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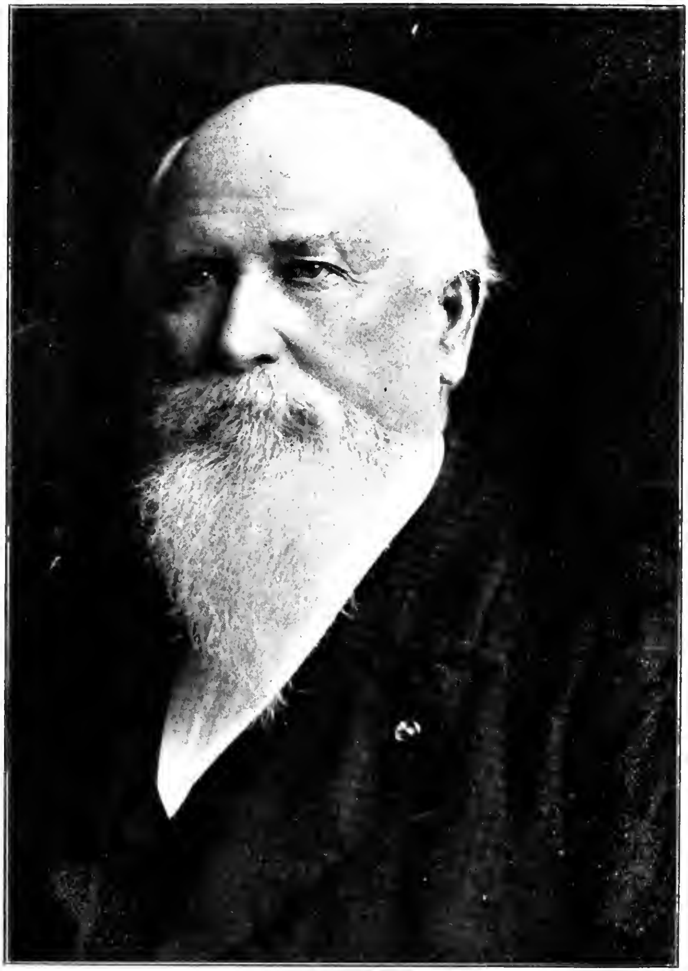

WILLIAM M. COCKRUM

PIONEER
History of Indiana

Including

Stories, Incidents and Customs of the Early Settlers

By

COL. WILLIAM M. COCKRUM

Oakland City, Indiana
PRESS OF OAKLAND CITY JOURNAL
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TO MY WIFE,

Who for fifty years has been my faithful partner and true helpmate, this book is affectionately dedicated by THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In this volume many of the early happenings that occurred during the settling of Indiana are given for the first time and if this opportunity were not improved, a large amount of interesting history of our state would be lost.

The writer claims no special credit for securing this history as it has been a pleasing task, self assigned. If the reader shall gain as much satisfaction from reading this volume as the author has from gathering the data from which to compile it, he will be amply repaid for the few hours he is so engaged.

It is very gratifying to be able to go back to the settling of Indiana and tell about the brave men and women who first invaded its wildness and from whom sprang the hardy and superior race of people in all stations of life that now live within its confines.

For fifty years the data for this volume has been collecting: From personal acquaintance with the pioneers, from a history of incidents transmitted from parents to children and from tradition that is accepted as reliable.

From the above three sources it is believed that the truest history of the people of that early date, their manners and customs, the dangers they encountered from the Indians, the hunting for game and the many terrible encounters with savage beasts, has been secured.

In submitting this work to the public the author wishes here to acknowledge his indebtedness to those who aided him in his researches and made the existence of this volume possible. These favors have come from all parts of the country—from historical societies, public libraries and men in official positions. The names of those giving the most valued assistance is hereby given.

The City Library of Quebec and the librarian of Public Library of Montreal, Canada.

The State Library of Indianapolis and the assistant librarian, Miss Jennie M. Elrod.

The Hon. Henry S. Lane, when U. S. Senator from Indiana, for favors shown me in the office of Public Documents in Washington.

