. His first council with the red sons of the forest was held at Cahokia in September, 1778; and as it is somewhat remarkable, a brief account of it deserves to be given.

The parties having met, both white and red, Clarke waited for the Indians to make the first offer of alliance. When this was done, and the bloody belt of wampum and the flag sent them by the British stamped upon in token of rejection, Clarke guardedly replied that he would think over their proposal, and give them an

answer the next day. He advised them not to shake hands with the Americans, as peace was not concluded, and it would be time enough to fraternize when they could give them their heart also: the council was then adjourned. The following day the Indians having collected together to hear the answer of the "Big Knife," as they termed the Americans, Clarke addressed them as follows:

"Men and warriors, pay attention to my words. I am a man and a warrior, not a councillor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left peace. I am sent by the great council of the Big Knife and their friends, to take possession of all the towns occupied by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the red people. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right. And if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws." Colonel Clarke then explained, at some length, the cause of the difficulty between the English and Americans, and concluded his harangue in the following independent strain:—

"You can now judge who is in the right. I

have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one; behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by Big Knives cause you to take up one belt with your hands while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling-blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer until you have taken time to consult. We will therefore part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but 'one heart and one tongue.'"

This speech produced the desired effect. The next day, the Indian council fire having been rekindled with more than usual ceremony, the Red men united with the "Big Knife," and promised to fight no more for the English against the Americans. In this and other negotiations there is no doubt that the success of Clarke with the Indians depended mainly on the fact that France was the ally of the United States, the Indians always retaining a profound regard for their first "Great Father," the French king.

The negotiation of Colonel Clarke with the Meadow Indians is so characteristic and romantic that we must not omit to narrate a few circum-

stances connected with it. These Indians attempted the life of Clarke in consequence of having been proffered a very large reward in case of success. Their plot was detected, and the leading Indians, having been secured, were every morning led to the council-house in chains, where he whom they had attempted to kill was daily engaged in forming friendly alliances with their red brethren. By this means they were led to see the futility of their project. After a while the American commander ordered their irons to be struck off, and in his quiet way, full of scorn, said:—

"Everybody thinks you ought to die for your treachery upon my life, amid the sacred deliberations of a council. I had determined to inflict death on you for your base attempt, and you yourselves must be sensible that you have justly forfeited your lives; but, on considering the meanness of watching a bear and catching him asleep, I have found out that you are not warriors, only old women, and too mean to be killed by the Big Knife. But as you ought to be punished for putting on breech-clothes like men, when you have acted like women, they shall be taken off, and plenty of provisions shall be given you for your journey home, as women don't know how to hunt; and during your stay you shall be treated in every respect as squaws." Having thus addressed them, Clarke turned away without

noticing them further, and commenced a conversation with his surrounding friends.

The children of the prairie were unaccountably stirred by this treatment. They had looked for anger, not contempt—confinement, not liberty. They took counsel together, and presently a chief came forward, made a speech, and offered the belt and calumet. The interpreter was about to translate the words of friendship, but Clarke sternly forbid him, and a sword lying on the table, he took it up, and with one blow severed the calumet, the sacred symbol of proffered peace, accompanying the stroke with the cutting remark that "he did not treat with women." The offending Indians now asked the intercession of their red brethren who had been admitted to friendship, and several chiefs belonging to those tribes arose and pleaded in their behalf. But the anger of the American commander was not to be thus assuaged, and aware of the vulnerable points of Indian character he replied, "that the Big Knife had never made war upon the Indians; and that when Americans came across such people in the woods, they commonly shot them as they did wolves, to prevent their eating the deer." All this wrought more and more on the offending tribe. Again they took counsel, and then two young men came forward, and covering their heads with their blankets, sat down before the impenetrable commander. Then two aged chiefs

arose, and while one of them explained to Colonel Clarke that these two young men offered their lives as an atonement for the offences of their tribe, the other once more proffered him the calumet. Colonel Clarke, his officers, soldiers, and the assembled tribes beheld in silence those two young Indian patriots. Anxiety and sympathy with the proffered victims who thus nobly presented themselves as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the "Big Knife," was now depicted on every countenance. With difficulty suppressing his emotions, Colonel Clarke approached the young men, and bade them be uncovered and stand up. "I am glad to find," said he, warmly, "that there are men among all nations. With you, who alone are fit to be chiefs of your tribe, I am willing to treat; through you I am ready to grant peace to your brothers; I take you by the hands as chiefs worthy of being such!" He then introduced the two young Indian patriots to the American officers as well as to the French and Spanish gentlemen who were present, and afterward to the chiefs of the other tribes. This clemency on the part of Clarke, together with his high appreciation of Indian merit, caused the name of the white negotiator to be everywhere respected, while the tribe in question became the firm allies of the Americans.

Colonel Clarke now began to be apprehensive for the safety of Fort Vincennes. Although he

had appointed Captain Helm commandant of that place, on being apprized by M. Gibault of its capture, he had never been able to afford it a garrison. On the 29th of January, 1779, Colonel Vigo brought intelligence that Governor Hamilton of Detroit had reduced the inhabitants, re-established the British power, and was only awaiting the return of spring to attempt the recovery of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, preliminary to a general assault along the whole line of the Kentucky frontier.

The intelligence brought by Col. Vigo about the recapture of Fort Vincennes was in substance as follows:—Governor Hamilton appeared before the fort on the 14th of December, 1778, with an army of thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians. The people living in the neighbourhood of the fort made no effort to defend it; and the only garrison within its walls was Captain Helm and a private soldier called Henry. Seeing the troops at a distance, they loaded a cannon which they placed in the open gateway, and the commandant of the fort, Captain Helm, stood by the cannon with a lighted match. When Governor Hamilton and his military approached within hailing distance, Helm called out with a loud voice, "Halt!" This show of resistance made Hamilton stop and demand a surrender of the garrison. "No man," exclaimed Helm with an oath, "enters here until

I know the terms." Hamilton replied, "You shall have the honours of war." Helm hereupon surrendered the fort, and the whole garrison, consisting of the American commandant and one private, marched out, and received the customary mark of respect for their brave defence.

The situation of Clarke now became perilous. There was little probability of his maintaining his position in Cahokia and Kaskaskia, as his army was too small to stand a siege, and he was in too remote a part of the country to obtain assistance. Detached parties of hostile Indians sent out by Captain Hamilton began to appear in Illinois. As the only means of escape from the difficulties of his position, Clarke determined to anticipate his enemy by striking the first blow. Having learned from Colonel Vigo that a portion of the army at Fort Vincennes was absent on marauding expeditions with the Indians, that the garrison consisted of about eighty regular soldiers, three brass field-pieces, and some swivels, Clarke immediately proceeded to make preparations for an expedition against the fort.

On the 7th of February, 1779, he commenced his march with a force of one hundred and seventy-five men, Captain Rogers having been previously despatched in a boat, with forty-six men and two four-pounders, with orders to sail up the Wabash, station themselves a few miles below the mouth of the White River, suffer no-

thing to pass, and wait there for further instructions. For six days Clarke and his men pursued their toilsome course over the drowned lands of Illinois; and on the 13th, after enduring the greatest privations that could possibly exhaust the spirits of men, they arrived at the Little Wabash. The forks of the stream at this point are three miles apart, and the opposite heights of land five miles even in the ordinary state of the water. The winter had been unusually wet, and at the time of Clarke's arrival, the whole of this country was submerged, generally "three feet deep, never under two, and frequently four." Through this dreadful country the expedition was compelled to make its way until the 18th, when they arrived so near Vincennes that they could hear the morning and evening guns of the fort.

There was a little Irish drummer in the party who possessed an uncommon talent for singing comic Irish songs. Colonel Clarke, ever fertile in expedients, while his men were wading up to their arm-pits in mud and water, in order to divert them, placed the Irishman on his drum, which readily floated, and the tallest man in the company was ordered to be his pilot, while he entertained the exhausted and toiling soldiers with his comic and musical powers.

On the evening of the 18th they encamped within nine miles of the town below the mouth

of the Embarrass river. Here they were detained till the 20th, having no means of crossing the river. On that day a boat was captured, and her crew detained, and in it the men and arms were safely transported to the opposite shore. From the crew of this boat they learned that the French population of Vincennes were favourable to the Americans, and that not even a suspicion of the expedition had reached the British garrison.

The last day's march, February 21st, was the most toilsome. Another sheet of water had to be crossed, which, from the soundings, was ascertained to be up to the arm-pits. "Here," says Clarke, "I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers; the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did—immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face—gave the warwhoop, and marched into the water without saying another word. The party gazed, fell in one after another without a murmur, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to give me a favourite song of theirs; it soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully."

Colonel Clarke had intended to have had the troops transported across the deepest part of the water, but when about waist-deep, one of the

men said that he thought he felt a path. On examination it was found to be so; and concluding that it passed over the highest ground, it was carefully followed, and the march was continued to a place called "the Sugar Camp" without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where they took up their lodgings for the night.

In the morning Clarke addressed his followers in a spirited manner, and led the way into the water as before, up to his middle. "As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered, I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordered him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and to put to death any man who refused to march; as we wished to have no such person among us." This order was received with a shout and huzza, and every man followed his commander, cheered on by the cry of the advance guard, that the water was getting shallower, and sometimes with the favourite cry of seamen, "Land! land!" "Getting to the woods on the other side, where the men expected land, the water was up to their shoulders. But gaining the woods was of great consequence; all the shorter men and weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore and

fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it. This was a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres."

An Indian canoe was captured soon after, on board of which was found nearly half a quarter of buffalo-beef, some corn, tallow, kettles, &c., which to men in so exhausted a state proved a most invaluable acquisition. "Broth was immediately made and served out to the weakly, with great care; most of the army got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to them. This little refreshment, and fine weather in the afternoon, gave renewed life and energy to the whole party."

The invaders having captured one of the inhabitants of the town, who was shooting ducks in its neighbourhood, Clarke sent by him a letter to the citizens, informing them "that he should take possession of their town that night," and desiring those friendly to the Americans to remain in their houses, and those who were the friends of the British to retire to the fort and "fight like men." This letter, from its imposing character, had a wonderful effect. It increased the confidence of those friendly to the cause of the Americans, and the dismay of those who regarded them with hostile feelings. It was thought that the expedition was from Kentucky,

no one dreaming that it could possibly be from Kaskaskia, in the flooded condition of the country.

On the 23d of February, a little before sunset, the whole detachment advanced toward the fort. After marching and countermarching around an eminence on the prairie in front of the town and garrison, and displaying several sets of colours, in order to enhance their apparent numbers as much as possible, Lieut. Bayley, with fourteen men, were sent to attack the fort. The assailants approached within thirty yards, where, concealed by a bank, and safe from the guns of the enemy, they immediately opened fire on the fort. This, however, was attributed by the British to some drunken Indians, who had saluted the fort in that way before; and until a British soldier was actually shot down through a port-hole, no one even suspected the attempt to be in earnest.

On the morning of the 24th, at 9 o'clock, Col. Clarke sent a flag of truce with the following characteristic letter:—

"SIR,—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you *immediately* to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend upon such

treatment as is justly due to a *murderer*. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town. For, by heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you,

"G. R. CLARKE.

"To Gov. Hamilton."

The response of the British commander was as follows:—

"Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clarke, that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects."

The attack was now renewed with vigour, and the whole American force advanced within fifty yards of the fort. The cannon of the besieged, owing to the awkward elevation of the platforms, were perfectly useless, every shot flying far over the heads of the assailants, while, no sooner was a port-hole opened, than a dozen rifles were directed toward it, and every thing swept away before them. The garrison, becoming discouraged, could no longer be kept to their guns; and the British commandant, apprehensive of being taken at discretion if he continued the contest, sent a flag, asking a truce for three days. This was refused, and on the same day the fort was

surrendered, and the garrison made prisoners of war. On the 25th, the star-spangled banner once more waved on the battlements of the captured fort, Captain Helm was reinstated as commandant, and thirteen British cannon fired in commemoration of the victory.

The British power in Illinois was thus overthrown by the efforts of Colonel Clarke in 1778 and 1779, and little more remains for us to record. The history of Illinois, between the surrender of Vincennes in 1779 and the treaty of peace between England and the United States in 1783, is a blank, and contains nothing worthy of notice.

Colonel Clarke remained in command of the territory he had conquered until the peace of 1783, when his official duties ceased, under the following order from the executive of Virginia:

SIR,—The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the state with regard to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone I have come to a determination to give over all thought for the present of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which, you will easily perceive, will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will therefore consider yourself as out of command. But, be-

fore I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks and those of my council for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory from the hands of the British enemy; repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on a successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the executive.

I am with respect, sir,

Yours, &c.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

CHAPTER VII.

The "County of Illinois" organized by the Virginia legislature —North-western territory ceded to Congress—Virginia grants lands to Clarke and his soldiers—Claims of the United States on Indian lands—Indian objections to these claims—Agency of the British in provoking Indian hostilities—General Harmer is appointed commander-in-chief, and is defeated by Little Turtle—General St. Clair's disastrous defeat—Renewal of the attempt to negotiate a peace—Indian manifesto —General Wayne marches to subdue the Indians—Erects Fort Recovery—Fort Recovery attacked by Little Turtle —Fort Defiance erected—The Indians finally defeated—Treaty of Greenville—Condition of Illinois during this period —Beneficial results of General Wayne's expedition against the Indians.

THE conquest of Illinois by Colonel Clarke in 1778 brought that territory under the jurisdiction of the Virginia commonwealth, to whom the inhabitants cheerfully took the oath of allegiance, and an act was passed by the legislature in October, 1778, to establish the "County of Illinois." Colonel John Todd received the appointment of civil commandant. In the spring of 1779, bearing his commission, he visited Kaskaskia and Cahokia, organized a temporary government, and for the first time administered justice in the name and by the authority of the republic. The administration of Colonel Todd

in Illinois was both patriotic and popular. He was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, fought against the Indians in 1782. Timothy de Monbrum succeeded Colonel Todd, whose official signature is found to land grants and other documents in the archives of Randolph county. How long he administered the civil affairs of Illinois we know not, and whether any other person immediately succeeded him is equally doubtful.

At the close of the American revolution, the confederated states were without any special bond of union. It was necessary to adjust as speedily as possible the conflicting territorial claims of the states, to endeavour to liquidate that debt in which the whole of them were so deeply involved, and by wise and just negotiation with the Indian tribes, for lands on which to form settlements, to prevent the desolating horrors of border warfare. To meet the wants of the period a government more suitably adapted to the times than the "Old Continental Congress" became requisite. Happily that patriotism which had enabled the states to fight side by side for their mutual independence, now drew them together into those closer bonds of union which we trust are destined to be indissoluble.

By the treaty of peace made by the United States with England in 1783, large territories which had not been granted to individuals were

ceded to the United States. But these lands were included within the limits of particular states which had been chartered by English law, and were then in the actual possession of the aborigines. The first step toward the consolidation of the Union was the cession of these public lands, by the several states which claimed them, to the government of the United States. The states thus became more firmly united together by mutual interests, having this property held by the United States government in common for the benefit of all. By the gradual sale of the lands means were provided for the liquidation of the revolutionary debt. The most important cession was the immense region known as the "North-western Territory." This tract of country of course included the "County of Illinois," organized by the Virginia legislature, and ceded to Congress in 1784.

The commissioners sent as delegates to Congress, to make this cession of the "County of Illinois," were Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe; and the deed of cession contained, among other conditions, the following:—

"That the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished,

shall be fully reimbursed by the United States. That the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Fort Vincennes, and the neighbouring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity, not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clarke, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since incorporated in the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the north-west side of the Ohio as a majority of the officers shall choose; and to be afterward divided among the officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia."

But although this cession of Illinois to Congress was made in 1784, the ordinance to organize the north-western territory, which provided for a territorial government, was not passed until 1787; and the Illinois country remained without any regular government till March, 1790, when Governor St. Clair organized the

county that bears his name. Hence for a period of six years there was no executive, legislative, or judicial authority in the country. The people were a "law unto themselves," and good feeling, harmony, and fidelity to engagements predominated.

In order to give the reader an intelligible view of those causes which contributed to the progress and settlement of Illinois, it is necessary to refer to the annals of Indian warfare, or the contests which took place between the United States and the aborigines from 1790 to 1795.

We have seen that most of the tribes adhered to England during the revolutionary struggle. When the war ceased, however, England made no provision for them, and transferred the territory north-west of the Ohio and the Alleghanies to the United States without any stipulations as to the rights of the natives. The United States, regarding the lands of the hostile tribes as forfeited, proceeded not to buy the lands of the savages, but to grant them peace, and dictate their own terms as to boundaries. These proceedings produced discontent, and brought about a war between the United States and the Indians.

To render the nature of this war clearly understood, it is necessary to remind the reader that the French made no large purchases from the Indians, so that the treaty of Fontainebleau

in 1763 transferred to England only small grants about the various forts, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, &c.; and when at the close of the revolutionary war Great Britain made over her western claims to the United States, she made over nothing more than she had received from France. At this period, therefore, 1790, with the exception of the old French villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, Village à Côte, Prairie du Pont, and a few families scattered along the Wabash and Illinois Rivers, the whole of the territory north-west of the Ohio and the Alleghanies, including the Illinois country, was the abode of the untamed savage. How to throw open these immense regions to the American settlers without driving the natives to desperation was now a problem which engaged the ablest minds.

Before, however, any movement beyond the Ohio was attempted, efforts were made to secure settlements by treaties with the north-western tribes, and the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made with the Iroquois in 1784, that of Fort McIntosh with the Delawares, Wyandots, &c. in 1785, and in 1786 the treaty of Miami was made with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese. By these treaties these several Indian tribes surrendered a large tract of country north-west of the Ohio, on condition of their enjoying the friendship of the United States and a regular

supply of merchandise. But the other Indian tribes objected to the treaties on the ground that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of the lands to the United States. The Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Potawatomies, Kaskaskias, and above all, the Miamies, wished the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the West, and would not sell a rod of the region north of it.

While negotiations were going forward, the frontier settlements were held in daily alarm and terror by the hostile and murderous incursions of the savages; and, between 1783 and 1790, it was proved by documents laid before Congress that not less than fifteen hundred and twenty white men, women, and children were either murdered or carried into captivity by the Indians. Negotiations having failed, Congress finally resolved to put a stop to these barbarities.

On the 30th September, 1790, General Harmar commenced his march from Fort Washington to attack the Miami towns. After a march of seventeen days he reached the great Miami village, which he found deserted by its inhabitants. Two strong detachments being subsequently defeated by Little Turtle, Harmar returned to Fort Washington on the 14th of December.

In 1791 an additional force was raised, and Major-General St. Clair, governor of the "North-western Territory," was invested with the command. General St. Clair, though a veteran of the Revolution, and possessed of talents and experience, was old and infirm, and exceedingly unpopular with part of his army. After the campaign had commenced, he was so affected by the gout that he could neither mount nor dismount his horse without assistance. His army, at first consisting of two thousand regulars and a large body of militia, rapidly diminished in numbers by desertion and sickness during its march through the wilderness. On the 3d of November he reached a small tributary stream of the Wabash, about twelve yards in width; here the army encamped for the night. On the 4th of November, about half an hour before sunrise, and immediately after the American troops had been dismissed from parade, Little Turtle, at the head of fifteen hundred warriors, commenced a furious attack on the encampment. Lurking under such cover as the woods afforded, they poured a continuous and destructive fire into the ranks of the Americans. The troops were raw, but the officers were veterans; and for three hours they strove to maintain the honour of their arms with a bravery which deserved a better fate. St. Clair himself, despite of his illness, was borne on a litter into the thickest of

the fight, from whence he issued his orders with coolness and determination. Gallant and repeated charges were made with the bayonet, and always with a temporary success. But almost every officer in the American army, and nearly one-half of the regulars and militia, being either killed or wounded, a retreat was ordered.