The Hon. Oliver P. Morton for his aid in securing a permit to examine official papers in the War Department.

The Hon. Daniel S. Lamont, Ex-Secretary of War, for favors shown me in the War Department.

Gen. Lew Wallace for valuable suggestions.

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Hon. Benjamin Harrison, Ex-President of the United States, for the use of his notes on the unpublished history of Gen. William Henry Harrison.

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Joseph P. McClure for incidents of pioneer history.

David Johnston for the data for many hunting and exciting experiences in the early days of Indiana.

Woolsey Pride, Jr., for the history of his father's settling at White Oak Springs, near Petersburg, Indiana.

Captain Graham, of near Corydon, Indiana, for the data for many pioneer incidents.

Hon. Conrad Baker, Ex-Governor of Indiana, for data.

Gen. Joseph Lane, Ex-Governor of Oregon, for interesting letters.

Captain A. Miler for many interesting incidents.

Col. James G. Jones and Hon. A. L. Robinson, of Evansville, Indiana, for letters corroborating underground railroad incidents.

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Dr. John W. Posey for data on the kidnapping of free negroes.

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Hon. Oliver H. Smith for valuable assistance.

Beard's "Battle of Tippecanoe."

Prof. W. D. Pence, Purdue University.

Dr. George C. Mason for data.

E. C. Farmer for data.

Rev. W. P. Dearing for assistance.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, INDIANA,
April 12, 1902.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Indiana.

My dear Sir and Companion:

Your letter of the 8th inst. is received.

There is no rule in literary work that two want to follow in the same way. Writing on any subject, they might differ in their way of expression; but there is one rule, as you suggest, that is safe for all to follow—have your data well prepared and follow closely the subject.

I am pleased to learn that you have been securing data for more than fifty years, and intend writing a Pioneer History of Southern Indiana, in which you will give the old heroes that drove the Indians away and blazed the pathway for our greatness, a deserving tribute for their noble work.

Why not extend your boundary and include the State for your field of labor? Your lament that the opportunity for a finished education in your day was so limited that you doubt your ability to give the smooth and pleasing touch to your writing that is needed in a book to be read by the cultured people of this date, is not well taken. Let me suggest that your amanuensis may have all that is required, but good horse sense is not in the market.

Your friend,

LEW WALLACE.

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CHAPTER I.

FRENCH COLONIZATION IN INDIANA.

Explorations—Settlements—Trading Stations—Forts—Relations With Indians—Post Vincennes—Treatment of English Explorers—Pontiac.

The French, who first settled Canada and founded Quebec in 1608, were a very restless, energetic people. They were rovers and soon making friends with the Indians, made long journeys with them to the south and west. How far they went on these excursions is not known, but they continually advanced their settlement in these directions.

During the fifty years following the founding of Quebec, they had settled a large section of the country bordering on the Great Lakes. Whether any of these rovers, during their many expeditions, up to 1650, paddled their canoes along the rivers of Indiana is unknown. Who was the first man to explore the wildness of our State or when that date was, are unsolved questions that will remain hidden in the archives of the Great Builder of Worlds. They are questions of no real merit and only interest those who are sticklers for exactness in regard to the minute things which happened more than two and a half centuries ago in the wilds of North America. The data that is known from accepted tradition and written history, carries us back far enough into the dark ages of this country to enable us to give such credit due to those who did explore the rivers, lakes and wooded hills of Indiana as will be of interest to those who are searching for the early history of our State.

The probabilities are that at this early date, all the territory of Indiana was owned and controlled by the Miama Confederation of Indians, which comprised four tribes: The Twightwees, which was the Miami proper, the Weas or Oniatenons, the Shockeys and Pinkashaws. These Indians were of the Algonquin nation. At the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers, where the Maumee river is formed and where the city of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, now stands, these Indians had their ancient capital, known in Indian language as Kekionga, and as early as 1676, the white people (French) had a fort near that place. From that station the French fur hunters passed up and down the Wabash river and into the Louisiana possessions of France, securing loads of furs. Returning up the Wabash they carried their bundles across the portage, thence down the Maumee to Lake Erie and to their trading stations in Canada where they were sold for such articles as the Indians and French hunters needed. In these excursions up and down the Wabash it is reasonable to conclude that there were trading stations at different points along their route where the fur was collected by traders. Vincennes, no doubt, was a trading station several years before the commencement of the eighteenth century.

The traders coming on the Wabash connected with those coming on what was afterward known as the Old Vincennes and Clarksville trace. This crossed White river about fifteen miles southeast of Vincennes and crossed the Wabash river at Vincennes, then to Kaskaskia on the Mississippi river. One branch of this old traveled way ran from a point a little west of the place where it crossed the Little Wabash river south to the saline section of southern Illinois. No doubt this old road had been a main traveled way from east to west by the Indians for ages before any white man ever saw America. Along the route where it passed over Orange and Floyd Counties, ledges of rock that it crossed showed evidence of much wear, when first traveled over by the Whites. This could not have been possible without having been long used by the Indians, as they wore skin coverings on their feet.

That Robert De LaSalle went up and down the Wabash and other Indiana rivers with a few white companions and Indian guides several years before the commencement of the eighteenth century, is an established fact. He was at Kekionga, the capital of the Miamas, about 1680 and no doubt was about the same time at the beautiful site where Vincennes now stands. That there was a rendezvous where these two cities stand for the collecting of furs, as well as at Ouitanon during La Salle's explorations, is generally conceded by all who have searched for this early information. During the twenty years that La Salle was engaged in his explorations, from 1667 to 1687, he was very active in exploring all the regions where there were fur bearing animals.

In 1698 LaMotte Cadillac, of New France, who was a far-seeing man and worked for his country's interests, returned to France. He went to see Count Pontchartrain and placed before him a map that he had made from notes and drawings made by LaSalle before he was assasinated, explaining to the Count the new route that this map described. This route connecting New France and Louisiana by a reliable waterway, extended from the Lakes up the Maumee to the capital of the Miamis, now Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and thence by an easy portage to the headwaters of the Wabash, thence down that river, through the heart of a most valuable territory. Cadillac recommended to the Count that it was best to locate a chain of forts along that route for defense if needed against any Indians that were or might become hostile and against any expedition that the english might send out from their North American possessions east of the Alleghany Mountains. He was so convincing in his presentation of the subject, that Count Pontchartrain fell in with his views, granted his request and commissioned him to carry out the enterprise. The next year Detroit was selected as the place most suitable for a depot of military stores and a general trading post between the French and Indians on the southern borders of the Great Lakes. The next site selected was at the head of the Maumee river, called Fort Miami; then came one near the Wabash on the Wea prairie a few miles below where the city of Lafayette now stands, called Ouiatenon. The next trading post was at the point where the city of Vincennes now stands, afterwards called Post Vincennes. These forts were all completed by the year 1705.

It has always been contended that the French Jesuits had mission stations at each of these places years before they became military posts. The garrisons which were located at each of these stations consisted of a few men, only sufficient in their strong log forts to insure a safe retreat for the fur traders and their families.

In a few years a number of young French hunters gathered around these stations and it became common for them to marry the young Indian women, and in a comparatively short time there was a large number of half breeds in all the settled sections where the French lived. These hunters adopted the Indian customs and this intermarrying of the two races was the real reason for the very close alliance that existed between the French and the Indians—"Blood is thicker than water." The two races of people became so closely akin that their interest became the same. The men put in most of their time during the hunting season in the forests hunting for game, or along the streams trapping for fur. These two occupations comprised all there was to be done. Each family would work together and have a small field of corn. The women would plant and tend it. They cured and dried the meat that was killed by the hunters and prepared it for future use. The indolent habits of these Indians and mongrel French, around their homes were indulged in by all. When they sold their furs they would invest the greater portion of it in villainous whiskey, that would make those drinking it crazy drunk. During the orgies engaged in by these savage woodsmen, there would be many maimed and others dead before the protracted "spree" was over. The traders who sold this injurious stuff, if they ever were honest, lost all thought of such an inconvenience when trading with the Indians and cheated them in every way that was possible.