"It was in fact a flight," says St. Clair. "The camp and the artillery were abandoned—but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disagraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted on one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sunsetting." The troops were afterward marched back to Fort Washington, in good order, where they arrived on the 8th of November. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded during this disastrous battle was nearly six hundred;

that of the Indians only fifty-six. It was, in fact, a second Braddock's defeat.

The whole country, and particularly the frontier, was now filled with terror and despondency. The victorious savages could not now be expected to exercise any forbearance or make terms, and would naturally attack the settlements with a greater degree of boldness and ferocity. General St. Clair earnestly requested to be tried by court-martial; but the want of a sufficient number of surviving officers to constitute such a court, prevented his request from being granted. His case was, however, referred to a committee of the House of Representatives in Congress, by whom he was exculpated; and as Washington continued to extend to him his esteem and confidence, he escaped the effects of popular resentment.

In 1792 Washington submitted a plan for another campaign. General Wayne was appointed commander-in-chief. The number of troops intended for this service was considerably augmented, and efforts were made to give them a thorough military training before they took the field. In the mean time the justice of the war was arraigned; and it was urged, that if the intentions of government were just and humane, those intentions ought to be made fully known to the Indians, among whom the opinion exten-

sively prevailed, that the sole object of the war was to deprive them of their lands.

On the other hand, it was urged that it was too late to inquire into the justice of the war; that the war existed; that many innocent persons were exposed to savage butchery; and that it was better, by the proper organization of a more effective force, to bring the contest to a speedy close, than to protract it from year to year. While preparations were making, Congress, however, once more determined to try to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties by peaceful negotiations with the tribes; and Colonel Harden and Major Trueman, two brave Kentuckians, were sent to them, both of whom were barbarously murdered. General Rufus Putnam, of Ohio, was also appointed a commissioner, with the following instructions:—

"You will make it clearly understood, that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only; that they have the right to sell and the right to refuse to sell, and the United States will guarantee to them the said just right.

"That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighbouring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights against lawless, violent white men. If such should commit any injury on the person or properties of a peaceable Indian, they will be regarded equally as the enemies of the

general government as the Indians, and will be punished accordingly."

That the same conciliatory spirit of humanity and justice pervaded the instructions given to Colonel Trueman, is evident from the following passage:—

"Brothers,—The President of the United States entertains the opinion that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States want to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so: on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land."

In the mean time the hostile Indians held a grand confederacy, at which it was settled that the Ohio must for the future be the boundary line between the white men and the Indians; they also denied the validity of the treaties made with the Indian tribes, on which the United States rested her claims to Indian lands beyond those boundaries. This council was one of the largest ever held by the Indians. The answer of the head warriors to the American commissioners clearly expresses their ground of com-

plaint, and the real sentiments which actuated the Indians:—

"Brothers,—A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place, (Fort Harmar;) and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers,—We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your commissioner, after having been informed that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever.

"Brothers,—How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was in-

formed that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary, to convey any part of them to the United States?

"Brothers,—You say, 'the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clarke for the use of himself and his warriors. And in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods as was never given at any one time for any quantity of Indian lands.'

"Brothers,—Money to us is of no value, and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a way by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby retained.

"Brothers,—We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money which you have offered to us among this people.

"Brothers,—You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us, who have been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want

peace. Restore to us our country, we shall be enemies no longer.

"Brothers,—You have talked also a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king at the treaty of peace.

"Brothers,—We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us; we have never parted with such a power.

"Brothers,—We desire you to consider that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back, and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther, because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants; and we have therefore resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers,—We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall be the boundary line between us. If you

will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary.

"Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

NATIONS.

WYANDOTTS,	SHAWANESE,
SEVEN NATIONS OF CANADA,	CHEROKEES,
MIAMIES,	MESS-ASAGOES,
OTTAWAS,	CHIPPEWAS,
MOHICANS,	MANSEES,
CONNOYS,	DELAWARES,
POTAWATOMIES,	NANTAKOKIES,
SENECAS OF THE GLAIZE,	CREEKS."

This of necessity closed the negotiations. The United States would not consent to make the Ohio the boundary line, and both sides now prepared for a renewal of hostilities.

On the 13th of October, 1793, General Wayne marched about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, and established his head-quarters for the winter at Greenville. Having fortified his camp, he sent a detachment to take possession of the battle-ground on which St. Clair had been defeated, and to erect a fort on the spot, which was called "Fort Recovery."

On the 30th of June, 1794, Fort Recovery was attacked by Little Turtle, at the head of fifteen hundred warriors. Although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge,

and kept up the attack through the whole of the day and a part of the following.

On the 26th of July, General Wayne was reinforced by a body of sixteen hundred volunteers from Kentucky, and on the 28th moved forward into the heart of the hostile country. On the 8th of August he arrived at the junction of the Auglaize and the Miami rivers, and there erected Fort Defiance. Here he received full and accurate information about the Indians, their numbers, and the nature of the ground they occupied; and considering the spirit of his troops, officers, and men, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. Yet, acting under orders from President Washington, Wayne once more endeavoured to bring the Indians to a peaceful treaty. He therefore sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanese, with a flag, offering to confer with deputies appointed for that purpose. Unwilling to waste time, however, the troops moved forward on the 15th of August, and on the 16th met Miller returning. He brought word that if the Americans would wait ten days, the Indians would decide for peace or war; to which Wayne only replied by resuming his march.

On the 18th of August, the army being in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy, General Wayne ordered a slight fortification to be erected, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the

expected battle. Early on the morning of the 20th of August, the position of the enemy having been previously reconnoitred, the army moved toward the Indian encampment. The Indians had shown considerable military judgment in selecting their position. They had formed their lines in a dense forest, which, having been overwhelmed by a tornado, was impracticable to artillery and cavalry, while at the same time it afforded the savages a very suitable covert for their mode of warfare. After a march of about five miles, the advance, under Major Price, was briskly attacked by the Indians concealed in a thicket of tall grass and underwood, and compelled to retreat. General Wayne immediately ordered the mounted riflemen to make a circuit far to the left, and operate upon their right flank and rear, and the infantry to advance and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet; when they were up, to deliver a well-directed fire, and then charge with the bayonet, so as not to give the savages time to load again. These orders were promptly executed; and so irresistible was the bayonet charge, that the Indians were driven from their position and completely routed before the mounted riflemen could take part in the action. The action was fought almost under the guns of a British fort—all the houses and stores around the fort being destroyed, notwithstanding the remon-

strances of the British commandant. General Wayne presently burnt the Indian villages and cornfields for upward of fifty miles on either side of the Miami river; and this, more than the battle, brought them completely into subjection. During the winter their cattle and dogs died, and they were themselves half famished. An exchange of prisoners took place soon after the battle, and finally a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States was signed at Greenville, on the 7th of August, 1795, which the Indians faithfully observed till the war of 1812.

The historical annals of Illinois during this period only record a series of Indian incursions, which were bravely repelled by the settlers. The subjugation of the Indians in the Miami country by General Wayne, in 1794, and the treaty that grew out of it, brought peace to the borders of Illinois. Indeed, the beneficial results of Wayne's expedition can hardly be overrated. It opened a fine region of country to a civilized population. It quieted the Indian excitement, and stopped their inroads into the settlements. It allayed factious feelings at home, while abroad it hastened a pending negotiation, by which a treaty of friendship and commerce was made between England and the United States advantageous to both countries.

CHAPTER VIII.

American settlements in Illinois—Character and mode of life of the Illinois backwoodsman—Annals of border warfare from 1786 to 1796—Anecdote of Little Turtle—Character and designs of Tecumseh—His interviews with General Harrison—Tecumseh's visit to the South—Battle of Tippecanoe—Frustration of Tecumseh's plans—Joins the British at Fort Malden.

THE romantic exploits of General Clarke in 1788, and his conquest of the British military stations in the West, made known the fertile plains of Illinois to the people of the Atlantic states, and excited a spirit of emigration to the banks of the Mississippi and the Wabash. Some of the soldiers who accompanied Clarke subsequently returned and settled on the lands allotted them by the United States. Illinois was at this time, to a considerable extent, in the possession of the aborigines; and during the Indian war, the origin and history of which has been given in the previous chapter, the American settlements were greatly distressed by hostile incursions.

Of all the Indians the Kickapoos were the most formidable and dangerous neighbours, and from 1786 to 1796, a period of ten years, kept

the settlements in a state of continual alarm. Owing to the remoteness of their situation, the borderers were thrown entirely on their own defences. They had to carry their rifles while labouring in their cornfields, and often at night had to keep guard over their own houses. As none but the most vigorous and athletic ventured to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of hostile Indians, the Illinois backwoodsmen were remarkable for their great physical strength and courage, which was nerved into tenfold hardihood by their continual struggles with the savages. These western pioneers, in their half-civilized condition, adopted a costume greatly resembling that of the Indians themselves. A fur cap, buckskin pantaloons or leggings of dressed deer-skin, ornamented after the Indian fashion, with a loose hunting-shirt, the capacious bosom of which, sewed as a wallet, contained a store of jerked beef and bread, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, and other sylvan requisites—girt around the waist with a belt, to which was constantly attached a tomahawk and scalping-knife, with mocassins or Indian shoes to his feet, and a rifle over his shoulder: such was the ordinary costume of an Illinois backwoodsman. The habitations of the Illinois settlers were log huts, surrounded by palisades, which were made bullet proof for protection against their Indian foes, and in close

proximity to a strong timber fort called a block-house, to which they retired in cases of emergency. As the forest clearing expanded around the log hut of the settler, many were the farinaceous delicacies that covered his table; prominent among these were the Johnny or journey-cake, made of corn meal; hominy, or pounded maize thoroughly boiled, and other savoury preparations of flour and milk, in addition to the rich variety of game afforded by the chase. The furniture of their dwellings was of the simplest description. Most of the articles in common use were of domestic manufacture. Utensils of metal were extremely rare. The table furniture usually consisted of wooden vessels, and their bedding of the shaggy skins of the deer, bear, and buffalo. The use of stoves was unknown; and the huge fireplaces, filled with bright blazing logs, were favourite nestling places during the long winter evenings, when the snow-storm swept gustily around the rude dwelling, or the forest trees swayed heavily to and fro in the wintry blast.

The opportunities of the pioneers to educate their children were very scanty. If the mother could read, while the father was in the cornfield, or with his rifle on the prairie, she would barricade the door as a security against prowling savages, gather her little ones around her, and by the light that came in from the crevices in

the roof and sides of the cabin, teach them the rudiments of knowledge from the fragments of some old book.

During the whole period from 1786 to 1796 the people were under the jurisdiction of the North-western Territory. Their morals were pure, and there was but little necessity for the administration of either civil or criminal law. Notwithstanding the rough points in their character, these backwoodsmen were proverbial for hospitality and kindness to strangers. There is something peculiarly interesting in the rural simplicity of these settlers. The grosser vices were unknown among them. Ardent spirits, that outrage on morals, social order, and religion, had been introduced among them only in small quantities. Thefts and other crimes were extremely few, and fraud and dishonesty in dealings seldom practised. The Moores, Ogles, Lemens, and other families, were of unblemished morals, and were impelled by a love of freedom to leave the banks of the Potomac for the prairies of Illinois.

These hardy borderers, when they visited the cities on the Atlantic seaboard, were regarded by the inhabitants as a sort of barbarians, while they in their turn despised the citizen as one sunk in softness and effeminacy. Those from the North-western Territory, when introduced into the more settled countries east of the Allegha-

nies, were surprised to find that all houses were not made of logs and chinked with mud, and that all dishes and tableware were not of pewter and wood. To them the luxuries of tea and coffee were unknown; they "wondered how people could show a fondness for such slops, and regarded cups and saucers as indications of a depraved taste and unmanly luxury, or, at most, only adapted to the effeminate or the sick."

In 1786 the Indians attacked an American settlement near Bellefontaine, Monroe county, killed James Andrews, his wife, and daughter, James White and Samuel McClure, and took two girls, daughters of Andrews, prisoners. One of these died with the Indians, the other was ransomed by the French traders. The Indians had previously threatened the settlements, and the people had built and garrisoned a blockhouse, but this family was out and defenceless. This was the first settlement formed by emigrants from the United States, and was established by Mr. James Moore in 1781.

Early in the spring of 1788, William Biggs, John Vallis, and Joseph and Benjamin Ogle, were attacked by Indians near Bellefontaine. John Vallis was killed and William Biggs taken prisoner. The Kickapoo warriors treated the latter kindly, offered him the daughter of a brave for a wife, and proposed to adopt him into their tribe. He was finally liberated by the

French traders, and afterward became a resident of St. Clair county, a member of the territorial legislature, and judge of the county court. The following year the settlements were greatly harassed by the Indians, who frequently stole the horses and killed the cattle of the settlers. Six of them attacked three boys when only a few yards from a block-house. One of the boys was struck with a tomahawk in three places, scalped, and yet recovered; the others escaped unhurt. Two men were attacked on a load of hay, one of them being killed, and the other scalped. Several other massacres took place in the same year in the American bottom, and on the road to St. Louis.

In 1790 the Illinois settlers were attacked by a party of Osage Indians, who stole their horses. They pursued the Indians and fired upon them. One of the Americans getting in advance of his party was killed and scalped. The same year James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, was taken prisoner by the Kickapoo Indians. A female and her child, who were with him, were despatched with the tomahawk. Having retreated a few yards down the hill, he fell on his knees in prayer for the poor woman they were murdering, and in that attitude was taken by the Indians. They immediately loaded him with the plunder they had collected, which they compelled him to carry, until the heat of the day

and the weight of his burden finally overpowered his strength, and he sank in a state of exhaustion at their feet. They then consulted together to destroy him, and as they frequently pointed their guns toward him, Smith bared his breast, and pointed upward to signify that the Great Spirit was his protector. Seeing him in the attitude of devotion, and hearing him sing hymns, which he did to relieve his mind from despondency, they came to the conclusion that he was a "great medicine," holding daily intercourse with the Great Spirit, and must not be put to death. They accordingly relieved him of his burdens and treated him kindly. He was taken to the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash, from whence he was in a few months ransomed by the inhabitants of New Design, who greatly valued and respected his ministerial labours.

In May, 1791, one John Dempsey was attacked by the savages, but made his escape and gave the alarm. A small party of settlers, commanded by Captain Hall, started soon after in pursuit. The Indians took to the trees, the whites did the same, fighting with great prudence and bravery. The Indians being double the number of their adversaries, a sharp running fight was kept up for several hours, the Americans pursuing from tree to tree until night put an end to the conflict. Five Indians were

killed, without the loss of a man or of a drop of blood on the other side.

The settlements in Illinois were strengthened during the year 1793 by the arrival of emigrants from Kentucky, and among them was a family of the name of Whiteside. A party of Kickapoos, during a predatory excursion into the American bottom, stole nine horses from the settlers. William Whiteside, accompanied by eight of his neighbours, started in pursuit, and followed the trail of the depredators as far as the Indian camp on Shoal Creek. Here they found three of the horses, which they immediately secured. The party then, small as it was, divided into two bodies, four men in each, and agreed to attack simultaneously the Indian camp from opposite sides. The signal of attack was to be the firing of Whiteside's gun. Two Indians were immediately killed, and several others slightly wounded. Believing themselves surrounded by a large force, an old chief approached in their behalf, and begged for quarter. But as soon as the chief discovered the insignificant number of the whites, when compared with his own party, he became indignant and called aloud on his braves to return and retrieve their honour. But they had fled beyond the reach of his voice; and Captain Whiteside, although the Indian exerted all his force and sought to get possession of his gun, deeming it dishonourable to destroy an un-

armed man who had previously surrendered, compelled him to retreat without serious injury. The intrepid band being at this time in the heart of the Indian country, where hundreds of Indian warriors could be raised in a few hours time, Captain Whiteside prudently resolved to retire with the horses they had recovered; and after travelling night and day, without halting to eat or sleep, they reached the settlements in safety. Two of the Whiteside family fell victims to the Indians during the following year.

In the year 1795 the family of Mr. McMahan was attacked by Indians, who killed his wife and four children before his face, and laid their bodies in a row on the floor of his own dwelling. Making prisoners of McMahan and his only daughter, they departed for their towns. On the second night of their encampment, McMahan, finding the Indians asleep, put on their moccasins and made his escape. He arrived at the settlement just as the neighbours were burying his family. They had enclosed the bodies in rude coffins, and were engaged in putting the sods on their grave as he came in sight. He looked on the newly-formed hillock, and raising his eyes to heaven in pious resignation, said, "They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." His remaining daughter was afterward ransomed by the charitable contributions of the settlers. The

same year the Whitesides and others, to the number of fourteen, attacked an Indian encampment at the foot of the bluffs west of Belleville. In the skirmish Captain William Whiteside received a shot in the side, and was wounded, as he thought, mortally. As he fell, he exhorted his sons to fight bravely and not let the Indians touch him. One of his sons, who was disabled by a shot in the arm, sat down and examined the wound of his father. Finding that the ball had glanced along the ribs and lodged against the spine, he gashed the skin with his knife, and having extracted the bullet, held it up exultingly, exclaiming, "Father, you are not dead yet!" The old man instantly jumped on his feet, saying, "Come along, boys, I can still fight them!" Such were the instances of indomitable energy and courage which distinguished the men who defended the frontiers of Illinois in those days of peril.

The defeat of the confederated Indians in 1794, by General Wayne, brought peace to the frontiers of Illinois. A few horses were occasionally stolen, and in 1802 two Americans were killed, but no attack was made on the settlements. Families again took up their abodes on the prairies—emigrants from the states clustered around them, and the cultivation of the soil was pursued without fear of molestation. During the period which elapsed between 1802 and 1810

no events of an important character occurred to interrupt the quiet routine of peaceful life upon the frontiers.

While Illinois was a part of the North-western Territory, it was divided into only two counties, Randolph and St. Clair. In 1800, by an act of Congress, the whole of the North-western territory, including Illinois, with the exception of the state of Ohio, was named Indiana, and William H. Harrison, subsequently President of the United States, was appointed its governor. Illinois continued a part of Indiana until February 3d, 1809, when, by another act of Congress, all that part of the Indiana Territory which lies west of the Wabash River, and a direct line drawn from that river and Fort Vincennes due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was formed into a separate territory by the name of Illinois. Ninian Edwards, then Chief-justice of Kentucky, was appointed governor, and Nathaniel Pope, Esq., a resident of Kaskaskia, secretary of the territory. In 1810 new settlements had been formed in Gallatin, Johnson, Union, and Jackson counties, and the census gives the population of the territory at 12,284 inhabitants.

Although the quietude of the Illinois settlements was undisturbed between 1802 and 1810, yet mischief was gathering in other quarters, which ultimately brought on a renewal of Indian

hostilities. Notwithstanding the treaty of Greenville ceded to the United States an extensive tract of country north-west of the Ohio, and although settlers had located themselves on the tract thus ceded, the project of making the Ohio a boundary line between the white men and the Indians was still entertained by a considerable portion of the Indian tribes.