The Catholic missionaries who helped explore the Northwest territory and labored to christianize the Indians, were earnest, devoted men who did all they could to better the condition of the Indians; but the evil effects of the poisonous liquor sold them by the unscrupulous traders buying their furs, neutralized all the good done by the missionaries and kept these poor, unfortunate people in a degraded condition.

The post where Vincennes now is was included in the district of Illinois, in the colony of Louisiana. Fort Chartres was the seat of government of the district, and New Orleans was the seat of government of the province. The post where Vincennes is located had different officials at an early date who acted as commanders of the garrison. Among that number was Francis Morgan DeVincennes, for whom the city of Vincennes was named. He remained its commander until sometime in 1736, when he was killed in battle with the Chickasaw Indians. For a long period before his death he was in command of all the French posts located in the part of Louisiana province that is now Indiana.

In 1736, after the death of Vincennes, St. Ange was placed in command of the district of Illinois with his headquarters at post Vincennes. This command was held by him until two years after the French had ceded their New France and a part of their Louisiana possession to England in 1763. During the long period that France held control of the Territory that is now Indiana, the only improvement made by them was the building of a few block-houses and a few crude buildings around these stations. They did not attempt to clear up the country, open any highways or to make any permanent improvements. Their business was hunting and trapping, and so they did not want the country cleared as it would injure their occupation.

During the one hundred and forty-three years between the time the English planted their colony at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 until they attempted a plant a colony on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, in 1750, they developed into thirteen colonies and more than one million people living in the country along the Atlantic from the east side of Florida to one hundred miles east of Boston, Massachusetts.

During that long period of nearly one hundred and fifty years, France and England were busy acquiring territory and planting colonies in their locations in North America. They each established missionary stations to christianize the Indians. There was great rivalry between catholic France and protestant England in their home countries. This feeling was carried to the new world by the missionaries and used to embitter the feelings of the Indians in their respective colonies against the other nations. Rev. Cotton Mather says, in one of his works published the last of the seventeenth century, that a noted Indian chief informed a protestant minister of Boston, that the French, when instructing the Indians of his nation about the christian religion, told them that Jesus Christ was a Frenchman and that the English murdered him and that he arose from the dead, ascending up to heaven and all who would come into favor with Christ must help them in their war against the English.

In 1752 M. Duquesne, governor of New France, ordered George Washington, who, with others, was attempting to survey some lands near where the city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, now stands to desist and leave the country. Duquesne stated that the French government claimed all the territory bordering on the Ohio river and its many tributaries; basing that claim on the discoveries made by LaSalle, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. This was a beginning of the long and bloody war between England's American coloniies and the French inhabitants of New France. In many battles between the French and English people from 1752 to 1763, for the supremacy in America, the French inhabitants who occupied the different stations in what is now Indiana, knew but little about the war and there were many isolated stations in that territory whose people did not know until several years afterwards that France had ceded her North American possessions to England.

After England came into possession of New France, the posts at Quebec, Montreal, Detroil and other stations in that territory established strong garrisons and adopted conciliatory measures to win the Indians from their allegiance to France. This was hard to do. Pontiac, who would not give up the hope that his great father, the king of France, would again come into power, fought many determined battles against the English and would not be consoled. Finally he went to St. Louis to see his old friend, St. Ange, who counseled him to submit and give to England the same loyality that he had to France, telling him that France had not sold his land nor would the English take it away from him. This, in a measure, satisfied the great Pontiac and he went back home, coming down the Mississippi, up the Ohio and the Wabash. Telling his people that there would be no more war, he discarded his rank and went into private life as a hunter.

A tradition that has come all the way down from generation to generation was often told by the Indians, as follows: The great chief, Pontiac, in destroying bands of Indians opposing his confederation, captured mostly women and children who were sold by his agents to the resident French at the different posts, receiving in exchange guns, powder, lead, flints, tomahawks and blankets. He was killed by an assasin in the woods where East St. Louis now stands, because several years before, one of his bands of warriors had captured the women and children of a hunting party of Illinois Indians while they were drying meats and fish on the shores of lake Michigan and Pontiac ordered them all sold into slavery except a beautiful woman who was the wife of the chief of the hunting party, whom he took for his wife. While making a visit to St. Ange, at the village of St. Louis, this injured woman hunted up some of her kindred and assisted them in murdering Pontiac. The hold this great chief had on the people of his confederation was so firm that when they learned of his murder they brought on a war of extermination and before it was over the Illinois Indians were nearly all killed. The beautiful woman who caused his death was re-captured and burned at the stake.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK AND THE ENGLISH.

Treatment of Inhabitants of Northwest by English—Their Indian Allies—Clark's Resolve to Reduce the Forts—His Alliance with the French Inhabitants—Reduction of Fort Kaskaskia—Reduction of Post Vincennes—Captain Leonard Helm in Charge of Vincennes—Vincennes Recaptured by Lieut. Governor Hamilton—Attempt of Hamilton to Dislodge Clark and Drive Him from the Territory—Capture of Francis Vigo—Clark's March from Kaskaskia to Vincennes—Capture of Vincennes—Regaining the Confidence of the Indians—Later achievements and Failures of Clark.

After reading Theodore Roosevelt's extensive work on "Winning the West," William E. English's elaborate history of the conquest of the Northwest territory and "The Life of George Rogers Clark" and John P. Dunn, Jr.'s "American Commonwealth," in which his Hannibal of the west is one of the many subjects treated by him in an entertaining and instructive manner, it may seem presumptuous to attempt to write about that subject, but to attempt to write a a pioneer history of Indiana without detailing the heroic work of the hero of the Northwest territory, would be like presenting the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.

George Rogers Clark was born in Albermarle county, Virginia, November 19, 1752. In early life, he, like Washington, was a surveyor, preparing himself for his work as a pioneer in a new country. In 1774 he served as an officer in

Dunmore's war. In this way he first became acquainted with the western country. In 1775 he first visited Kentucky. At that time he was a Major. That fall he returned to Virginia and commenced making preparations to move to the west the next spring. Having moved and become a fixture there, he set about to aid the people and that section of the country to which he had attached himself. The advantages were obvious but its distance from the settled colonies and its exposure to hostile Indian tribes, rendered his occupation very perilous. Clark was not an ordinary man—his mind was very comprehensive. He knew no danger and was in full vigor of young manhood, with energy and determination that would surmount all difficulties.

As we before noted, during all the time the French had control of the territory that is now Indiana they made no permanent improvements, having intermarried and adopted the habits of the Indians, living in bark and skin tepees. There were fewer than a hundred white families at post Vincennes; at Ouiatenon, Wea prairie, near Lafayette, not more than fifteen or twenty families and at the Twightee village, now Ft. Wayne, Indiana, about ten families.

From 1763 up to the time that Vincennes was captured by George Rogers Clark, the English people established but few posts. They only strengthened those that the French had at Ft. Miami (Fort Wayne) and the stations on the Wea prairies, Ouiatenon and post Vincennes. At these stations, after the commencement of the Revolutionary war, there were British officers with a small command of British troops that gathered around them a band of Indians who were placed under partisan officers. These officers sent them out in detachments to prey upon the unsuspecting settlers who were then upon the borders of the Ohio east of what afterward became Louisville, Kentucky, and into Virginia. Those from Vincennes directed their depredations principally against the scattered settlements in northern Kentucky. This condition of things continued until George Rogers Clark captured Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and his band of partisans at Vincennes in 1779.

After the treaty between France and England, the British authorities, on coming into possession of that vast empire, did everything in their power to keep improvements from being made. There were several propositions made to the king by his British subjects of England and by his American colonies, who had means, for permission to make extensive improvements in the rich country bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and to plant colonies in many places. All of these propositions were rejected. The few settlements which were made got along the best they could without any protection. This immense territory had Indian towns and villages scattered all over it. There were many desperadoes who left the colonies and made their homes among the Indians. In most these free-booters were fugitives from justice.