Little Turtle, the Miami warrior, at one time strenuously supported this project; but after his defeat by General Wayne, frequent visits to Philadelphia and Washington had convinced him of the utter impossibility of effecting his object. He had, therefore, become an advocate for peace, and a friend of the whites; and, at the time of which we are speaking, was living quietly and comfortably on Eel River, in Indiana, in a house erected for him by the American government. Among the many characteristic anecdotes of this celebrated chief, the following will be read with interest:—

On the 6th of November, 1792, Little Turtle defeated Major Adair, who commanded a detachment of mounted volunteers from Kentucky. The Miami chief directed the attack with his usual skill, and a large party of Indians rushed on the encampment with great fury. A bloody conflict ensued. The Indians were driven through and about six hundred yards beyond the American camp, but were again rallied by Little

Turtle, and fought desperately. At this moment about sixty Indians made an effort to turn the right flank of the Americans. Major Adair, foreseeing the consequence of this manœuvre, ordered a retreat, which was effected with great regularity; and, as was expected, the Indians pursued them to their camp, where a halt was made, another battle fought, and the Indians finally driven from the ground. Some years afterward, in 1805–6, when General Adair was register of the land-office in Frankfort, Captain Wm. Wells, the Indian agent, passed through that place on his way to Washington, attended by a deputation of warriors, among whom was Little Turtle. General Adair called on his old antagonist, and in the course of conversation the incident above related being alluded to, General Adair attributed his defeat to his having been taken by surprise. Little Turtle immediately remarked with great pleasantness, "A good general is never taken by surprise." This famous chief died at Fort Wayne, on the 14th of July, 1812, and was buried with the honours of war.

But although Little Turtle had discovered the futility of attempting to make the Ohio the boundary line between the white and Indian population, and had become the advocate of peace, it was otherwise with the Shawanese chief Tecumseh, who, from his boyhood to the period when he fell in the prime of life, nobly fighting

for his country, fostered an invincible hatred to the whites. This hatred was not confined to the Americans. Circumstances induced him to fight under English colours, but he neither loved nor respected them. He knew their professions of sympathy were hollow, and that they cared nothing for the rights of the Indians. Tecumseh was a patriot. He loved his country, and this made him a statesman and a warrior. He saw his countrymen driven from their hunting grounds, their morals debased, and their means of subsistence taken from them. He sought to ascertain the cause of these evils, and traced it to that flood of white immigration which, having surmounted the Alleghanies, was now pouring successive waves of population into the Mississippi valley, above whose dense and peaceful forests had curled for innumerable ages the smoke of the rude wigwams of his ancestors.

The habits of intoxication acquired by the Indians having totally unfitted them for making heroic exertions, Tecumseh sought to effect a reformation in this respect, and to unite them together into a grand confederacy, so as to render the purchase of land by the United States impossible, without the consent of all the tribes. Knowing his countrymen to be prone to superstition, he determined, through the agency of his brother, to employ its influence in effecting his purpose.

Suddenly his brother began to dream dreams and see visions, and to profess himself inspired by the Great Spirit to direct the Indians in the way they ought to go to preserve to them the hunting grounds of their ancestors, and to restore them to their former condition of happiness and independence. The work of reformation and union now went on rapidly. Pilgrims came from the most distant tribes to the headquarters of the prophet, whose fame, and the divine character of whose mission, was spread far and wide, until, at length, a combination of Indians more formidable than any which this continent has ever witnessed, was nearly completed. But the battle of Tippecanoe, fought during the absence of Tecumseh, and in violation of his orders, completely frustrated all his designs, and rendered him, to the close of his gallant though unsuccessful struggle, a mere accessory to England in the war which followed.

It was in the year 1805 Tecumseh entered on the great work he had so long contemplated. He was then about thirty-eight years of age. General Harrison was at this time governor of Indiana and superintendent of Indian affairs, and in both capacities had difficult and arduous duties to perform. In 1807, Governor Harrison, hearing of extraordinary movements among the savages, charged them with an attempted insurrection, but was assured by the Prophet that

their only object was to effect a reformation among the Indians. In 1808 Tecumseh and his brother were still quietly extending their influence among the Indian tribes; and in the month of June they removed from Greenville to the banks of the Tippecanoe, a tributary of the Upper Wabash. In 1809 Tecumseh met Governor Harrison, and claimed the lands which had been previously ceded by the Miamies, "because they belonged to all the tribes, and could not be parted with except by the consent of all." Governor Harrison took no notice of his claim, and the chief departed to redouble his exertions in the formation of the Indian confederacy. In 1810 the hostile intentions of Tecumseh and his followers were placed beyond a doubt. General Harrison was revisited, and notified of the confederacy, and of the determination of the Indians to resist any further cession of territory to the United States, unless made with the consent of all the tribes. The governor replied, "that he would make known those views to the president, but there was no probability of their being attended to." "Then," said Tecumseh, "the Great Spirit must determine the matter. It is true the president is so far off that he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will fight it out." It was then proposed to Tecumseh that in the event of a war, he should use his in-

fluence to prevent those cruelties which were usually practised by the Indians. To this Tecumseh cheerfully assented, and it is due to his memory to say that he kept his word.

In 1811 Tecumseh again sought an interview with General Harrison, to whom he announced his intention of going south to induce the tribes to unite with the northern and western Indians in the confederacy. He also promised to visit the president and settle all difficulties with him on his return, and requested that the Americans would not survey a certain tract of land which had been ceded to them, as the Indians who were coming to settle at Tippecanoe would want it for a hunting ground. He apologized for the murders which the Indians had committed in 1810, and said they ought to be forgiven, and that the Indians had set the whites an example of forgiveness. The governor replied, "That the moon which they beheld (it was then night) would sooner fall to the earth, than the president suffer his people to be murdered with impunity. And that he would put his warriors in petticoats sooner than give up the country which he had fairly acquired from the rightful owners."

After many conferences with British officers at Detroit, Tecumseh left that post, and with a party of thirty warriors, mounted on horses, shaped his course for the south. Passing through the country of the Choctaw and Chickasa In-

dians, among whom his mission was unsuccessful, he continued his journey to Florida, where he met with complete success among the Seminoles. From their boyhood the warriors of that country had heard of Tecumseh, of his feats in the buffalo chase, of the bloody wars which he had conducted, and of his fierce and transcendent eloquence.

At this time Colonel Hawkins was holding a grand council with the Seminoles at Tookabatcha, the Indian capital of Florida. It was evening, and an autumnal sun shone on the bronzed faces of five thousand Indians gathered within that ancient town, which never looked so gay and populous as then. Colonel Hawkins had just finished his address when Tecumseh and his party marched into the square. They were entirely naked, except their flaps and ornaments. Their faces were painted black and their heads adorned with eagle plumes, while buffalo tails trailed after them, suspended by bands which went around their waists. Similar appendages were also attached to their arms, and were made to stand out by means of thongs. Their appearance was hideous, and their bearing stately and ceremonious. After making the circuit of the square they approached the chiefs, and cordially shaking them with the whole length of the arm, exchanged tobacco, a common ceremony with the Indians, denoting friendship. For several consecutive

days Tecumseh appeared in the square to deliver his "talk," and all ears were anxious to listen to it; but he refused to explain the object of his mission until Colonel Hawkins had concluded his business, and departed.

That night, at a grand Indian council, held in the great Round House, Tecumseh recounted, in a long speech, full of fierce, fervid eloquence, the wrongs of the Indians, and the object of his mission. He exhorted his hearers to return to their primitive customs, to throw aside the plough and the loom, and to abandon an agricultural life, which was unbecoming Indian warriors. He told them that after the whites had obtained possession of their country, cut down its beautiful forests, and stained the clear waters of their rivers with the washings of their manufactories, the Indian would be subjected to insult and oppression, and be rendered a toiling and servile slave on the soil of which he was once the proprietor and master. He exhorted them to assimilate in no way whatever with the grasping, unprincipled American race, who despised their alliance, and only sought in every treaty to defraud them of their hunting grounds. He concluded by announcing that the British, their former friends, had sent him from the big lakes to procure their services in expelling the Americans from all Indian soil, and that the

king of England was ready to handsomely reward all who would fight for his cause.

A prophet, who composed one of the party of Tecumseh, next addressed the council. He said that he frequently communed with the Great Spirit, who had sent Tecumseh to their country upon this mission, the nature of which that great chief had just explained. He declared that the Indians who joined the war party should be so perfectly shielded from all harm, that none would be killed in battle, and that the Great Spirit would surround them with quagmires which would swallow up the Americans as they approached. A short time after daylight the audience adjourned, more than half of them having already resolved to go to war against the Americans.

While at Tookabatcha, Tecumseh took up his residence with a chief called the "Big Warrior," who, despite of the entreaties of his guest, remained true to the United States; more, however, from fear of the consequences of a war than from any love of the Americans. Tecumseh, after talking with him for some time to no purpose, pointed his finger in his face and emphatically said, "Tustinuggee Thlucco, your blood is white. You have taken my red sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason. You do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall believe it. I

will leave directly, and go straight to Detroit. When I get there, I will stamp my foot upon the ground, and shake down every house in Tookabatcha." The Big Warrior said nothing, but puffed his pipe, and enveloped himself in clouds of smoke. Afterward he thought much upon this remarkable speech.

The common Indians, believing that Tecumseh actually possessed the power to fulfil his threat, began to count the time it would take the Shawanese chief to reach Detroit. One day a mighty rumbling was heard in the earth; the houses of Tookabatcha reeled and tottered, and reeled again. The people ran out, vociferating, "Tecumseh has got to Detroit! Tecumseh has got to Detroit! We feel the shake of his foot!"

Such was the manner in which the mission of Tecumseh was conducted. His persuasive voice was listened to one day by the Wyandots on the plains of Sandusky; on the next, his commands were issued on the banks of the Wabash; at one time he was seen paddling his canoe on the waters of the Mississippi, and visiting the different nations on its shores; at another boldly confronting Governor Harrison in the council house at Vincennes. He continued his labours, neither elated by success nor discouraged by failure, until his plans for a gigantic confederacy, when on the eve of completion, were frustrated by the rashness of his brother.

While Tecumseh was thus actively engaged at the south, the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe became the grand rallying centre for the restless and dissatisfied among the Indian tribes. The Prophet had neither the caution, the talent for command, nor the judgment and wisdom of his brother. Hence, when Tecumseh, the master-spirit, departed, and he was left to himself, he was incapable of controlling the bold and reckless savages who assembled around him; and rash and presumptuous himself, he allowed them to rob and murder the settlers in the neighbourhood of the town, until he brought upon himself the armies of the United States, and by his defeat destroyed all confidence in the sacredness of his character, and crushed into irretrievable ruin that grand confederacy which it had cost Tecumseh years of toil, suffering, and privation to establish.

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought on the 7th of November, 1811, only a few days before Tecumseh returned from the south. Nothing could exceed his grief and indignation, when his brother attempted to palliate his conduct. Tecumseh seized him by the hair of his head, and threatened to take his life. He immediately announced to Governor Harrison that he had returned, and was ready to make the proposed visit to the president. The governor gave him permission to go, but not at the head of a large

delegation The haughty chief, who, in his interviews with the governor, was always accompanied by several hundred Indians, completely armed, had no wish to appear before "his great father the president" stripped of his power, and therefore declined going at all.

In June, 1812, Tecumseh had an interview with the Indian agent at Fort Wayne, in which he disavowed his intention to make war on the United States, and reproached General Harrison for having marched against his people during his absence. After listening with frigid indifference to the response of the agent, he quitted the council house, and departed for Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, where he joined the British standard.

CHAPTER IX.

Causes which led to the renewal of war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812—Disastrous commencement of the war—Fort Chicago ordered to be evacuated—The garrison wish to remain in the fort—Captain Heald attends the Indian council alone, protected by the guns of the fort—The ammunition and liquor destroyed, and the goods distributed among the Indians—Arrival of Captain Wells—The garrison leave the fort—Attacked by the Indians on their march—Mrs. Helm's account of the action—Cruel and faithless conduct of the Indians after the surrender of the soldiers—Kindness of Waubeeneemah to Mrs. Helm—Heroic conduct of Mrs. Heald—Fate of the captives.

THE angry international feelings, occasioned by the war of independence, were not quieted by the peace of 1783. Mortification on the one hand and resentment on the other continued long after the war had terminated. The breaking forth of the French revolution involving all Europe in hostilities, it was impossible for the United States to avoid feeling the effects of the terrible struggle which then agitated the civilized world. The extraordinary efforts of England, by sea and land, called for all her resources of men and money, and she claimed the right of impressing her own seamen wherever they might be found. American merchantmen were

frequently stopped by British cruisers on the high seas, and such seamen impressed into service as English subordinate officers thought proper to claim as Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen; a proceeding perfectly unjustifiable, and involving not unfrequently the liberty of native American citizens.

These wrongs were endured for a considerable time, for the sake of the profitable carrying trade; and the United States was rapidly rising in importance as a neutral power, when England, by her Orders in Council, and Napoleon, by his Berlin Decrees, at once swept her commerce from the ocean. Every American merchantman, laden with French merchandise, being liable to be seized by British cruisers, and a considerable quantity of the shipping of the United States having been thus taken, all commercial intercourse between the two countries was at length suspended, and on the 20th of June, 1812, Congress authorized a declaration of war.

A particular account of all the events of this war belongs to the history of the United States; a general notice of its progress is, however, necessary, and without which no history of Illinois would be complete. At the commencement of the war, the armies of the United States sustained a succession of defeats and losses. An abortive attempt having been made to invade

Canada, the British retaliated by capturing Detroit and all the American posts in Michigan. With the loss of Michigan, the United States lost all control over the north-western tribes; who, scattering themselves among the frontier settlements, committed the most horrible atrocities.

While the British army, under General Brock, lay before Detroit, a terrible tragedy was enacted at Chicago, Illinois. By the treaty of Greenville, a tract of land six miles square was ceded to the United States, at the mouth of the Chicago River. In 1804 a small fort was erected there, which was garrisoned by a company of United States troops, about fifty in number, many of whom were invalids. A few French and Canadian families settled in the vicinity of the fort; and this little community, who were almost isolated from the rest of the civilized world, previous to the war of 1812, furnished no incidents worthy of notice.

When war was declared, the commandant at Chicago received orders to evacuate the fort. The garrison consisted at this time of a single company, commanded by Captain Heald, the subordinate officers being Lieutenant Helm and Ensign Roman, and Dr. Van Voorhees, its surgeon. The orders came from General Hull, who was commander-in-chief of the north-western army, and were sent to the

garrison through the agency of Winnemeg, or Catfish, a friendly Indian of the Pottawatomie tribe. General Hull's despatch directed Captain Heald "to evacuate the fort at Chicago if practicable, and in that event to distribute all the United States property contained in the fort, and the United States factory or agency, among the Indians in the neighbourhood, and repair to Fort Wayne." By the conquest of the American posts in Michigan, the English had obtained complete command of that territory; and as the United States could no longer control the savages, the necessity of withdrawing the garrison from Fort Chicago was obvious.

When Captain Heald read General Hull's despatch to the garrison next morning, on parade, Lieutenant Helm and Ensign Roman hazarded a remonstrance. "We do not," said they to Captain Heald, "believe that our troops can pass in safety through the country of the Pottawatomies to Fort Wayne. Although a part of their chiefs were opposed to an attack upon us last autumn, they were actuated by motives of private friendship for some particular individuals, and not from a regard to the Americans in general; and it can hardly be supposed that in the present excited state of feeling among the Indians, those chiefs will be able to influence the whole tribe, now thirsting for vengeance. Besides, our march must be slow, on account of

the women and children. Our force, too, is small. Some of our soldiers are superannuated, and some of them are invalids. We think, therefore, as your orders are discretionary, that we had better fortify ourselves as strongly as possible, and remain where we are. Succour may reach us before we shall be attacked from Mackinaw; and, in case of such an event, we had better fall into the hands of the English, than become victims of the savages." Captain Heald replied that his force was not sufficiently strong to contend with the Indians; and that he should be censured if he did not evacuate the fort, when the prospect of a safe retreat to Fort Wayne was so apparent. He had the utmost confidence in the Indians, and deemed it advisable to assemble them, and distribute the public property among them, and ask them for an escort to Fort Wayne, under the promise of their receiving a considerable sum of money if they should conduct the garrison there in safety. The officers and soldiers said but little more upon the subject, and kept aloof from their commander, considering his project as little short of madness.

The Indians presently began to assemble from the neighbouring villages, in answer to the summons of Captain Heald; and on the 12th of August, 1812, a council was held in the neighbourhood of the fort. It was attended, however, only by Captain Heald on the part of the

garrison. His officers and soldiers refused to accompany him, although requested to do so. They had heard that a massacre was intended, and when Captain Heald left the fort, they opened its port-holes, and pointed the loaded cannon in the direction of the Indian encampment, so as to command the entire council. This circumstance and their absence caused the savages to postpone their meditated design. Captain Heald, after informing the assembly that he should distribute among them the goods in the storehouses, together with the ammunition and provisions with which the garrison was supplied, requested them to furnish him with an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a liberal reward for this service, in addition to the presents he was about to make them. The Indians were profuse in their professions of friendship and good-will, and immediately promised him the desired escort.

The soldiers, alarmed at the danger by which they were menaced, urged the impolicy of furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition to be used against themselves, and the argument struck Captain Heald with so much force, that he resolved to destroy the military stores and liquors. On the next day, August 13th, the remaining articles in the storehouses were distributed among the Indians, but the ammunition was thrown into a well, and the liquor poured

into the river. Notwithstanding all the precautions taken to avoid suspicion, the Indians, ever watchful, beheld with indignation the destruction of the muskets, and the loss of their much-loved "fire-water."

On the 14th the desponding garrison were somewhat cheered by the arrival of Captain Wells, with fifteen friendly Miamies. He had heard at Fort Wayne of the order to evacuate Fort Chicago, and knowing the hostile intentions of the Indians, had made a rapid march through the wilderness to protect, if possible, his sister, Mrs. Heald, and the officers and garrison from certain destruction. But he came too late. The ammunition had been destroyed, and on the provisions the enemy were rioting. His only alternative was to hasten the evacuation of the post, and every preparation was made for the march of the troops on the following morning. In the afternoon of the 14th, a second council was held with the Indians, at which they expressed great indignation at the destruction of the promised ammunition and liquor by the garrison, and murmurs and threats were heard on every side. Attempts were made to appease their anger by several chiefs, who, although they participated in the hostile feelings of their tribe against the Americans generally, still retained a personal regard for the troops and the settlers in the vicinity; but all their efforts were in vain.

The reserved ammunition, twenty-five rounds to a man, having been distributed, and the baggage wagons prepared for the sick, the women, and children, the whole party, anticipating a fatiguing if not a disastrous march through the wilderness, retired for a little rest, the sentinels, as usual, keeping watch and ward during the night.

The fatal morning of the 15th at length dawned brightly on the world, and the sun shone in unclouded splendour upon the glassy surface of Lake Michigan. Very soon a message was received from To-pee-na-bee, a friendly chief of the St. Joseph's band, warning the garrison, that the Indians who had promised to be their escort contemplated mischief. About nine o'clock the troops left the fort with martial music, and in military array. Captain Wells, with his face blackened, after the manner of the Indians, led the advance guard at the head of his friendly Miamies; the garrison with loaded arms, and the baggage wagons with the sick, the women, and children, followed, while the Pottawatomie Indians, about five hundred in number, who had pledged their honour to escort them in safety to Fort Wayne, brought up the rear. The party took the road along the lake shore. On reaching the point where a range of sandhills separate the prairie from the beach, about a mile and a half from the fort, the Pottawatomies, in-

stead of continuing in the rear of the Americans, defiled to the right into the prairie, to bring the sandhills between them and the troops. This divergence had scarcely been effected, when Captain Wells, who was considerably in advance with his Miamies, rode furiously back, and exclaimed, "They are about to attack us; form instantly, and charge upon them." These words had scarcely been uttered, before a volley of balls from Indian muskets behind the sandhills was poured in upon them. The troops were instantly formed into lines, and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran of seventy, fell as they ascended. The Miamies fled at the commencement of the action. Their chief, brandishing his tomahawk, charged the Pottawatomies with treachery, and declared that he would be the first to head a party of Americans, and punish them for their duplicity. He then galloped after his companions, who were scouring over the prairie. The American troops behaved most gallantly, and sold their lives dearly. They fought desperately till two-thirds of their number were slain; the remainder, twenty-seven in number, surrendered, having first stipulated for their own safety, and for that of their wives and children. The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She had frequently heard that the Indians subjected their prisoners to tortures worse than death, and

resolving not to be taken alive, continued fighting until she was literally cut to pieces, although assured by the savages who sought to effect her capture, that she would be well treated.