When the war for independence came these desperate characters, through the influence of British agents, declared their allegiance to the British crown. They, through their intercourse with the Indians, did much to cause them to take up the hatchet against the Americans. These Indians and their partisan allies were organized into detachments to go to the western borders of the American colonies to murder, scalp and capture the inhabitants. As an inducement for them to do this bloody work, they were offered as a reward, one pound for children and women scalps or for them as prisoners; three pounds for a man's scalp, no reward for him as prisoner, and five pounds or twenty dollars for young and comely women prisoners. The white villians who were with their Indian allies, were, if possible, more lost to human sympathy than the Indians. They seem to have lost all human feeling and would kill and destroy the helpless people whom they found on the borders. Ignoring all restraint they deliberately went into the settlements where they had formerly lived and where their kith and kin resided. The pleading of the helpless and aged mother or the wail of the infant, seemed to be music to the ears of these brutal butchers. After killing and capturing all they could, they burned and destroyed the homes and such property as they could not carry away. Going back with their fiendish Indian allies to the British posts, they were received with great military parade as if they were returning heroes from a great victory. They received the reward for their scalps and then five pounds for the young women prisoners, who were turned over to the British officers and traders to a life of servitude. A thousand deaths would have been preferable to the violated and insulted womanhood that these poor helpless victims, mothers and fair daughters of Virginia and Kentucky had to indure. The continued raids made by the Indians and their more brutal allies, became so damaging to the exposed settlements that there was great danger of their being broken up.

General Clark heard the appeal of these abused people and determined to avenge the many deaths caused by these barbarians. Having explored the rurrounding country of his new home and seen much of the Indians, he learned that the continual hostility that they showed toward the white people was caused by the British commanders and their emissaries at Detroit, Kaskaskia and Vincennes and that these posts would retard the settlement of the new country. He was convinced that the thing to do was to reduce these forts and made a statement of these facts to the Virginia legislature in December, 1777, outlining a plan for the successful accomplishment of this purpose. It was approved by Governor Henry and his council, and twelve hundred pounds was appropriated for the expenses and four companies of men were raised for the expedition. In the spring of 1778 they rendezvoused at Corn Island in the Ohio river, opposite Louisville, Kentucky. The four companies were commanded by Captains Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helm, John Montgomery and William Harrod.

The memoirs of Clark say that—"On the 24th of June, 1778, we left our camp and ran up the river for a mile in order to gain the main channel and shoot over the falls. I knew that spies were on the river below and that I might fool them, I resolved to march a part of the way by land. The force, after leaving such as were not able to stand the march with their companies, was very much reduced in numbers and much smaller than I had expected.

"Owing to the many difficulties I had to encounter, I found it was best to change my plans. As the post of Vincennes at that time had a considerable force of British and Indians and an Indian town was adjoining, there were large numbers of Indian warriers there all the time. I regarded Vincennes of much more importance than any of the others, and had intended to attack it first, but finding I could not risk such a hazardous undertaking, I resolved to go to Kaskaskia. There were several villages along the Mississippi river but they were some distance apart. I had acquainted myself with the fact that the French inhabitants in these western villages had great influence over the Indians and were regarded with much favor by them, as they had been their old allies in former war before the English captured the country from them; so I resolved, if possible, to attach the French to our interests. I had received a letter from Colonel Campbell, from Pittsburg, informing me that France had formed an alliance with the Colonies. As I intended to leave the Ohio at Ft. Massac, three leagues below the mouth of the Tennesee river, I landed on a small island in the mouth of that river in order to prepare for the march. A few days after starting a man named Duff and a party of hunters coming down the river were stopped by our boats. They were formerly from the States and assured of their loyalty. They had been at Kaskaskia only a short time before and could give us all the intelligence we wanted. They said that Governor Abbot had left Vincennes and gone to Detroit; that Mr. Rochblave commanded at Kaskaskia; that the militia was in good condition and would give us a warm reception if they knew of our coming; that spies were constantly kept on the Mississippi and all hunters, Indians and others, had orders to keep a close lookout for the rebels; that the fort was kept in good order and that the soldiers were much on parade. They had been taught that we were a lot of desperate men, especially the Virginians. The hunters said if the place could be surprised, which they hoped we might do, they thought there would be no resistance and they hoped we would take them and let them aid in the capture. This I concluded to do and they proved true men and valuable to the expedition. No part of the information pleased me more than that the inhabitants viewed us as more savage than the Indians and I was determined to improve upon this if I should be so fortunate as to get them into my possession.

Having everything ready, we moved down to a small gulley a short distance above Ft. Massac, in which we concealed our boats and started to march. On the fourth of July, in the evening, we got within a few miles of the town, where we lay until nearly dark. Keeping spies ahead we started on the march and took possession of a house where lived a large family, on the banks of the Kaskaskia river, less than a mile from the town. These people informed us that a short time before the militia had been under arms but had concluded that the cause of the alarm was without foundation; that there were a large number of men in town and that the Indians had all gone and everything was quiet. Boats were soon secured and the command crossed the river. With one of the divisions I marched to the fort and ordered the other two divisions into different quarters of the town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal a general shout was to be given and certain parts were to be immediately possessed and the men of each detachment who could speak the French language, were to run through every street of the town and proclaim what had happened and inform the inhabitants that every one who should come on the street would be shot down. This had the desired effect. In a very short time every avenue was guarded to prevent anyone from escaping to give the alarm to other villages.

"I don't suppose that greater silence ever reigned among the inhabitants of a place than did over those of this post. Not a person was to be seen, not a word to be heard from them for some time; but the troops, by my order, kept up the the greatest noise all over the town during the whole night. In two hours time all the inhabitants were disarmed and informed that if they made an attempt to escape they would immediately be put to death.

"The morning after the capture a few of the principal men had been arrested and put in irons. Soon afterward M. Gibault, the village priest, accompanied by some aged citizens, waited on me and said the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged the privilege of again assembling in their church, there to take leave of each other. I told the priest that we had nothing against their religion; that that was a matter the Americans left every man to settle with his God and that the people could assemble at their church if they wished to but they must not attempt to escape. Nearly all the population assembled at the church. After the meeting a deputation consisting of Gibault and several other persons waited on me and said that their present situation was the fate of war and that they could submit to the loss of property but they asked that they might not be separated from their wives and children and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their support. I feigned supprise at this request and abruptly exclaimed—'Do you mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do, from you language. Do you think that the Americans intend to strip women and children; or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen disdain to make war on helpless innocents. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our wives and children that we have taken arms and penetrated this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity, and not the despicable prospects of plunder.' I further told them as the King of France had united his powerful arms with those of the Americans, the war in all probability would not continue long, but that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia were at liberty to take which side the pleased without the least danger either to their families or their property, nor would their religion be any source of disagreement, as all religions were regarded with equal respect by the American laws and that any insult offered to it would be immediately punished. Then I said—'And now to prove my sincerity, you will inform your fellow citizens that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual without the least apprehension. I am now convinced from what

I have learned since my arrival among you that you have been misinformed and prejudiced against us by the British officers and your friends who are in confinement shall be immediately released.' In a few minutes after the delivery of this speech, the gloom that had rested on the minds of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia had passed away. Their arms were restored to them and a volunteer company of French Militia joined a detachment under Captain Bowman, when that officer was despatched to take possession of Cahokia. The inhabitants of this small village readily took the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia." The news of the treaty of alliance between France and America and the influence of the magnanimous conduct of Clark, induced the French village to take the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia.