The narrative of Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, is exceedingly graphic. "Our horses pranced and bounded, and could hardly be restrained, as the balls whistled around them. I drew off a little, and gazed on my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavoured to forget those I loved, and prepare for my approaching fate. While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. Voorhees, came up, badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in the leg, and every muscle of his countenance was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me: 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"'Dr. Voorhees,' said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that still remain to us in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us endeavour to make what preparation is yet in our power.' 'Oh, I cannot die!' exclaimed he; 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful!' I pointed to

Ensign Roman, who, though mortally wounded, and nearly down, was still desperately fighting with an Indian, on one knee. 'Look at that man,' said I; 'at least he dies like a soldier!' 'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever.'

"At this moment a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow, which was aimed at my skull, but which descended on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian. The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, to the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognised, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him."

Though plunged by her captor into the lake, and held there, she soon perceived that it was not his intention to drown her, as she at first supposed, because he held her in such a position as to keep her head constantly above the water. She became reassured, and looking at him earnestly, recognised, despite of his paint, a celebrated chief called the Black Partridge, the

"white man's friend." When the firing ceased, she was borne from the water, and conducted up the sandbank. It was a beautiful day in August, but the sun was intensely hot, and walking through the sand in her drenched condition was inexpressibly painful. She stopped and took off her shoes, to free them from the sand with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and she was obliged to proceed without them. When they gained the prairie, she was met by her father, who told her that her husband was safe, and only slightly wounded. She was then led gently back to the Pottawatomie encampment. As she approached one of the wigwams, the wife of Wau-bee-nee-mah, a chief from the Illinois River, was standing near, and seeing her exhausted condition, seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a little stream that flowed near, threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand gave it to Mrs. Helm to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many atrocities, touched her most sensibly, but her attention was soon diverted to another object. The fort had become a scene of plunder to such as remained after the troops had marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead or dying around.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes sc

lately enacted, seemed possessed by a demoniacal ferocity. She seized a stable fork, and assaulted a wounded soldier, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the heat of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected under such circumstances, Wau-bee-nee-mah stretched a mat across two poles between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared in some degree a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. But why dwell upon this painful subject? Why describe the butchery of the children, twelve of whom, placed together in one baggage wagon, fell beneath the merciless tomahawk of a young savage?" This atrocious act was committed after the whites had surrendered.

Captain Wells, who was a prisoner, and as yet unharmed, when he beheld this murderous transaction, declared that the Indians had violated the conditions of surrender. Enraged beyond measure, he exclaimed, "If this be your game, I will kill too;" and turning his horse's head, started for the place where the Indians had left their squaws and children. Several warriors immediately followed in pursuit, and discharged their rifles at him, as he galloped across the prairie. He laid himself flat on the neck of his horse, and was apparently nearly out of the reach of his pursuers, when a ball from

one of the rifles took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself, so that he was again taken prisoner. As the savages came up, Winnemeg and Wa-ban-see, two of their number, and both his friends, endeavoured to protect him; they had already disengaged him from his horse, and were supporting him, when a Pottawatomie Indian, drawing his scalping-knife, stabbed him in the back, and he fell dead in the arms of his friends. The heart of Captain Wells was afterward taken out, cut in pieces, and distributed among the tribes. After having been scalped, his mutilated remains were left unburied, as were also those of the children massacred, as above stated, and the soldiers and women slain in the battle. The next day, Billy Caldwell, an Indian chief, collected the dismembered remains of Captain Wells, and buried them in the sand.

Captain Heald and his wife were both taken prisoners, and were sent across the lake to St. Joseph's, the day after the battle. Captain Heald had received two wounds, and his wife seven. Mrs. Heald fought like a heroine. The horse on which she rode during the engagement was a fine, spirited animal, and the Indians were anxious to obtain it uninjured, so that their shots were principally aimed at the rider. Her captor being about to pull off her bonnet, in order to scalp her, young Chaudonnaire, an Indian of the

St. Joseph's tribe, who knew her, came to her rescue, and offered a mule he had just taken for her ransom, to which he added a promise of ten bottles of whisky. The latter temptation was too strong to be resisted. Her captor, however, perceiving her to be wounded, observed that she might die, and asked if he would give him the whisky any how; this Chaudonnaire promised to do, and the bargain was concluded. Captain Heald was taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee River, who, seeing the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. Heald, generously released his prisoner, that he might accompany his wife. The Indian who had so nobly released Captain Heald, on returning to his tribe, found them so dissatisfied with his conduct, that he hastened back to reclaim his prisoner. News of his intentions, however, preceded his appearance; and Chaudonnaire and other friendly Indians put Mr. and Mrs. Heald into a bark canoe, which a Pottawatomie chief paddled a distance of three hundred miles along the eastern coast of Lake Michigan to Mackinaw, where they were kindly received by the British commander, and on being sent as prisoners to Detroit, were finally exchanged.

Mrs. Helm received a slight wound in her ankle, had her horse shot under her, and after passing through the scenes already described, accompanied the family of Mr. Kenzie to De-

troit. Her husband, though wounded and taken prisoner, was subsequently liberated from his captivity through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Forsyth, an Indian trader.

The captive soldiers with their wives and children were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawatomies, upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock, and Milwaukee Rivers. The greater part of them were ransomed at Detroit the following year. Those that remained among the Indians experienced more kindness than was to be expected from an enemy so merciless.

CHAPTER X.

Expedition of General Hopkins and Governor Edwards against the Indian villages on the Illinois—Americans defeated at Frenchtown—The massacre on the banks of the Raisin—Fort Meigs erected by General Harrison—General Procter attacks Fort Meigs and defeats Colonel Dudley—Noble and humane conduct of Tecumseh—Gallant defence of Fort Stephenson—Retreat of Procter to Fort Malden—Defeat of the British fleet on Lake Erie by Commodore Perry—Invasion of Canada by General Harrison—Battle of the Thames—Death of Tecumseh—Illinois defended against the Indians during this period by its native militia under the title of "Rangers"—The character of the Rangers—Exploits of Tom Higgins—Peace restored between Great Britain and the United States, and termination of the hostile incursions of the Indians.

THE success of the British and Indians in the North-western Territory in the campaign of 1812 excited the Americans to renewed and vigorous efforts. Such was the martial spirit enkindled, that a call for fifteen hundred volunteers was answered by more than two thousand, who assembled at Louisville, under General Hopkins, to vindicate the honour of their country. This force was designed to operate against the Indian villages on the Wabash and Illinois Rivers. Some of the resident warriors of these localities had participated in the massacre at Chicago, and the cries of the murdered children and women called

for vengeance. On the 14th of October, 1812, the army of General Hopkins crossed the Wabash, and commenced its march over the prairies of Illinois. The country traversed by the troops abounded with game, and nothing could restrain them from firing at it. Their insubordination increased with the difficulties of their march. Encountering a prairie fire, they became alarmed for their safety; and, despite the remonstrances of their general, returned home.

About the same time Colonel Russel, with three companies of United States Rangers, and Governor Edwards of Illinois, with a party of mounted riflemen, moved toward the frontiers of Illinois. These troops were under orders to act in conjunction with General Hopkins. Though disappointed by the desertion of the volunteers, they persevered in their enterprise, destroyed one of the Indian towns, pursued the Indians into a swamp, and after killing about twenty of them, returned in safety to the American camp.

The campaign of 1813 opened disastrously. The Americans were defeated at Frenchtown, many of those who surrendered being subsequently massacred by the Indians. Of the entire detachment, eight hundred strong, one-third were killed in the battle, and only thirty-three escaped the massacre which followed, on the shores of the river Raisin.

Throughout the winter of 1812 General Harrison was encamped at the rapids, nearly destitute of troops, the time for which the volunteers enlisted having expired. Foreseeing that the British would attempt to seize the favourable military position he occupied, he employed the winter in building Fort Meigs. After the disaster at Frenchtown, reinforcements were immediately sent forward, under General Clay, to strengthen the position of Harrison at the rapids. It was not until the latter part of April that General Procter commenced military operations against Fort Meigs. Having been advised of the approach of General Clay, Harrison sent orders to the latter to send a strong detachment across the river, with directions to carry the British batteries, spike the cannon, and retreat in their boats to Fort Meigs, before the main army of the British, encamped a few miles above, could be put in motion. Colonel Dudley, having under him some eight hundred men, was charged with the execution of this order. Possibly from misunderstanding the object of Harrison, he never communicated the precise nature of his instructions to his subordinates. The troops were landed, the batteries and the cannon spiked, but instead of returning to the boats, they eagerly gave chase to a small party of Indians and Canadians, who showed themselves on the skirts of the woods. The result was that their retreat was

intercepted by Procter with the entire British force, and the whole detachment, with the exception of about one hundred and fifty men, was either killed or taken.

The unfortunate prisoners, huddled together in a ruined fort, were soon after attacked by the Indians, who, breaking through the feeble guard, commenced an indiscriminate massacre. "While this carnage was raging, a thundering voice was heard in the rear and in the Indian tongue, and Tecumseh was seen advancing on horseback with the utmost speed to where two Indians were in the act of killing an American. The indignant chief sprang from his horse, caught one by the throat, the other by the breast, threw them to the ground, and then drawing his scalping-knife and tomahawk, interposed between the Americans and Indians, daring any one of the hundreds that surrounded him to attempt the murder of another American. Awed by this vigorous conduct, the savages immediately desisted from their work of slaughter. He then demanded where the British general was, and eying him at a distance, sternly demanded why he had not put a stop to the barbarities of the Indians. 'Sir,' said Procter, 'your Indians cannot be commanded.' 'Begone!' retorted Tecumseh with disdain. 'You are unfit to command, go and put on petticoats!'"

On the 9th of May, General Procter, having

heard of the success of the American arms in other quarters, raised the siege of Fort Meigs, and moved off with all his forces. Subsequently he attacked Fort Stephenson, which was defended by Major Croghan, then in the 21st year of his age, at the head of one hundred and fifty men. After making such a disposition of his troops as to prevent the escape of the garrison, he summoned Croghan to surrender, threatening the garrison with an Indian massacre in case of refusal. Major Croghan replied, "When the fort shall be taken there will be none left to massacre, as it will not be given up while a man is able to fight." The fort in fact was so totally indefensible, in the opinion of General Harrison, that he had ordered it to be evacuated. But the bearer of the despatch missed his way; and when the order was received, a large party of Indians had already surrounded the works, rendering it more hazardous to retreat than to remain.

No sooner was Croghan's reply received by the British general, than a brisk fire was immediately concentrated against the north-west angle of the fort. The intention being evidently to make a breach in that quarter, Major Croghan caused it to be strengthened by bags of sand and flour; while, under cover of night, he placed his single six-pounder, well charged with slugs and grape-shot, in such a position as to command the point of attack. The fire of the besiegers

was kept up during the night of the 1st of August and till late in the evening of the 2d, when a storming party of three hundred and fifty men advanced to the assault under cover of smoke and darkness, and approached unseen to within twenty paces of the walls. The musketry now opened upon them, but with little effect; the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men. At that instant the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, opened upon the assailants, killing twenty-seven and wounding as many more. The broken column was reformed, and the ditch again filled, but the cannon being again discharged with similar effect, the besiegers became disheartened, and abandoned the attack, and the little fort was saved with the loss of a single man.

Procter hastily retreated into Canada, and was followed on the 27th of September, 1813, by General Harrison, who landed on the Canadian shore a little below Fort Malden. At his approach the British general retreated to the Moravian towns, having first set fire to Fort Malden, and destroyed the stores.

After a march of five days, the troops under Harrison reached the spot where the British and Indians had encamped the night before, on the banks of the Thames. Colonel Wood, having been ordered to reconnoitre the enemy, soon returned with the intelligence that the British and

Indians were awaiting their approach in battle array, a few miles beyond. Procter's force consisted of about eight hundred regulars and two thousand Indians, the latter being commanded by Tecumseh. The British regulars were drawn up with considerable skill and judgment on a narrow strip of timber land, their right resting on a swamp, their left on the river. Still farther to the right were the Indian allies under Tecumseh. Procter, however, committed a serious error in drawing up his men with intervals of three or four feet between the files, as troops thus posted are rarely able to resist a charge of cavalry.

When the American troops, amounting in number to about three thousand men, had made their preparations for battle, General Harrison ordered a cavalry charge on the regulars, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson to confront the Indians. The British regulars, broken at the first onset, immediately surrendered, while Procter fled from the field as soon as he saw the effect of the charge, and escaped by the swiftness of his horse. It was, however, a more serious affair with the Indians. The battle was begun by Tecumseh with great fury, and on account of the nature of the ground, and the impervious character of the thickets, the cavalry charge was unsuccessful. Colonel Johnson immediately ordered his men to dismount, and placing himself at their head, succeeded after a desperate con-

test in breaking through the ranks of the Indians and gaining their rear. The warriors however still refused to yield, and Colonel Johnson now directed his men to fight them in their own way. Collecting their strength on the right, the Indians attempted to force a passage through Desha's brigade, and were beginning to make some impression when a regiment of Kentuckians, under the aged but gallant Shelby, drove them with great slaughter from the field. But the combat was not yet over. The voice of Tecumseh was distinctly heard in every part of the battle animating his warriors, and around him they gathered to the number of fifteen hundred, resolved to conquer or die by the side of their chief. Colonel Johnson now advanced at the head of his column to the spot where Tecumseh and his devoted followers still maintained the desperate conflict. Being conspicuous by his uniform and the white horse on which he rode, Johnson was dangerously wounded, and at the same time the brave and gallant Tecumseh was slain. The Indians now gave way on all sides. Near where Tecumseh had fallen, about thirty Indians were found literally cut to pieces. They left one hundred and twenty warriors on the field, but the death of Tecumseh was more weakening to them than the loss of half their nation. They no longer attempted to renew the war, and

peace having been granted, they became the allies of the Americans.

Tecumseh fell respected by his enemies as a great and magnanimous chief. He was unquestionably the most formidable savage that ever lifted a tomahawk against the Uuited States. Of a most dignified and commanding aspect, brave in war and eloquent in council, he was well fitted to gain the affections of the Indians, and to stimulate their courage during the most desperate encounters. General Harrison used to say of him that "he possessed the two most essential characteristics of a gentleman—self-respect and self-possession." Born without a title to command, such was his native greatness that no one disputed his precedence. Had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have been its ornament and its head. He fell nobly battling for the rights of the Indians. The British government, having previously appointed him a brigadier-general, afterward granted a pension to his widow and family.

During the whole of this period the Illinois settlements, being greatly harassed by the hostilities of the Indians, were defended by a local force of "rangers." The military strength of the United States was engaged in the defence of the older states of the Union, and Illinois was left to rely on the patriotism and courage of its local forces. Governor Edwards

deserves to be commemorated as having contributed greatly to the safety of this remote territory, by his prompt and vigorous exertions. His patriotism and magnanimity of soul impelled him to employ his own wealth in the service of his country; and he relieved the necessities of the rangers by advancing their pay out of his own private funds.

The year 1813 opened with gloomy prospects to the far-off and exposed territory of Illinois. On the 9th of February, ten Indians, despite of the vigilance of the rangers, contrived to murder two families at the mouth of Cache River, on the Ohio, seven miles from the Mississippi. In the month of March, David McLain, a minister of the gospel, and a Mr. Young, were attacked by Indians at Hill's Ferry, on the Kaskaskia River. Mr. Young was killed and scalped, but Mr. McLain, disengaging himself from his horse, which had been shot under him, made his escape into the woods, pursued by several Indians. All the savages presently gave up the chase but one, who, being an athletic fellow, continued the pursuit, apparently determined not to lose his prey. Mr. McLain was at this time encumbered with a thick overcoat, having wrappers on his legs and spurs on his feet. Perceiving himself followed by a solitary Indian, he halted, made signs of surrender until his pursuer had approached within a

few feet. Evading the bullet which the latter fired at him, he suddenly assumed an air of defiance, and put forth all his strength to make his escape. The contest continued in this manner for upward of an hour, during which time the Indian fired at the fugitive no less than seven times, in one instance wounding him in the arm. During the intervals between the shots, Mr. McLain contrived to throw off first his overcoat, and then his boots, and having made some considerable distance in a timbered bottom adjacent to the river, as a last resource he plunged into stream and swam across it diagonally, thus effecting his escape.

At this time, and within a period of six weeks, sixteen men, women, and children fell victims to savage ferocity in Missouri and Illinois. To protect themselves from these sanguinary incursions, the inhabitants constructed a chain of forts. "We have now," they write, "nearly finished twenty-two family forts, extending from the Mississippi, nearly opposite Bellefontaine, to to the Kaskaskia River, a distance of sixty miles. Between each fort, spies are to pass and repass daily, and communicate throughout the whole line which will be extended to the U. S. Saline, and from thence to the mouth of the Ohio. Rangers and mounted militia, to the amount of five hundred men, constantly scour the country from twenty to fifty miles in advance of our set-

tlements, so that we feel perfectly easy as to an attack from our 'red brethren,' as Mr. Jefferson very lovingly calls them."

During the summer and autumn campaign of 1813, General Howard commanded the rangers, and drove the marauding Indians who had collected about Lake Peoria from the settlements. Fort Clark was built at Peoria, and the country traversed by the troops so effectually as to overawe the savages, and afford at least six months quiet to the inhabitants.

Governor Edwards had predicted, that, should the British and Indians be defeated, when Canada was invaded, as was the case at the battle of the Thames,—the hostile Indians would be driven to the Mississippi; and this prediction was verified. In August the American fort at Prairie du Chien was captured by the British and Indians, and its garrison made prisoners of war. A battle was also fought at Rock Island, where a detachment of three hundred and thirty-four men, commanded by Major Zachary Taylor, was attacked by a party of British and more than one thousand Indians, having with them two pieces of artillery brought from Prairie du Chien. As the enemy was at least three to one, Major Taylor very prudently retreated.

A little fort, or rather block-house, had been erected about twenty miles from Vandalia, late

the capital of Illinois, and some eight miles south of the present village of Greenville. It was one of the points of rendezvous of the rangers, and Lieutenant Journey and eleven men were stationed there as a garrison. On the 30th of August, 1814, signs of Indians were detected; and toward night a party of them were seen hovering in the neighbourhood of the fort. On the morning of the 31st, Lieutenant Journey, with his whole command, issued from the fort before daylight, and were very soon on the trail of the enemy. They had not proceeded far before seventy or eighty concealed savages suddenly discovered themselves; and at the first fire, the lieutenant and three of his men were killed and another wounded. Six of the men immediately fled to the fort; but a ranger, by the name of Higgins, remained on the field, as he said, "to have one more pull at the enemy." He therefore sought a tree, from behind which he could shoot with safety. A small elm, scarcely sufficient to protect his body, was the only one near; but before he could reach it, the Indians had observed him. One of them now commenced loading his gun, and Higgins deliberately aiming, the foremost savage fell. Having performed this feat, he remounted his horse, and turned to retreat, when he was hailed by a wounded ranger from the grass. "Tom, you wont leave me?" said Burgess,—for that was the name of

the fallen man. "Come along," said Higgins; "I can't come," replied Burgess, "my leg is smashed to pieces." Higgins immediately dismounted; but in attempting to raise his comrade on the horse, the animal took fright and ran off, leaving then both behind. "This is too bad," said Higgins, "but don't fear; move off as well as you can, while I stay behind the Indians, and keep them off. Get into the tallest grass, and crawl as near the ground as possible." Burgess did so, and escaped.

It would have been decidedly safer to have followed the same path as Burgess had taken; but thinking that by so doing he would endanger his friend, Higgins took a different direction, concealing himself behind a thicket. As he passed it, he discovered a stout savage near by, and two others approaching. He therefore started for a small ravine, in order to separate and so fight the savages apart, but found one of his legs fail him, it having been wounded in the first encounter, of which wound, till now, he was totally unconscious. The largest Indian pressing him closely, Higgins turned round to fire, when his pursuer halted and danced about to prevent his taking aim. Higgins, perceiving it would be unsafe to fire, resolved to halt and let the Indian have the first shot. The Indian raised his rifle, and Higgins, watching his eye, turned suddenly as he pulled the trigger, and received the ball

in his thigh. He fell, rose again, received the fire of others, and again fell, severely wounded. The Indians now threw away their guns, and rushed forward with their spears and knives. As he presented his rifle first at one, and then at the other, each fell back. At last the stout Indian, supposing the gun to be empty, advanced boldly to the charge, when Higgins fired, and the savage fell.

Higgins had now four bullets in his body, an empty gun in his hand, two Indians still unharmed before him, and a large party of their companions in the ravine a short distance off. Still he did not despair; and when the two remaining Indians raised the war-whoop and rushed at him, a bloody conflict ensued. They gave him numerous flesh wounds, as his scars sufficiently testified; none of them very deep, as their spears were only thin poles, hastily prepared for the occasion, and bent whenever they struck a rib or muscle. At last one of the savages threw his tomahawk, which struck Higgins on the cheek, severed his ear, laid bare his skull to the back of his head, and stretched him upon the prairie. Again the Indians rushed at him, but Higgins kept them off with his feet. Getting hold of one of their spears, the Indian, in attempting to pull it from him, raised Higgins up; when, with one blow of his rifle, Higgins dashed out his brains, but broke his rifle, the barrel remaining in his

hand. The other Indian, who had hitherto fought with great caution, now came forward manfully, uttered his yell, and attempted to stab the exhausted ranger with his knife, but Higgins warded off the blow, and the Indian gradually retreated from the glare of his untamed eye, to the spot where he had thrown his rifle. Higgins knew that if he recovered that, his own case was desperate. Drawing his hunting-knife, he therefore rushed upon his foe; a desperate struggle ensued, during which deep gashes were inflicted on both sides. Faint and exhausted by the loss of blood, the ranger was no longer a match for his adversary, who succeeded in throwing him off, and started in search of his rifle. The main body of Indians being now discerned advancing from the ravine, the brave ranger at length gave himself up for lost.

The whole of this unequal contest had been seen from the fort. But the little garrison were afraid to sally forth to his assistance, as the Indians were ten to one. At this moment, Mrs. Pursley, wife to one of the rangers, urged them to attempt a rescue; this they refused. Exasperated at their refusal, she taunted them with cowardice, snatched her husband's rifle from his hand, and declaring that "so fine a fellow as Tom Higgins should not be lost for want of help," mounted a horse and rode out. The rangers, ashamed of evincing less courage than

a woman, galloped after her, reached the spot where Higgins had fallen and fainted, and before the Indians came up, succeeded in bearing their wounded companion to the fort.

For several days his comrades despaired of his recovery. In the absence of a regular surgeon they extracted two of the balls, and a third, which greatly retarded the convalescence of the bold forester, Higgins subsequently, with his usual hardihood, cut out himself with a razor. The remaining bullet he carried with him to his grave. Open-hearted, generous, and brave, this noble specimen of a borderer finally recovered from the terrible effects of this severe conflict, and survived to a great age, honoured and respected by all who knew him.

A few months subsequent to this affair, a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States. The savages, deprived of the support of their powerful ally, withdrew to their fastnesses, leaving the frontier settlements once more free from their sanguinary inroads.

CHAPTER XI.

Rapid increase of population in Illinois—Illinois admitted into the Union as an independent state—Its constitution—Indian title to possession gradually extinguished—Land, the origin of all the difficulties between the Indians and whites—Early life of Black Hawk—His account of the treaty of 1804—The American Government attempts to induce the Indian tribes to live in peace—Some account of the Sioux and Chippewa Indians—Attack on the keel-boats by the Indians—Black Hawk imprisoned—Treaty of Prairie du Chien—Keokuk—Indians notified to leave the country east of the Mississippi—Refusal of Black Hawk—Correspondence between General Gaines and the Secretary of War—The Sac village abandoned on the approach of the military—Treaty between Black Hawk and General Gaines.

After the termination of hostilities with England in 1815, Illinois experienced rapid and continuous accessions to its population. The campaigns of the rangers, and the mounted volunteers from neighbouring states served to make known the rich delightful lands on the waters of the Wabash, the Kaskaskia, and the Illinois; and the very men who had traversed the prairies and groves of Illinois in a warlike capacity, now came in the more peaceful character of settlers with their wives and families. Between 1815 and 1818 many families immigrated into the

southern part of Illinois, principally from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina.

In consequence of this large increase of population, Congress, on the 18th of April, 1818, passed a law to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government. The preliminary steps for that purpose having been taken, the territorial delegates met in convention at Kaskaskia in July, and closed their labours by signing and adopting the present state constitution, on the 26th of August, 1818. It was unnecessary to refer this constitution to the people for their adoption, as they were perfectly satisfied with the labours of their representatives.

By the constitution of Illinois the governor is elected for four years, and cannot serve two terms in succession. He must be thirty years of age, and a resident of the state for two years preceding his election. The lieutenant-governor (who is *ex officio* president of the Senate) and the senators are also elected for four years. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for two years, and the popular elections and legislative sessions are held biennially. All white males above the age of twenty-one years, and who have resided six months within the state, are qualified voters. Slavery is prohibited by the constitution. Elections are decided by a plurality of votes. The judicial power is vested

in a Supreme Court consisting of nine judges, five of whom constitute a quorum. The state is divided into nine circuits, each having a resident judge and a state's attorney. These circuit judges hold the Supreme Court. They are elected by the General Assembly, and hold office during good behaviour. They also compose a council of revision, having the power to disapprove bills passed by the General Assembly, subject, however, to further legislative action; whereby a bill rejected by them may, nevertheless, become a law, when re-enacted by a majority of members elect in both branches. Inferior courts are also held by probate judges and justices of the peace. The governor receives a salary of two thousand dollars per annum; the annual salary of the judges being fixed at fifteen hundred dollars.

The boundaries of the State of Illinois by the act of Congress of April 18th, 1818, were fixed as follows:—Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River, thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the north-west corner of said state; thence east, with the line of same state, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude 42° 30′; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River; thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river, along its north-

western shore, to the place of beginning. These boundaries were recognised by the Convention at Kaskaskia, and have since been regarded by the legislature of Illinois as final and conclusive. The extreme length of the state of Illinois is about three hundred and eighty miles; its breadth varies from one hundred and forty-five to two hundred and twenty miles, being widest in the centre, and narrowest in the northern and southern points. Its area is computed at fifty-five thousand four hundred square miles, of which nearly fifty thousand are believed to be well adapted to agricultural purposes. The name of the state is derived from that of its great central river, the Illinois. The word Illinois is partly Indian and partly French, and signifies literally the *river of men.* The Illinois River took its name from the Indian tribe which inhabited its banks, who called themselves "*lenno*" or "*lenni,*" men.

From 1818 till the breaking out of the Black Hawk war in 1832, little occurred beyond the ordinary routine of events in newly-settled countries. The most prominent of these were the treaties made with the Indians by the United States, by which the whole state of Illinois was purchased from them, and their title to it gradually extinguished.

In tracing the wars between the Indians and white settlers to their sources, we find them in-

variably originating in the intrusion of the latter on the lands of the former. The relation between the civilized white settler and the Indian savage was at first friendly. The white settler required lands for cultivation. These were bought and paid for, and every thing went on harmoniously. But, as the settlements extended, the forests fell and the game retired, and the country, valueless to the Indian was by him evacuated. Other cessions were made as population increased. The Indian saw his danger, and sought to recover the lands which he had ceded; but was met on the threshold, and driven back deeper into the wilderness. In this manner the Indian wars originated. The conspiracy of Pontiac, the hostilities of Little Turtle, the battles with Tecumseh, and the war with Black Hawk, all originated in controversies about land.

Black Hawk was born at Rock River in Illinois about the year 1767. At the age of fifteen he was admitted to the rank of "a brave," because he had taken the scalp of an enemy. Soon after he joined a war-party against the Osages, and, becoming distinguished for his valour, frequently led war-parties against the enemies of his tribe, and in almost every instance was victorious.

In 1804 a treaty was negotiated at St. Louis by Governor Harrison with the chiefs of the united nation of the Sacs and Foxes, for their claim to the immense tract of country lying be-

tween the Illinois and Mississippii Rvers. The consideration given was the protection of the United States, and goods delivered of a value exceeding two thousand dollars, and a perpetual annuity of one thousand six hundred to the Sacs, and four hundred to the Foxes. An article in the treaty provided, that as long as the United States remained the owner of the land, "the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting" on the land. After the formation of Illinois into an independent state in 1818, this territory became surrounded by the dwellings of white settlers, and to hasten the departure of the Sacs and Foxes, outrages were committed on their persons and effects.

The treaty of 1804 was violated by the Sacs of Rock River when they joined the British in the war of 1812; the other portion of the tribe remained peaceable throughout the war, and reconfirmed the treaty of 1804 at Portage des Sioux, September 13th, 1815. The hostile warriors subsequently professed repentance for their misdeeds, obtained forgiveness, and at St. Louis, on the 13th of May, 1816, renewed the treaty of 1804. A small party, however, led by Black Hawk, refused to attend these negotiations, and indignantly protested against the treaty of 1804.

Concerning this treaty, Black Hawk says:—"One of our people killed an American, and was

confined in the prison of St. Louis for the offence. We held a council at our village to see what could be done for him—which determined that Quash-qua-me, Pa-she-pa-ho, Ou-che-qua-ha, and Ha-she-quar-hi-qua should go down to St. Louis, and see our American father, and do all they could to have our friend released, by paying for the person killed; thus covering the blood, and satisfying the relations of the man murdered. This being the only means with us of saving a person who had killed another, and we then thought it was the same way with the whites.

"The party started with the good wishes of the whole nation, hoping they would accomplish the object of their mission. The relations of the prisoner blacked their faces and fasted, hoping the Great Spirit would take pity on them, and return the husband and the father to his wife and children.

"Quash-qua-me and his party remained a long time absent. They at length returned and encamped a short distance below the village, but did not come up that day, nor did any person approach their camp. They appeared to be dressed in fine coats and had medals. From these circumstances we were in hopes that they had brought us good news. Early next morning the council-lodge was crowded. Quash-qua-me and party came up, and gave us the following account of their mission.

"On their arrival at St. Louis, they met their American father, explained to him their business, and urged the release of their friend. The American chief told them he wanted land, and they agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi, and some on the Illinois side opposite the Jefferson. When the business was all arranged, they expected to have their friend released to come home with them. But about the time they were ready to start, their friend was led out of prison, ran a short distance, and was shot dead. This is all they could recollect of what was said and done. They had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis.

"This is all myself or nation know of the treaty of 1804. It has been explained to me since. I find by that treaty, all our country east of the Mississippi and south of the Jefferson, was ceded to the United States for one thousand dollars a year. I will leave it to the people of the United States to say, whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty; or whether we received a fair compensation for the extent of country ceded by these four individuals. I could say much more about this treaty, but I will not at this time. It has been the origin of all our difficulties."

It appears, however, that the treaty of 1804 was signed not only by the four chiefs Black

Hawk mentions, but by Layowvois, or Laiyuva, another chief, and representative of the tribe; and Pa-she-pa-ho, who was at that time the great head chief of the Sac nation. The United States commissioner, therefore, had a right to suppose, and unquestionably did suppose, that the chiefs who signed the treaty had full power and authority to do so, and subsequent events proved that he was not mistaken. This treaty, instead of being disavowed by the Sacs and Foxes, was recognised by them as binding, and the annuities therein mentioned were paid to and received by them. Black Hawk himself was never considered as a chief by the Sacs and Foxes; he was regarded only as a brave, who had gathered around him a number of adherents who were dissatisfied with the treaty of 1804 and subsequent cessions.

On the 19th of August, 1825, William Clarke and Lewis Cass, commissioners on behalf of the United States, held a treaty at Prairie du Chien with the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Chippewas, Sioux, and other north-western tribes, for the purpose of composing the disputes between these several tribes.

The Sioux and Chippewas, whose respective numbers may be estimated at twenty-five thousand souls, had been engaged from time immemorial in cruel and exterminating wars against each other. By this treaty at Prairie du Chien,

the American government attempted to restore pacific relations, by the establishment of a permanent boundary between them. They agreed on territorial limits marked by the prominent natural features of the country, the falls of the Chippewa River, the standing cedars below the falls of St. Croix, the Sauk Rapids of Mississippi, &c. This, however, did not prevent them from invading each other's territory and recommencing hostilities. In 1837, the land contiguous to their international boundary was purchased by the United States, and the tribes removed to a greater distance from each other. But, notwithstanding the increase of distance between them, their hereditary animosity still provoked them to continue a predatory warfare upon each other. The mediation on the part of the United States government consequently proved a signal failure, and collisions not unfrequently took place, even in the vicinity of the American outposts. In 1827, a party of twenty-four Chippewas, on a visit to Fort Snelling, were attacked by a band of Sioux, and eight out of their number killed. The commander of Fort Snelling caused four of the Sioux to be delivered to the Chippewas, by whom they were shot. Red Bird, a Sioux chief, resenting the affront, led a war-party against the Chippewas, and was defeated. Returning home, he was derided by his nation as being "no brave." This led him to plan an attack on the

whites who had aided the Chippewas in their hostility; and, on the 24th of July, 1827, two Americans in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien were killed and another wounded. About the same time, two keel-boats, conveying military stores to Fort Snelling, were attacked by hostile Sioux, Winnebagoes, and Sacs, two of the crew being killed and four wounded. Black Hawk was charged, among others, with this last offence.

To punish these outrages, General Atkinson marched a detachment of troops into the Winnebago country, captured Red Bird, Black Hawk, and six others, and committed them to prison for trial at Prairie du Chien. A part of those arrested were acquitted, but three or four were convicted. Red Bird died in prison. Black Hawk was kept confined for more than a year before he could be brought to trial; and imprisonment was to him more insufferable than any punishment that could have been inflicted. Such a delay of justice exceeded his comprehension. He could not understand why, if he was guilty, he was not punished immediately; and why, if innocent, he was not acquitted. He was at last brought to trial, and discharged for want of proof, though there was but little doubt of his guilt.

Soon after this, Black Hawk, although possessing neither the talent nor influence of Tecumseh, attempted to form a confederation among the Indian tribes, by uniting all the

border nations from Mexico to the Rock River in a war against the United States. In his memoirs of himself, he says:—"Runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red River, and Texas —not on the subject of our lands, but on a secret mission, which I am not permitted at present to explain." In this scheme, however, he was wholly unsuccessful. In his subsequent contest with the United States he had no allies. He once expected aid from the Pottawatomies, the Winnebagoes, the Kickapoos, and even from the English. But, when the time came, they evaded their promises, and left him to bear the shock of war alone, with that portion only of his tribe which adhered to him.

By the terms of the treaty of 1804, the Sacs and Foxes were permitted to reside and hunt on the lands they had parted with so long as those lands remained the property of the United States; but by the treaty of 1830, the Sacs and Foxes ceded all their country east of the Mississippi to the United States, and promised to remove from Illinois to the country west of the Mississippi. The Sioux, Iowas, and several other tribes, participated in the sale; but Black Hawk had nothing to do with it, Keokuk being the head chief of the Sac nation. When Black Hawk heard of it, he was greatly excited, and denounced Keokuk as a friend of the whites, and as having sold his country for nothing.

Black Hawk now organized a party in opposition to Keokuk, and soon collected five hundred followers, well provided with horses and arms. The United States having notified the Indians to leave the country east of the Mississippi, Keokuk made known the proclamation to the Sacs and Foxes, who, with their regular chiefs, peaceably retired. But Black Hawk and his party would not go. The Sac village was on the point of land formed by the Rock River and the Mississippi. Here were about seven hundred acres, which had usually been planted with corn. This little peninsula had been a favourite dwelling-place of the tribe for one hundred and fifty years; and when the indignant Black Hawk first learned that it had been ceded to the Americans, he reproached Keokuk, and finally obtained his promise to attempt its retrocession.

Relying on this promise, Black Hawk and his adherents set out in the fall of 1830 on their usual winter's hunt; but on returning early in the spring, they found the whites in possession of their village, and their own wives and children, on the banks of the Mississippi, without a shelter. Their resolution was instantly taken. They quietly settled down in their ancient territory, and resumed the occupation of their lands. The whites, becoming alarmed, averted the danger for a season by offering to share the land with the Indians. They, however, took care to appro-

priate the best ground to themselves. But to this Black Hawk and his followers submitted; and also bore, with a greater or less degree of patience, various insults and injuries, being determined, if possible, not to be the first aggressors.

The lands they occupied being soon after sold to private adventurers, the Indians were ordered off; but Black Hawk and his party refused to move. On the 28th of May, 1831, Governor Reynolds wrote to General Gaines for military assistance, his object being, as he said, to protect the Americans by removing the Indians "peaceably, if they could; forcibly, if they must." Gen. Gaines at once proceeded to the disputed territory, where, on the 7th of June, he was met by Black Hawk, who told him he would not remove. This resolute refusal, joined to subsequent information, induced Gen. Gaines to address the following letter to the Secretary of War, under date of the 20th of June, 1831:—

"I have visited the Rock River villages, to ascertain the localities and dispositions of the Indians. They are resolved to abstain from hostilities, except in their own defence. Few of their warriors were to be seen. Their women, children, and old men appeared to be anxious, but none attempted to run off. I am resolved to abstain from firing a shot without some bloodshed, or some manifest attempt to shed blood on the part of the Indians. I have already induced

nearly one-third of them to cross the Mississippi. The residue say they will not cross; and their women urge their husbands to fight rather than abandon their homes."

On the 25th of June the Illinois militia arrived, and the Indians fled across the Mississippi, the army taking possession of the Sac village without firing a gun. Black Hawk, alarmed at this state of things, raised a white flag, to indicate his wish for a parley. A conference ensued, and a treaty was made, in which Gen. Gaines promised to supply the Indians with corn as an equivalent for that which they were compelled to abandon, provided they would observe the conditions of the treaty, and neither settle nor hunt on the lands east of the Mississippi. The supply, however, proving insufficient, the poor houseless savages began to feel the effects of hunger. In this state of things, they went over the river to steal corn from their own land; and a new series of troubles commenced.

CHAPTER XII.

Black Hawk and his men recross the Mississippi—Defeat of Major Stillman and his party—Conduct of Captain Adams—The bodies of the Americans killed in the battle shamefully mutilated by the savages—The massacre at Indian Creek—Major Demont's skirmish with Black Hawk—Defeat of Black Hawk by General Hervey—General Atkinson defeats him at the Mississippi—Capture and speech of Black Hawk—Treaty with the Indians—Progress of Black Hawk through the United States—Restored to his native country.

In the spring of 1832, notwithstanding the admonitions of General Atkinson, who commanded at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Black Hawk and his adherents recrossed the Mississippi, and commenced their march up the Rock River. The regulars and militia were immediately mustered, and ordered in pursuit. Among the troops was a party of volunteers, commanded by Major Stillman, who were permitted, at their own solicitation, to make a tour of observation up the river as far as the "Old Man's Creek," about fifteen miles north of the American encampment. When they arrived at the spot, instead of returning as they were directed to do, they continued their march some twelve or fifteen miles beyond, to a small

stream called Sycamore, where, on the 14th of May, 1832, a little before sundown, they dismounted, and made preparations to encamp for the night. Their encampment was judiciously selected in a beautiful oak grove, destitute of any undergrowth, on the north side of the stream. While they were thus engaged, a small party of Indians were discovered, five only in number, on an elevated portion of the prairie. Black Hawk says that they bore a white flag, and were sent by him to invite the Americans in a friendly way to his camp; this, however, is denied by Major Stillman. It is possible that Black Hawk may have been correct; and that the Americans, excited by the prospect of an Indian fight, did not perceive the flag. Those whose horses were unsaddled immediately remounted, and, without awaiting orders, gave chase. Others followed, until about three-fourths of the detachment were actively engaged in the pursuit. Three of the five Indians having been taken, the pursuit of the remaining two was continued to the edge of the forest, when Black Hawk and his men, with a terrific war-whoop, rushed upon the assailants. They were immediately filled with consternation, faced about, and fled. Major Stillman ordered them to retreat across the marsh to a more elevated position on the prairie, and there make a stand. But they continued their flight without stopping,

until they reached the American encampment, thirty miles from the scene of action. In passing through their own encampment, they communicated their panic to those they left behind, all of whom, seeing their comrades at full speed, with savages at their heels, mounted their horses as quickly as possible, some without bridles, others without saddles, and many without either, leaving tents, camp equipage, baggage-wagons, provisions, and ammunition to whoever might claim them, and joined their companions in their flight. The place where this shameful rout occurred was near a little creek, since called "Stillman's Run," not from the rapidity of the current, but in commemoration of so disgraceful a flight.

To their honour be it said, there were some brave men in Major Stillman's detachment. Captain Adams endeavoured to rally his command, and twelve or fifteen obeyed his call; with these he made a brave and gallant stand, until the whole of the detachment had passed him. He then retreated, but was pursued by a party of savages for about five miles, when he and two of his brave companions were killed. His body was found the next day, pierced by an Indian spear, which had been hacked all over, evidently with a sword, and by his side was laid an Indian whom he had apparently encountered and killed.

Some of the fugitives reached the American encampment about twelve o'clock at night, and from that time till morning they continued to arrive in small parties of three, four, and five, and not unfrequently alone, each reporting that the Indians, in great force, were in close pursuit. Preparations to receive them were immediately made; the soldiers were drawn up in order of battle, and kept ready for action until morning. But no enemy appeared. The roll of Major Stillman's command was then called, and one-fourth of their number being reported missing, it was supposed they had fallen by the hands of the savages. The whole of the detachment, however, presently returned, except twelve, of whom eleven were found, and buried the next day.

The main body of the American troops were now ordered to march for the battle-ground. They found the slain scattered over the prairie, most shamefully mutilated. The ghastly remains were gathered up, and reverently interred in one common grave. The army then encamped for the night, under arms, expecting every moment an attack. The morning dawned, however, without any alarm from the enemy, and scouting parties, sent out in all directions, failed to discover any trace of them.

The surprise of the detachment at Stillman's Run created indignation and uneasiness through-

out the whole country, and Governor Reynolds, the next day, issued orders for three thousand Illinois militia to rendezvous at Hennepin by the 10th of June, "to subdue the Indians, and drive them out of the state." In the mean time, Black Hawk retired to the neighbourhood of the four lakes in Wisconsin, the head-waters of Rock River, whither he was followed soon after by the American army, largely reinforced.

War having now fairly commenced, it was not long before exposed settlements were attacked by wandering bands of hostile Indians, and their inhabitants murdered; not, however, without various skirmishes taking place between the Indians and parties of armed volunteers, who scoured the country in every direction. The most sanguinary incursion was that against the settlement at Indian Creek, in La Salle county, in which fifteen whites were massacred.

The account given by two young girls, who were made prisoners, relates, that on the 21st of May, 1832, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, a large party of Indians, about twenty in number, were seen crossing the fence, a short distance from the house of Mr. William Davis; the families of Mr. Hall and Mr. Pettigrew being also in the house at the time. As the Indians approached, Mr. Pettigrew attempted to close the door, but was shot down in the act. The savages then rushed in, and massacred

every one present except the two Misses Hall. They were sitting at the door, sewing, when the Indians entered. They immediately got on the bed, and stood there during the massacre. Their confusion and terror, created by the shrieks of the dying, and the firing of guns in the house, was so great, that they retained no recollection of the manner in which their friends were murdered. The time occupied in this butchery was but brief, and as soon as it was accomplished, they were dragged from the house, and hurried rapidly off, on foot, in a northern direction, for about two miles, until they came to a place where the Indians had left their horses before making the attack. The youthful prisoners were placed, without constraint, upon two of the poorest horses, each of which was led by an Indian, and escorted by about thirty warriors. The whole party continued travelling till midnight, and after resting for two hours, the march was resumed, and kept up during the remainder of the night, and until noon of the next day. The Indians then halted, and having boiled some beans, and roasted some acorns, desired the captives to eat, which they did, to avoid giving offence. After the meal, the Indians busied themselves in dressing the scalps they had taken. Among them the elder Miss Hall recognised, by the colour of the hair, that of her own mother, and fainted at the

sight. Having refreshed themselves, and recruited their horses, the Indians continued their journey, but more leisurely, until they reached the Sac camp, which was on the bank of a small creek, surrounded by low marshy ground, scattered over with small burr oak trees.

The captives were assisted from their horses by squaws, who conducted them to the camp, and placed before them some parched corn, meal, and maple-sugar, mixed. Having partaken of this fare, though more through fear than hunger, they were then invited to lie down and take some rest, which they did, enjoying a confused and disordered kind of slumber, till after sunrise. Their fears of massacre and torture now abating, they broke their fast with boiled beans and sugar, of which they ate sparingly, having as yet no appetite for food, although nearly exhausted. About ten o'clock the Sacs decamped, and moved about five miles across the creek, halting again in an elevated clump of woods near another creek. They arrived at this new encampment a little before sundown. Here a white pole was erected, and the scalps being hung on it as trophies, the warriors commenced a dance, to the music of a drum and the rattle of gourds. This dance, in which the Misses Hall were invited to join, but refused, was repeated daily while they continued with their captors. The latter then came to the lodge to

which their captives were restricted, and after parading them through the camp, made them lie down while their faces were being painted red and black. The warriors then danced round them with war-clubs, tomahawks, and spears. In the evening, they were presented with a supper, consisting of coffee, fried cakes, boiled corn, and fried venison with fried leeks, of which they ate more freely than before.

These young girls continued with the Indians four days, during which time they fared in a similar manner. The two squaws who had them in charge were the wives of Black Hawk, who treated the captives as their adopted children. On being delivered to these squaws, they were separated, but permitted to see each other every day, and remain together about two hours. They were kindly treated, but narrowly watched, so as to prevent their escape, and their fare was generally better than that of others in the same lodge.

On the fifth day after their arrival at the Sac camp, the captives were ordered to go with some Winnebago chiefs, who had come for them, the latter endeavouring to make them understand that they were commissioned to conduct them to their own people. They departed in charge of their new protectors the same evening, and after travelling for about fifteen miles, reached the Winnebago encampment. It was more comfort-

able than the one they had so lately left, and they slept sounder and better. Early the next morning they were taken up the river in canoes. The Indians continued their course until near sundown, when they landed, and encamped on the bank of the river. They were in number about one hundred warriors. The next day the captives were asked if they thought the whites would hang the Indians who should venture to take them to the fort, and whether any ransom might be expected. Having received assurances of good treatment and a reward, about twenty Winnebago warriors, well mounted, crossed the river, and conducted the captives toward a fort in Wisconsin Territory. When about three miles from the fort, the cavalcade was halted; and a white handkerchief, belonging to one of the young girls, being tied to a pole, three Indians, accompanied by the prisoners, proceeded to the fort. About a quarter of a mile from the fort, the advance party was met by a Frenchman, who, after a short conversation, took charge of the captives, and led them to the fort, where they were most kindly received by the ladies of the garrison.

The next day, attired in a costume more appropriate than that they had previously worn, they took leave of their generous friends, and started for Galena. On reaching a little fort at White Oak Springs, they met their eldest bro-

ther, who, together with a younger one, was at at work in a neighbouring field when the massacre commenced, but gained by a timely flight the protection of the fort. During the further progress of their journey these orphan girls attracted an unusual degree of public and private sympathy. Governor Clarke extended to them a liberal hospitality; and finally, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Horn, they found the comforts of a home.

On the 20th of June the Illinois militia, called out by Governor Clarke, assembled at the mouth of the Little Vermilion, and were organized into three brigades, of about one thousand men each, under the command of Generals Henry, Alexander, and Porey. These forces presently marched to Rock River, where they joined the United States troops under General Atkinson.

On the 24th of June, 1832, Major Demont, with about one hundred and fifty Illinois militia, were attacked by two hundred warriors, led by Black Hawk in person. The battle was vigorously contested, several being killed on both sides. Major Demont, though finally compelled to retreat, was justly praised for his gallantry. Repossessing himself of the block-house he had quitted in the morning, he was soon after besieged by the Indians, who made several attempts to take the place, but without success.

As it was understood that Black Hawk had

located himself near the head-waters of Rock River, the army continued moving up that stream. Provisions being scarce, and difficult of carriage in such a country, Generals Henry and Alexander were despatched with about one hundred and sixty men, and a battalion commanded by Major Dodge, to procure supplies at Fort Winnebago. On arriving at the fort, General Henry was informed that Black Hawk and his entire force were encamped in the vicinity of the White Water, about thirty miles distant. A council of war was immediately called, at which it was decided to commence a pursuit. Accordingly, General Henry, by forced marches of four days' continuance, on the 21st of July, 1832, overtook the enemy a little before sundown, secreted in a low ravine near the Wisconsin. An attack on the second battalion, forming the advance, afforded the first evidence of the neighbourhood of savages. This battalion, commanded by Major Ewing, maintained its position until reinforced by the main body under Henry and Dodge, when the whole army was formed into a hollow square, open to the rear. After two unsuccessful attempts had been made on their right and left flanks by the Indians, the whole line was ordered to charge, and the savages were driven completely from the field. Night coming on the pursuit ceased, and the army encamped. The next morning sixty-two of the enemy were

found dead in the ravine. The loss of the Americans was one killed and eight wounded.

Before this action, General Henry had sent expresses to General Atkinson, giving an account of his movements; and on the 28th of July he was joined by the latter, with the remaining division, at the Blue Mounds. The American troops now crossed the Wisconsin in pursuit of Black Hawk, who was retiring toward the Mississippi. Discovering the trail on the 29th, they advanced through a difficult and mountainous region till the morning of the 2d of August, when Black Hawk and his entire force were overtaken on the the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Iowa. The battle which followed, from the superior numbers of the Americans, was not for a moment doubtful. The Indians were speedily defeated, and dispersed, with a loss of about one hundred and fifty in killed, and thirty-nine women and children taken prisoners.

It is much to be regretted that very little discrimination appears to have been made in the slaughter, and that the dead were of both sexes, and, sadder still, of all ages.

Some of the women, who sought refuge in the Mississippi, were shot down by the soldiers. A Sac woman, by the name of Nawase, the sister of a distinguished chief, succeeded in reaching the river after having been in the very thickest

of the fight. Wrapping her infant in her blanket, and holding it between her teeth, she plunged into the water; and by the aid of a horse, whose rider was swimming to the opposite shore, was carried safely across the stream.

Black Hawk himself fled. His power being entirely broken, he was now an exile in the land of his fathers. Although he escaped, yet he took nothing with him. Even the certificate of good character, and of his having fought bravely against the Americans in the war of 1812, signed by a British officer, it is said, was picked up afterward on the field. He was finally taken prisoner by the Winnebago Indians, on the 27th of August, 1832, and by them delivered to the officers of the United States.

On this occasion he said:—"My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. He is now a prisoner to the white man; but he can stand the torture. He is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian; he has done nothing of which an Indian need to be ashamed. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them, and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war

—it is known to all white men—they ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal. Black Hawk is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty—his Father will meet him and reward him. The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse—they poison the heart; it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will in a few years become like the white men, so that you cannot hurt them; and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them, and keep them in order. Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk!"

It will not excite surprise that the author of such a speech should have been caressed on his tour through the Atlantic states. He who believes his country oppressed, and bravely defends it both by word and deed, will excite admiration notwithstanding he may be but a savage. At the close of the Indian war, in September, 1832, the United States made treaties with the Winnebagoes, and with the Sacs and Foxes, by which the former ceded four millions, and the latter twenty-six millions of acres to the Ame-

rican government. An annuity of twenty thousand dollars was paid for these lands. Keokuk and his party were awarded a reservation of forty miles square, including their principal village, in consideration of their fidelity.

On the 9th of September the captive Indians, including Black Hawk, were conveyed on board the steamboat Winnebago to Jefferson Barracks, ten miles below St. Louis; and on the 22d of April, 1833, after making a tour of the states, they arrived at Washington. Here they were introduced to the president, whom Black Hawk addressed. At the close of his speech he thus apologizes for taking up the hatchet:—

"We did not expect to conquer the whites—they had too many houses, too many men. I took up the hatchet, for my part, to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, 'Black Hawk is a woman—he is too old to be a chief—he is no Sac.' These reflections caused me to raise the war-whoop. I say no more of it; it is known to you. Keokuk once was here—you took him by the hand, and when he wished to return to his home you were willing. Black Hawk expects that, like Keokuk, we shall be permitted to return too."

On the 26th of April the captive chiefs were taken to Fort Monroe, situated on the Chesa-

peake Bay. Here they remained till the 4th of June, 1833, when they were set at liberty, and allowed to return to their own country. Black Hawk became ardently attached to the commandant at Fort Monroe; and on taking leave of him said, "The memory of your friendship will remain till the Great Spirit says it is time for Black Hawk to sing his death-song." He then presented him with some feathers of the white eagle and a hunting-dress, saying:—"Accept these, my brother: I have given one like them to the White Otter; accept it as a memorial of Black Hawk. When he is far away, this will serve to remind you of him. May the Great Spirit bless you and your children. Farewell."

Black Hawk, although a brave and fearless man, was greatly inferior in talent to Tecumseh or Little Turtle. He fought bravely and sometimes victoriously, but he did not show any very remarkable talents as a leader. That he was injured cannot be denied; and that he displayed the white flag, and gave notice of his willingness to surrender, with his little band of warriors, on several occasions, and was met and answered by the rifle, is also true. Much of the blood shed in this war was the result of a too great precipitancy on the part of the whites, who, confident in their superior numbers, were eager to do battle with the Indians. Black Hawk was conscious of his weakness, and from the commencement of

the contest had nothing to gain and every thing to lose by hazarding hostilities with the Americans. But his haughty spirit spurned the insults with which he had been met. He fought bravely against superior numbers, and without allies, although he once expected them. The other Indian tribes having shunned the unequal contest, he was left dependent on his own resources. "Farewell!" said he afterward to his nation. "Black Hawk tried to serve you and to avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. His plans, however, are stopped; he can do nothing further. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk!"

CHAPTER XIII.

The Mormons, or "Latter-Day Saints," settle in Illinois and build the city of Nauvoo—Biography of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon sect—His discovery of the golden plates—Persecuted by his neighbours—Translates the golden plates—Description of the "Book of Mormon"—The Spaulding manuscript—First settlement of Mormons at Kirtland in Ohio—The Mormons driven from Ohio and Missouri—The city of Nauvoo built by the Mormons—The Nauvoo Legion incorporated—Attack on the Nauvoo Expositor—Joseph and Hyrum Smith arrested and lodged in Carthage jail—The citizens of Carthage attack and kill the prisoners—The Mormons exhorted to peace and submission by their leaders—The Mormons settle in the valley of the Great Salt Lake—The present prosperous condition of the Mormons accounted for.

In April, 1840, the "Latter-Day Saints," or Mormons, came in large numbers to Illinois, and purchased a tract of land on the east bank of the Mississippi, at a point formerly known by the name of Commerce. Here they commenced building a city which they called Nauvoo, a Hebrew word, signifying, according to Mormon interpretation, "peaceable," or "pleasant." Nature has not formed along the "Great River," a more picturesque or eligible site for a large city. The succession of terraces ascending from the river until the high land is reached, furnish a gradual slope of remarkable beauty; noble groves

of tall oaks, interspersed by winding vistas, clothe the ground to the summit ridge, from whence an immense undulating prairie is visible. No shrubbery or undergrowth obstructs the view of the open forest. Near the river, on the right, was the beautiful residence of Dr. Isaac Galland, where art had combined with nature to form one of the most delightful of country seats. On this fine tract of land, in 1834, he laid off the town of Commerce. In an evil hour he sold it to the Mormons, who, having been driven from Missouri, sought refuge here with "their little ones and their cattle."

The origin, rapid development, and prosperity of this religious sect, is one of the most remarkable and instructive historical events of the present century. That an obscure individual, without money, education, or respectability, should persuade hundreds of thousands of people to believe him inspired of God, and cause a book, contemptible as a literary production, to be received as a continuation of the sacred revelations, appears almost incredible. Yet, in twenty years, the disciples of this obscure individual have increased to six hundred thousand, have founded a State in the distant wilderness, and have compelled the government of the United States, practically, to recognise them as an independent people, with the right of self-government. The emissaries of this religious sect are

even now successfully preaching its doctrines, not only in pagan countries, but among the most enlightened nations of Europe; and converts are flocking to the Mormon settlement, in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, from all parts of the earth. These are facts worthy the researches of the philosopher, the consideration of statesmen, and the pen of the historian. As much of the early history of the Mormons is connected with their movements in Illinois, an account of the origin and progress of this singular sect may be very properly introduced here, and cannot fail to interest the reader.

The founder of Mormonism was Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, who emigrated, when quite young, with his father's family, to Western New York, and lived for a time in the vicinity of Rochester. Like all the rest of his family, the future prophet was idle, superstitious, illiterate, and of doubtful reputation.

About 1827, young Smith pretended, that under the direction of an angel, he had discovered some curious golden or brass plates, like the leaves of a book, hidden in a box, which was buried in the side of a hill, in the neighbourhood of Palmyra, in the state of New York. These plates he asserted were about seven inches in width by eight in length, not quite so thick as common tin, and were covered with Egyptian characters or letters, beautifully engraved. These

plates were fastened together at one edge, like the leaves of a book, by means of three rings running through the whole. The volume, he said, was about six inches in thickness, and exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction as well as much skill in the art of engraving. In the same box he claimed to have found two transparent stones, which he called Urim and Thummim, set in two rims of a bow; by looking through which, he became miraculously qualified to read and even translate the contents of the plates into his vernacular, from the "Reformed Egyptian language."

The news of these discoveries spreading through the country, the inhabitants of the vicinity began to annoy the charlatan by their ridicule. In giving an account of this persecution, Smith complained that his neighbours sought to capture the "gold plates," to prevent which, he concealed them in a barrel of beans. He at length concluded to leave the place and go to Pennsylvania. On his reaching the residence of his father-in-law, in the northern part of the latter state, near the Susquehanna River, he commenced translating the plates, and writing what has since been known as the "Book of Mormon," or the Mormon Bible. Being an indifferent scribe, he was under the necessity of employing an amanuensis, who wrote from his dictation.

After the translation was completed, Smith succeeded in inducing Oliver Cowdery, Daniel Whitman, and Martin Harris, to bear testimony "unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and peoples," that they "had seen the plates and the engravings thereon;" and that these plates had been shown them "by the power of God, and not of man." Eight other witnesses, to wit, Christian Whitman, Jacob Whitman, Peter Whitman Jr., John Whitman, Heman Page, Joseph Smith Sr., Hyrum Smith, and Samuel H. Smith, certify that "Joseph Smith, the translator of this work, has shown them the plates herein spoken of, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves which the said Smith has translated, we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which have the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship."

Martin Harris was a man of a religious and superstitious temperament, and credulous in the extreme. He used to place implicit confidence in dreams, and was a believer in them as communications from the spiritual world. Though an exceedingly avaricious man, Smith proposed to him to mortgage his farm to obtain the means of printing the translation. Partly prompted by his credulity, and partly by the prospect of making money by an extensive sale of the book, he agreed to the proposal. He lived to repent his folly;

and having lost his farm, died in poverty, with many misgivings concerning the value of his new creed.

The "Book of Mormon" was printed in 1830, in Palmyra, Wayne county, New York; and when first published, attracted no attention, either on account of literary merit or its claims to inspiration. It consists of a series of extravagant legends concerning two races of people who crossed the Pacific Ocean from the Asiatic to the American continent, at two remote periods of time. The first race, who came here shortly subsequent to the building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, after many generations became divided into hostile parties, and fought until they exterminated each other. The migration of this race is one of the marvels of the book. They built "eight barges," both air-tight and water-tight, and had sixteen stones "molten out of the rock," to illuminate their craft. Two of these stones were those subsequently alleged to have been found by Smith; having been put in the box with the plates by Moroni, the "last of the Mormons," for the purpose of enabling the prophet to translate them.

The second race, according to this silly fiction, migrated to America in "ships," about six hundred years before the Christian era, from Jerusalem, by way of the Red Sea, and became the progenitors of the Indian tribes.

The story runs thus:—Lehi, with his wife and four sons, and their families, under the direction of the prophet Nephi, the youngest, left Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah; and after wandering eight years, built a ship, and, guided by a "curious brass ball with pointers," crossed the ocean to the American continent. Here the family had a quarrel, and became divided into two clans, which from the leaders were called *Lamemites* and *Nephites*. The Lamemites became corrupt and idolatrous, but the Nephites continued to reverence their high priests, their temple service, and Jewish worship. Three or four hundred years after the Christian era, and long after Christ had descended and organized the Mormon church in America, the Nephites and Lamemites were engaged mutually exterminating each other by wars. More were slain, according to the "Book of Mormon," in these wars than in the wars of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon united, until all the Nephites were killed except Moroni, "the last of the Mormons," who buried the plates "in the hill of Cumorah," Palmyra, New York, for the special purpose of being found by Joseph Smith, who was to reorganize the Mormon church as the "Latter-Day Saints."

A laudable desire to prevent ignorant and credulous persons from being deluded by the artifices of designing men, having prompted

an investigation into the authorship of these writings, the following facts were established.

About eighteen years before the appearance of the "Book of Mormon," a person by the name of Spaulding, of moderate abilities and in straitened circumstances, then living in the north-eastern part of Ohio, was seized with the idea of writing a series of historical romances, to account for the ruined cities and temples discovered in Central America.

Mr. Spaulding, in 1812, removed with his family to Pittsburg, where he formed an acquaintance with one Patterson, a publisher, who had the manuscript in his possession for several months, and proposed to the author to publish it as an historical romance; nothing, however, was done, and Spaulding subsequently removed to Washington county, Pa., where he died in 1816. After his death, his widow returned to Onondago county, New York, near to her early residence, carrying with her a trunk containing the writings of her deceased husband. During a part of the time between 1817 and 1820, when she again married and moved to Massachusetts, this trunk was at her brother's in Onondago Hollow, near the residence of the Smith family. When the "Book of Mormon" was published, and its identity with the Spaulding fiction recognised, search was made for the MS., but it had disappeared, and the "Manuscript Found," as

Spaulding designated his work, has ever since been the "Manuscript Lost." From these facts, it is believed that Smith obtained possession of it, and moulded it into the "Book of Mormon," arranging and altering it, with the assistance of others, to suit his own purposes.

On the 6th of April, 1830, the first Mormon church was organized at Manchester, New York, consisting of only six members, the father of Smith, his two brothers, and Oliver Cowdery, a schoolmaster, being among the number. At that time an extraordinary religious excitement pervaded the state of New York and the northern part of Ohio, and Smith and his adherents proceeded to make proselytes. Their effrontery was successful, and the Mormon church gradually increased in numbers.

In the following August, Parley P. Pratt, a Campbellite preacher in Ohio, who was preaching wild notions on prophecy, the restoration of the children of Israel, and the millennium, read the "Book of Mormon" during a visit to New York, and became a convert. On his return, he won over to the new faith a still more enthusiastic person named Sidney Rigdon. These were important additions to the Mormon Society. Both were men of talents, learning, and eloquence. Rigdon had been teaching the literal interpretation of Scripture prophecies, the se-

cond coming of Christ, and the use of miraculous gifts in the church.

The first Mormon settlement was formed at Kirtland, in Ohio, in January, 1831. To this place the prophet and his people removed, and were received by Pratt and Rigdon at the head of a thousand converts. In the month of June, Smith professed to have received a revelation which resulted in the sending forth of a mission of elders into Missouri. The site was selected for a city, which was called Zion. Proclamations, as coming from the holiest of sources, were issued, inviting the "brethren" to repair to this "land of promise;" and there soon collected in Jackson county, Missouri, about thirteen hundred Mormons, whom their leaders proclaimed the lawful possessors of the land, threatening with extermination all the "Gentiles" who would not hear and obey their teachings. It having been discovered about this time that boxes of fire-arms were transported into the country, the speeches and proceedings of the Mormons finally led many to suspect that a clandestine and unlawful movement was about being made to arm the native Indians, and enlist them in a war against the whites. Under this impression, the inhabitants of Jackson county armed themselves in 1834, and drove the Mormons from their midst. The association at

Kirtland, however, continued to flourish; a costly temple was erected, and a bank established, which, after obtaining credit to a considerable amount, failed in 1838, and its managers were prosecuted for swindling.

The explosion of the Mormon bank at Kirtland having involved Smith, Rigdon, and others in inextricable difficulties, these leaders migrated to Missouri with a large proportion of the members of their church to escape the indignation of the people they had duped. Soon after their arrival, a military corps, called the "Danite Band," was organized. The members of this band had their pass-words and secret signs, by means of which they could easily recognise each other, and were bound under a solemn oath to "do the prophet's bidding," and to drive off or "give to the buzzards" all Mormons who dissented from the revelations of the prophet. On the 4th of July, 1838, Rigdon delivered an address, in which he denounced all recusants, and predicted an exterminating war with the people of Missouri. This fanatical address caused a tremendous excitement, and involved the Mormons in a civil war with the state. Smith, with a party of "Danites," went into Davies county, to put down a mob, as they said; but their object turned out to be to "take the spoils of the Gentiles." The citizens of Davies county, having

gathered in defence of their property, were driven off by the Mormons, who were the more numerous party. At the bidding of the prophet, two hundred head of swine were killed, and several fields of corn destroyed. A post-office was broken open, and a store robbed and burned, together with several dwelling-houses, from which the owners had fled. "The spoils of the Gentiles," consisting of a large amount of furniture, bedding, and clothing, were taken after the battle to "Far West," a town which had been fortified by the Mormons. Three thousand militia were now called out by the governor of the state, who, under the command of General J. B. Clark, surrounded "Far West," took the leading Mormons prisoners, and made peace without bloodshed. The terms dictated by the authorities were, that the Mormons should quit the state; that five commissioners should be appointed to sell their property, from the proceeds of which their debts were to be paid, and the damages done by the "Danites" satisfied.

Between forty and fifty of the prisoners, who had acted a conspicuous part in the rebellion, were tried and found guilty of various offences. About thirty were committed to prison in the counties of Clay and Carrol, and the rest liberated on condition of their leaving the state. To assist in the removal of destitute Mormon fami-

lies, two thousand dollars were appropriated by the state for their relief; and the citizens of Howard, and the adjacent counties, generously contributed supplies of provisions and clothing.

Having been driven out of Ohio and Missouri, the Mormons, twelve thousand in number, retreated to Illinois, arriving on the banks of the Mississippi in a destitute condition. Their tale of distress touched the hearts of the neighbouring settlers, who received them hospitably, furnished them with food and clothing, and assisted them in the selection of a suitable place to establish a city.

In the mean time, missionaries having been sent through the United States and Europe, with an exaggerated narrative of persecution and suffering, the number of converts to Mormonism was greatly multiplied. These were ordered by their leaders to repair to Nauvoo, and build the "temple of the Lord;" and in the short space of two years a spacious city was built, the houses of every form, and of all kinds of material, from mud huts to handsome dwellings of stone and brick. The state sympathizing with the exiles, at the first session of the legislature acts were passed for their especial benefit, all tending to establish a government within a government, and to confer on an isolated community dangerous powers and prerogatives. In the struggle of

political parties to obtain an influence over so large a body of voters, six charters were granted to the citizens of Nauvoo, one of which authorized them to incorporate a standing army, called the "Nauvoo Legion," and loaned them the arms of the state. Accordingly, about four thousand Mormons, well drilled in military exercises, were organized as a standing army, with the prophet as lieutenant-general. Boastful threats were now made of vengeance on the people of Missouri, and on all who should molest them.

In the mean time preparations had been making for the erection of a spacious temple. The plan for this immense structure followed no particular order of architecture, although it more prominently resembled the Egyptian. In the basement was erected an immense laver, in imitation of the brazen sea of Solomon. It was supported by twelve gilded oxen, hewn from the trunks of large trees, with their faces projecting outward. This font was specially designed for the baptism of the dead, one of the peculiarities of the Mormon faith. The temple was never finished. After the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo, commissioners were permitted to remain to dispose of this and other property. Several attempts were made to sell it for educational, manufacturing, and other purposes, but they all failed, and the temple stood as waste

property until the torch of the incendiary reduced it to ashes.

From 1838 to 1844, Mormonism was in a state of continuous prosperity at Nauvoo. It was during this flourishing interval that the revelation, allowing to the chiefs of the Mormon hierarchy as many wives as they could support, was alleged to have been received. This extraordinary manifesto caused divisions in the ranks of the "faithful," and led to the establishment of a rival newspaper at Nauvoo, called the Expositor, in May, 1844. The Expositor having exposed various acts of criminality on the part of Smith and his friends, a number of Mormons, acting under an order from the municipal authorities, attacked the printing office, broke the press to pieces, and scattered the type in the streets. This gross outrage led the opposition to unite with the opponents of Mormonism in the county, and warrants were served upon Joseph Smith, and Hyrum his brother, together with several other prominent Mormons, for the illegal destruction of the press, which they refused to obey, and under a writ of habeas corpus from the city authorities, discharged themselves from arrest.

The excitement now became fearful, and the question was raised, whether the prophet and his followers should set aside the authority of the laws of the state and nation. The officer who had

served the warrant summoned a "posse comitatus" from the adjacent counties to renew the arrest, but they were met by the armed "Legion," in command of the prophet, with artillery. The city of Nauvoo was now declared under martial law. The sheriff called on Governor Ford for military aid to sustain the law, who immediately ordered out the militia, and proceeded in person to Hancock county, to examine into the state of affairs. After several unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, warrants were issued against Smith and others for treason, and levying war against the state; and the officer with the writs was ordered to enter Nauvoo with a strong force, carrying an order from the governor to disband the "Legion."

At first the Smiths fled across the river into Iowa, but returned to the city the same day; and having received assurances from Governor Ford of protection, left Nauvoo for Carthage, the seat of justice for Hancock county, in order to answer the warrants issued against them. About four miles from Carthage, they were met by Captain Dunn and a company of cavalry, on their way to Nauvoo, with an order from Governor Ford for the state arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion. The prophet and his brother immediately retraced their course, gave up the arms, and again left for Carthage. Such prisoners as had been accused of promoting a riot were held

to bail to answer at court; but the Smiths, with Richards and Taylor, leading men among the Mormons, were lodged in Carthage jail on a charge of treason.

As tranquillity appeared to be restored, the governor disbanded the troops, and with his suite left Carthage for Nauvoo, where he made a public address to the Mormons, and urged them to maintain their allegiance to the state. While he was thus employed, a very different scene was enacting at Carthage.

After the militia were discharged, many of them entertaining the belief that the Smiths would be released, and the Mormons be permitted to continue their depredations and outrages, conspired with the citizens of Carthage to attack the jail, and take justice into their own hands. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 27th of June, 1844, about one hundred and forty disguised men assaulted the door of the room in which the prisoners were confined. To prevent their entrance, Richards and Taylor threw themselves across the floor, the feet of one against the shoulders of the other, and kept the door from fully opening. Upon guns being protruded through the narrow aperture and discharged, Smith, with a revolver, returned two shots, hitting one man in the elbow. About the same time a ball struck Hyrum the patriarch, and he fell, exclaiming, "I am killed!" to which Joseph

replied, "O brother Hyrum!" Smith then threw up the window, and in leaping through, was killed by balls fired from without. The people in the hall then forced their way into the room and wounded Taylor. Richards escaped unhurt.

It is proper here to state that no principle is more deeply implanted in the American mind than that entire freedom in religious belief is the birthright of every human being. The relationship of man to man, and not of man to God, is the limitation of human laws; and this principle is recognised not only in the national but in every state constitution. But when, under the imposing sanction of religion, or under any pretext whatever, the rights of men as citizens and neighbours are invaded, resistance necessarily follows. All the difficulties with the Mormons arose from their attacks on the private property and lives of the "Gentiles," as they call all who are without the pale of the Mormon church. In no instance were they persecuted for their peculiar religious dogmas, but only when their fanaticism could not be restrained within reasonable bounds.

"The Mormons," said Governor Dunklin, in an address to the people of Missouri, "have the right constitutionally guarantied to them, to believe and *worship* JOE SMITH as a *man*, or an *angel*, or even as the *True and Living God*, and to call their habitation *Zion*, the *Holy Land*, or

even *heaven itself.* Indeed, there is nothing so absurd and ridiculous that they have not the right to adopt as their religion, SO THAT IN ITS EXERCISE THEY DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS."

Expectations prevailed through the country that the Mormons would revenge the death of their prophet. The effect, however, was far otherwise. Disheartened and appalled, they made no attempt at retaliation. The bodies were carried to Nauvoo, and the funeral attended by an immense concourse of people. Addresses were made by leading Mormons, in which the people were exhorted to abstain from all violence, and quietly submit to the persecution of their enemies. The struggle for the leadership followed, and Brigham Young was elected. As the people of Illinois threatened to expel the Mormons from Nauvoo and the surrounding country, it was announced by revelation that the whole church must retire into the wilderness to grow into a multitude, aloof from the haunts of civilization. The valley of the Great Salt Lake was selected for a settlement; and on the 21st of July, 1847, the pioneer party reached that remote station in the wilderness; where they were joined, three days after, by the elders of the church and the main body of the people.

Experience has shown that Mormonism cannot exist in these States. It must conquer or die.

The Mormon settlement is at present rendered harmless by its geographical position. The valley of the Great Salt Lake is situated midway between the Mississippi states and California, and is hemmed in on all sides by inhospitable deserts, upward of a thousand miles in extent. It is in fact a journey of three months, with the present conveniences for travelling, from the nearest civilized community to the new territory of Utah.

Since their expulsion from Nauvoo the Mormons have continued to prosper. They have, by their industry, fertilized a barren region; and bidding defiance to their persecutors, are ready to fight for the undisputed possession of their secluded valleys. They are a peculiar people. They have established a government on the model of a republican state; adopted a constitution liberal, free, and tolerant of conscience in religion, and have a criminal code which applies to their peculiar situation and feelings. They demand a recognition of their independence as a state, on the ground that they know better than all the world besides what is most suited to their condition. "Gentile judges" are regarded by Mormons as an imposition; and it is not to be expected that judges and lawyers, however eminent in their profession at home, can appreciate the statutes of this community in the wilderness.

That polygamy is practised among the Mor-

mons is undeniable. Their prosperous condition is attributable to their admirable system of combining labour, while each has his own property in lands and tenements. The success of the Mormon prophet shows that much of the darkness and superstition of past ages still clouds the understandings of men; and that, in religion as in politics, unprincipled men may elevate themselves to places of honour and dignity by means of the ignorance and credulity of the people.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Illinois and Michigan canal—Its great commercial importance—Governor Bond brings the subject before the legislature of Illinois—Canal commissioners appointed, and the first estimate made—A company chartered—The charter repealed—Canal lands given by Congress—A board of commissioners appointed, and authorized to employ suitable engineers, surveyors, and draughtsmen to determine the route of the canal—An act passed for the construction of the canal on a more enlarged scale—The work stopped through the failure of the public credit—Completed by means of the "Shallow Cut"—The Illinois Grand Central Railroad—The public debt of Illinois.

NEXT to the formation of a good government, it is unquestionably the highest interest of a people to adopt such a system of internal improvement as is calculated to develop the natural

advantages of their position; to give increased facilities to commerce and agriculture by the construction of railroads and canals; to encourage education and science, and, by wise and well-administered laws, protect all men in the exercise of their rights.

A glance at the map of Illinois will readily convince any one that the union of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, by a canal, is an object not only easy of accomplishment, but also, of great practical importance. By this means an uninterrupted water communication can be established between the river St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and between the commerce of the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.

The attention of the first settlers of Illinois at an early day was directed to this subject, and trading establishments were erected by the French along the line of route. All talked of the matter as easy and practicable, but the country was not scientifically examined. At the first session of the Illinois legislature in 1818, Governor Bond, in his opening address, called the attention of the general assembly to a survey preparatory to opening a canal between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan; and he suggested an early application to Congress for a certain per centage from the sales of the public lands, to be appropriated to that object.

In December, 1822, Governor Bond, in his va-

ledictory address, again referred to the canal. "It is believed," said he, "that the public sentiment has been ascertained in relation to this subject, and that our fellow-citizens are prepared to sustain their representatives in the adoption of measures subservient to its commencement."

On the 14th of February, 1823, a board of five commissioners were appointed "to consider, devise, and adopt measures to effect the communication by canal and locks between the navigable waters of the Illinois and Lake Michigan," and "to make, or cause to be made, estimates, surveys, and levels for completing said canal, and report to the next general assembly of the authorities of the state;" and the sum of six thousand dollars was appropriated to defray the expense. Surveys and estimates were accordingly made, varying from six hundred and forty to seven hundred and sixteen thousand dollars; and on the 17th of January, 1825, a company was chartered by the legislature of Illinois, with a capital of one million of dollars, in ten thousand shares of one hundred dollars each. But the stock was not taken; and, therefore, at the next session of the legislature, the charter was repealed. These efforts on the part of the state legislature induced Congress, on the 2d of March, 1827, to place at the disposal of the legislature of Illinois each alternate section of land, five

miles in width, on each side of the projected line of canal.

The embarrassments of the state in finance prevented any thing being done till January, 1829, when the legislature passed an act to organize a board of commissioners, with power to employ surveyors, engineers, and draughtsmen, to determine the route of the canal. The surveys and estimates were again made; but this time it was ascertained that the project of obtaining a full supply of water on the surface level was doubtful, and it was found that the rock approached so near the surface in certain parts of the route as to increase considerably the estimates of cost. The prior estimates handed in to the legislature had been made on the supposition that the construction was to be on the same scale as that of the grand canal between New York and Lake Erie, then in process of completion. The engineers having declared this mode of construction to be impracticable, it was finally decided to construct it as a ship canal for the largest class of vessels on the lakes.

On the 9th of January, 1836, an act was passed by the state legislature for the excavation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, according to the scale of magnitude laid down by the engineers, although an estimate exceeding eight millions and a half of dollars had been given in, making the cost of excavation eighty-six thou-

sand dollars and upward per mile—the length of the canal being about one hundred miles. On the 4th of July, 1836, the first ground was actually broken up, and this event was accompanied by a public celebration at Chicago. Contracts having been made, the excavation of the canal commenced from a point in the Chicago River five and a half miles west of the city, through indurated clay and compact limestone to the depth of from eighteen to twenty feet, and was carried forward for a distance of thirty miles until over five millions of dollars were expended. The credit of the state failing in 1841, the work was suspended. The contractors ceased operations; and in 1843 a law was passed to liquidate and settle their damages at a sum not exceeding two hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

The sole reliance of the state at this time was on loans, without any finances of its own, or any means to pay annual interest and liquidate the principal. This great and important public work was commenced at an unfortunate time, and on too grand a scale. Provisions and wages were both high, flour being worth at Chicago from nine to twelve dollars per barrel; oats and potatoes seventy-five cents per bushel; pork from twenty to thirty dollars per barrel, and other things in the same ratio. The first labour contracts were predicated on the above prices.

The credit of the state having sunk so low that

no further loans could be obtained, the board of commissioners was dissolved and the works remained in a dormant state for about two years. This condition of things was, however, only of brief duration. The interest, the honour, and the welfare of the state required its completion; and accordingly, in 1843–4, a plan was adopted to complete the canal by making the "Shallow Cut," or carrying the excavation to the depth of only six feet for the remainder of the route, and introducing the Fox River as a feeder. About a million and a half of dollars would complete the work on this plan. The resources were the canal lands, the canal tolls, several hundred city and village lots, and other property. It was immediately seen that these resources would complete the work, pay the interest on the loans already advanced, and eventually redeem the stock. The security offered being accepted by the stockholders, a board of trustees was appointed, the money advanced, the work resumed in 1846, and brought to a state of completion in 1848. The grandeur and magnificence of the plan have been diminished, but the financial embarrassments of the state rendered it necessary to economise; and if, after a few years' experience, it should be found that the deep cut is preferable, and the necessary funds can be raised, it will be easy to carry on the work without interfering with the navigation.

In 1849 the first vessel was reported at New Orleans as having arrived from the St. Lawrence, by way of the Welland Canal, the great lakes, the Illinois Canal and River, and the Mississippi. Since then the flourishing town of La Salle has arisen around the spot where the canal enters the Illinois River. This is a new town, which, from being situated at the terminus of the canal, is destined to become a place of considerable importance. Steamboats on the river, and canal boats from the lake, are continually arriving and departing; and a number of steamers are always lading and unlading at the wharves.

In 1837, in addition to the Illinois and Michigan Canal, a number of extensive and important railroads were projected, the work on most of which has been commenced, and some few are in travelling order. Public attention was especially directed to the formation of a grand central railroad between Chicago and Cairo, at the junction of the Mississippi and the Ohio Rivers. This railroad, which is now in course of construction, will constitute the most direct and expeditious mode of communication between the commerce of the lakes and that of the Gulf of Mexico. For the furtherance of this important enterprise, Congress, by an act passed in 1850, granted to the state of Illinois the right of way for the construction of this road through all the public lands where it may pass, and also

"every alternate section of land designated by even numbers, for six sections in width, on each side of said road and branches," to be sold for the purpose of its construction. The grants were made on conditions that the work shall be begun and carried on simultaneously from both ends of the route, and that the whole shall be completed within ten years from the date of their enactment. The construction of the Illinois Central Railroad has been undertaken with spirit by the state, and will doubtless be completed within the time designated.

These public works having been commenced and prosecuted on the credit system, at a time when the pecuniary resources of the state were inadequate to meet the current expenses, an amount of public debt was incurred, from which Illinois is only slowly recovering. In 1841 the demands against the state, including accumulations of interest due, exceeded fifteen millions of dollars. The total amount of public debt on the 1st of January, 1851, was sixteen millions six hundred and twenty-seven thousand five hundred and seven dollars, nearly one-half of which grew out of the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Heavy as this debt may appear, Illinois has resources, and has made provision to liquidate it.

At the close of 1846, Governor Ford, in his address to the legislature, said:—"A very con-

siderable portion of the state debt has been paid or provided for; about three millions of dollars have been paid by a sale of the public property, and by putting the banks into liquidation; and five millions more have been effectually provided for, to be paid after the completion of the canal: being a reduction of eight millions of the state debt which has been made, or effectually provided for, within the last four years. The state itself, although broken, and discredited at one time throughout the civilized world, has been enabled to borrow, on the credit of its property, one million six hundred thousand dollars to complete the canal. The people abroad have once more begun to seek our highly favoured land as the home of the emigrant. Our population has rapidly increased, and is now increasing faster than it ever did before; our people at home have become more contented and happy. They have ceased to be terrified by the magnitude of the state debt, and the imagined inability of the state to pay it; they have cheerfully submitted to taxation, as far as they were able, to meet the public liabilities; and have thereby manifested to the world that they possess an heroic virtue, capable of any sacrifices demanded by integrity and patriotism; and it is with unbounded satisfaction that I now announce to the general assembly that the former discredit resting upon our people in other states, for supposed

delinquences in paying in their debts, no longer exists; and the reputation of Illinois and its citizens now stands proudly fair and honourable among her sister states and the great family of nations in the civilized world. However, it must be acknowledged, that much more credit for this altered state of things, is due to the gallant spirit and the recuperative energies of the people, than to any agency of law or government."

CHAPTER XV.

Education among the early pioneers—The establishment of common schools—School funds in Illinois—Particulars respecting some of the principal colleges—The physical geography of Illinois—Its minerals and manufactures—Growth of towns and cities in Illinois—Springfield—Chicago—Alton—Kaskaskia—Climate—The climate of the interior of Illinois beneficial in cases of consumption—Population.

It has been shown that the early pioneers had very few opportunities to educate either themselves or their children. If the mother could read, while the father was in the cornfield, or with his rifle on the range, she would barricade the door, to keep off the Indians, gather her little ones around her, and by the light that came in from the crevices of the roof and

sides of the cabin, would teach them the rudiments of spelling from the fragments of some old book.

The first school in Illinois, after the conquest of the territory by Clarke, was opened near Bellefontaine, by Samuel Seely, in 1783. In 1785 he was succeeded by Francis Clark, a man addicted to intemperance. Clark was followed by an inoffensive Irishman, by the name of Halfpenny, who persevered in his vocation for several sessions. The only branches attempted to be taught were spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic; and these in a very imperfect manner. Afterward, the youth of the settlement were instructed gratuitously by John Clark, a pious and eccentric clergyman, but an excellent scholar. He taught, besides the rudiments of an ordinary English education, mathematics, natural philosophy, and the Latin language.

In 1825 a law was passed, providing for the incorporation of common schools. In its preamble, the great principles of legislative authority in educational matters are thus beautifully expressed:—

"To enjoy our rights and liberties, we must understand them. Their security and protection ought to be among the first objects of a free people. And it is a well-established fact, that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was

not both virtuous and enlightened. And believing that the advancement of literature always has been, and ever will be, the means of developing more fully the rights of man; that the mind of every citizen of every republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is considered the peculiar duty of a free government like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole."

Notwithstanding the many obstacles which have interposed themselves to prevent the spread of knowledge among the masses, no state in the union has a more ample fund for educational purposes than Illinois. When the North-western Territory was organized in 1787, three per cent. on all lands sold within the state was appropriated for the encouragement of learning. So also the act of admission to the Union, made in 1818, provides for a reservation of one thirty-sixth part of all the public lands for school purposes; and section numbered sixteen has accordingly been designated, and set apart in each township, for the benefit of its inhabitants. Other funds, to a very generous extent, have been provided; from all which sources a large annual income is derived. It is a source of regret to add, that even yet the subject of common schools has not received that

degree of regard and attention which is demanded by its immeasurable importance. There are, however, in many of the Illinois towns and cities, primary schools of a fair character, and occasionally a seminary of a higher grade.

Several seminaries and institutions of learning have also been established by the private resources of individuals. The greater part of these have been founded, supported, and are controlled by clergy of various religious denominations; and all have been commenced, comparatively speaking, within a very recent date. Among the principal seats of learning at present in Illinois, are:—

Knox College, opened in 1837, at Galesburg, about fifty miles west of Peoria, the township having been originally purchased with a view to its endowment. In 1850 it had five instructors and fifty-eight students. Its library contains about three thousand volumes.

McKendree College, founded at Lebanon, in St. Clair county, in 1835, under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1850 it had four teachers and sixty students. Its library contains eighteen hundred volumes.

Shurtleff College, so called after Doctor Shurtleff, of Boston, Massachusetts, by whom it was liberally endowed. It was founded in 1835, at Upper Alton, in Madison county, and is under

the direction of the Baptists. In 1850 it had six teachers, a small number of students, and a library, containing sixteen hundred volumes.

Illinois College was founded in 1829, at Jacksonville, in Morgan county, thirty-three miles west from Springfield, the capital of the state of Illinois, in the midst of a fertile and beautiful prairie. The college buildings are situated on an elevation, about a mile from the centre of Jacksonville, and overlook the surrounding flat country to a great extent. In 1850 it had seven teachers, thirty-four students, and ninety-three alumni. Its library contains about four thousand volumes.

The physical geography of Illinois exhibits no lofty mountains, although the land is considerably elevated, and occasionally broken, at its northern and southern extremities. In general, the surface is level, or slightly undulating, about two-thirds consisting of immense prairies, richly clothed with grass, and resplendent with flowers. Isolated clumps of woodland are met with occasionally in these prairies, some of them covering an extent of several acres. In some parts of the state, however, there is an abundance of forest. The most common native trees are the locust, beech, ash, elm, maple, oak, hickory, poplar, and sycamore. The soil being of great depth and singular fertility, every variety of grain and of edible vegetables, together with

cotton, flax, hemp, and tobacco, is successfully cultivated. All the fruits common to temperate latitudes are produced in abundance, and native grapes, of a fine quality, capable of yielding excellent wine, are remarkably plentiful in most parts of the state. The fruitfulness of the soil may be inferred from the fact, that in almost all parts of the state an average crop of fifty bushels of Indian corn to the acre can be obtained; and instances are by no means rare where the product has reached from seventy-five to one hundred bushels.

The prairies are now being brought rapidly under cultivation, and amply repay the labours of the farmer. The soil is peculiarly favourable to the growth of the various kinds of grain, and tobacco and hemp yield a liberal return to the cultivator. The meadow lands of the prairie are not surpassed by those of any other state. But although nothing can present a more beautiful aspect in the spring and summer, yet its loveliness vanishes in the fall, and in winter the prairie becomes terribly bleak and lonely. The farm-houses scattered over its vast unbroken surface are much exposed to the wintry winds, and greatly need the shelter of trees, of which the prairie is in general entirely destitute. As much of the prairie land is well adapted for sheep-walks, the growth of wool promises to be more successfully carried on there than in the

other states; and this branch of trade is daily becoming of greater and increased importance. In the agricultural districts of New York, Pennsylvania, &c., many proprietors of small farms have sold out, in order to purchase more extensive tracts in middle Illinois, for this purpose.

On the Illinois shore of the Ohio River, twenty-four miles below Shawneetown, there is a curious natural cavern in the rock, called the House of Nature. Passengers on the boats never fail to have it pointed out to them as they pass, and sometimes the captains are so obliging as to stop the boats for a short time, to allow an opportunity of visiting the cave. The names of many visitors have been carved on its entrance, which is just above high water mark, twenty feet in height, and leads into a spacious chamber with an arched roof, thirty feet high, and extending back one hundred and twenty-five feet. It has occasionally furnished an asylum for the winter to families of emigrants descending the river. Mason, the noted pirate and outlaw, who, about the year 1800, subsisted, with his banditti, for some time, by robbing and murdering the boatmen on the river, made this cavern his rendezvous. He was finally shot by one of his own comrades, to obtain the reward of five hundred dollars offered by the Governor of Mississippi for his head.

First among the principal rivers by which

this fine state is intersected is the Illinois, which traverses the largest portion of the state, coursing, with its numerous tributaries, through most of the central counties. Starved Rock, near the foot of the rapids of the Illinois, is a perpendicular mass of lime and sandstone, washed by the current at its base, and rising to an elevation of one hundred and fifty feet. The diameter of its surface is one hundred feet, with a slope extending to the adjoining bluff, from which alone it is accessible. According to tradition, when the Illinois Indians had killed Pontiac, the great Indian chief of the Ottawas, the latter made war upon them. A band of Illinois, in attempting to escape, took shelter on this rock, which they soon made inaccessible to their enemies, by whom they were closely besieged. They had secured provisions, but their only resource for water was by letting down vessels with bark ropes to the river. The wily besiegers, gliding secretly in canoes under the rock, cut off the buckets, and the unfortunate Illinois were starved to death. Many years after, their bones were whitening on this summit. The Peoria Lake, an expansion of the Illinois River, extends twenty miles in a southwest direction to Peoria village. It has a gravelly bottom, very little current, and is much wider than the river. It abounds with various kinds of fish. The whole length of the Illinois

River, exclusive of its windings, is about two hundred and sixty miles. It is navigable two hundred and ten miles, to the foot of the rapids. During a high stage of water, vessels succeed in ascending to Ottawa, nine miles beyond. The Wabash and Kaskaskia Rivers are large and navigable streams; while the whole of the western boundary is washed by the mighty Mississippi, the Ohio forming a portion of its southern frontier.

The Kaskaskia River is navigable at time of high water as far as Vandalia, situated about one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. There are numerous navigable and important streams besides these. Rock River, on the banks of which the famous Indian chief, Black Hawk, was born, has its rise in a region of swamps and lakes. Much of the country through which it passes consists of fertile prairie, and some timber land. It derives its name from the character of its channel, which consists, for the most part, of lime and sandstone rocks. The Sangamon River is a branch of the Illinois, and with its numerous tributaries waters the pleasantest and most fertile portion of the state.

Lime, salt, and coal are the most plentiful productions of Illinois. For many miles along the banks of the Mississippi, limestone ledges of considerable extent exist, sometimes rising abruptly and perpendicularly in huge bluffs to

the height of three hundred feet. There are numerous saline springs in the south and east parts of the state, so strongly impregnated as to render profitable the manufacture of salt on an extensive scale in their vicinity. Exhaustless veins of bituminous coal are contained in the elevated and broken regions toward the north, particularly in the neighbourhood of Rock River; treasures of this valuable mineral are also found on the bluffs and ravines of the river banks in Madison and St. Clair counties. In addition to these mineral riches, copper and iron are found in abundance; and, at the north-west angle of the state, immense beds of lead ore.

Hydraulic power to a considerable extent can be commanded in different parts of the country, and has been scantily applied to manufacturing purposes. There are a few cotton, woollen, and flax factories, tanneries, potteries, and distilleries. The exports are whisky and castor oil, some fifty or sixty thousand gallons of the latter being annually expressed at a single establishment.

Springfield was made the capital of Illinois in 1840, and since then has had a rapid growth. It is about four miles south from the Sangamon River, and is situated on the confines of a beautiful prairie. It was first laid out in 1822, on a regular plan, with a public square in the centre,

and wide streets, crossing each other at right angles. The state-house, erected in the centre of the square, is an elegant building, in the Doric style of architecture, for the erection of which the state appropriated fifty thousand dollars. The court-house and the state bank are also beautiful buildings. There are several handsome churches, and spacious, well-built stores and hotels. Springfield is surrounded with a rich agricultural district, and is connected with Naples, on the Illinois River, by a railroad, which is now in operation.

The rapid progress of Illinois in population and wealth is well illustrated in the growth of Chicago. This town, one of the largest and most important in the Mississippi valley, is situated on the west shore, and toward the south end of Lake Michigan, at the point where the river of the same name enters the lake. It has had a rapid growth, and from its position in the great line of communication between the east and west, is destined to become a large city. In 1832 it contained only five small stores, and two hundred and fifty inhabitants. Four vessels, which arrived there the preceding year, two brigs and two schooners, from the lower lakes, were sufficient for all the commerce of north-eastern Illinois, and north-western Indiana. In 1836 the arrivals of brigs, ships, and schooners, amounted to four hundred

and seven, exclusive of twenty-nine steamboats. Though much depressed during the suspension of the canal operations from 1841 to 1846, the growth of Chicago continued. Its streets are laid out in right lines, and intersect each other at right angles. They are of good width, and some of them are planked, stone pavements not being used to any great extent. This city is well supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct from the lake. It has six or seven churches, situated on a public square, some of which are fine edifices. Its population in 1850 was thirty thousand.

Alton, after a long period of depression, is now in a flourishing condition, and will soon become a place of considerable commerce. This town, which has an excellent steamboat landing, is situated on the Mississippi, eighty-two miles west by south from Springfield. It extends along the river for about two miles, and is in depth from half a mile to a mile. The streets are from sixty to one hundred and eighty feet wide, and are laid out with great regularity. Two or three newspapers are published in this place, which also contains a number of churches belonging to the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Evangelical, Lutheran, and Unitarian denominations. The various steamboats owned here do an extensive business on the Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois Rivers. The sur-

rounding country is rich in fine timber, limestone, and bituminous coal; the latter, in remarkable abundance, is obtained within from four to six miles of the town, and affords a ready source of supply to the steamboats trading on the Illinois River and the Upper Mississippi.

Kaskaskia, the oldest settlement in Illinois, having been founded by the French in 1683, is situated on the river of the same name. It was formerly a place of considerable importance, but is now greatly surpassed in magnitude and commercial prosperity by other cities in the state.

The climate of Illinois is much the same as that of the other states (lying within the same parallels) east of the Alleghany Mountains. Snow seldom falls to a great depth, or continues upon the earth many days in succession, and the ground is commonly free from frost throughout half the winter. The early spring months are rainy and unpleasant; but they are soon succeeded by a milder season, a warm and cheering summer, with an invigorating atmosphere; and the year finally closes with a delightful autumn, of some months' duration, rarely disturbed by a cloudy day or a stormy hour. Physicians, whose opportunities for observation have been ample, assert that the climate of the interior of Illinois affords relief to consumptive patients. At Hillsboro', a large and flourishing town, a single case of pulmonary consumption has not been known

for years, with but with one exception, and that was involved in considerable doubt. Persons whose lungs are weak, and subject to an occasional hemorrhage, have been restored to health by removing to an Illinois town, situated on the border of a prairie.

The progress of population in Illinois has been very great within the last few years. During the thirty years prior to 1840, the population of Illinois increased from twelve thousand two hundred and eighty-two, to four hundred and seventy-six thousand and eighty-three, of whom three thousand six hundred were persons of colour. In 1850 the population was eight hundred and fifty thousand; five thousand three hundred and sixty-six were coloured people.

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