The memoirs of Clark proceed—"The post of Vincennes was never out of my mind and from something that I had learned, I had reason to suspect that M. Gibault, the priest, was favorable to the American interest, previous to our arrival in the country. He had great influence over the people at this period and Post Vincennes was under his jurisdiction. I had no doubt of his loyalty to us and I had a long conference with him about Post Vincennes. In answer to my questions he said—that he did not think it worth while for any military preparations to be made at the falls of Ohio, for the attack on Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and there was a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war; that Governor Abbot had a few weeks before, left the place for some business at Detroit. He expected when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at Illinois and the present happiness of their friends and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war, that their sentiments would greatly change. He told me that his appearance would have great weight even among the savage and if it were agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, having no doubt of his being able to bring the place over to the American interests without my being at the trouble of marching against it. As his business was altogether spiritual, he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy, but he said he would privately direct the whole and named Dr. Lafont as his associate. This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for several days. The plan was immediately settled and the two doctors with their attendant retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for the journey and on the fourteenth of July started with an address for the inhabitants of post Vincennes, authorizing them to garrison their town themselves, which was intended to convince them of the great confidence we put in them. All this had the desired effect. M. Gibault and his party arrived and after a day or two occupied in explaining matters to the people, they all acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Governor Abbot, and they immediately left the Country) and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in a most solemn manner. An officer was selected, the fort garrisoned and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here began to immediately put on a new face and talk in a different style and act as perfect freemen, with a garrison of their own and the United States at their elbow. Their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the United States and informed the Indians that their old father, the King of France, was come to life again and was mad at them for fighting for the English. They said they would advise the Indians to make peace with the Americans as soon as they could, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody.

"The Indians began to think very seriously throughout the country. This was now the kind of language they got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois. Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the nations there was a decided change in all the neighbroring tribes of Indians.

"M. Gibault and party accompanied by several gentlemen from post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the fourth of August with the joyful news. During his absence on this business, which caused me great anxiety, (for without that post all my work would have been in vain), I was engaged in regulating things in the Illinois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops. I was at a great loss at this time to determine how to act and how far I might venture to strain my authority. My instructions were silent on many important points as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country and all the prospects that opened to our view in the Indian department at this time, for want of instructions in certain cases, I thought would amount to a reflection on our Government as having no confidence in me and I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of the troops reenlisted on a different establishment; commissioned French officers to command a company of young Frenchmen; established a garrison at Cahokia commanded by Captain Bowman and another at Kaskaskia commanded by Captain Williams. Post Vincennes remained in the situation as mentioned. I sent Captain John Montgomery to the Government with letters and dispatches and again turned my attention to Post Vincennes. I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post and Captain Leonard Helm appeared to be suited in many ways for the position. He was past the meridian of life and well acquainted with Indian life and their dispositions. I sent him to command that post, also appointed him agent for the Indian affair of the Wabash.

"About the middle of August Captain Helm started out to take possession of his new command. An Indian chief called "Tobacco's Son," a Piankashaw, at this time, was residing in the village adjoining Post Vincennes. He was called by the Indians—"The Grand Door of the Wabash;" and as there was nothing to be undertaken by the League on the Wabash without his consent, I discovered that to win him was of signal importance. I sent him a spirited compliment by M. Gibault —he returned it. I now, by Captain Helm, touched him on the same spring that I had the inhabitants and sent a speech with a belt of wampum, directing Captain Helm how to manage if the chief was pacifically inclined or otherwise. The Captain arrived safely at Post Vincennes and was received with acclamation by the people. After the usual ceremony was over he sent for Grand Door and delivered my letter to him. After having it read he informed the Captain that he was happy to see him—one of Big Knife's chiefs—in this town. It was here that he had joined the English against him, but Grand Door confessed that he always thought they looked gloomy. He said that as the letter was of great importance, he would not give an answer for some time; that he must collect his counsellors on the subject and was in hopes that the Captain would be patient. In a short time he put on all the courtly dignity that he was master of and Captain Helm followed his example. It was several days before the business was finished as the proceedings were very ceremonious.

"At length the Captain was summoned to the Indian Council and informed by Tobacco that he had maturely considered the case in hand and had had the nature of the war between us and the English explained to their satisfaction. As we spoke the same language and appeared to be the same people, he always thought that Big Knife was in the dark of it, but now that the sky was cleared up he found that Big Knife was in the right. Perhaps, he said, if the English conquered they would serve them in the same manner that they intended to serve us. He told the Captain that his ideas were quite changed and that he would tell all the Red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English. He jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior; said that now he was a Big Knife and took Captain Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present and the evening was spent in merriment. Thus ended this valuable negotiation and the saving of much blood. In a short time almost all of the various tribes of the different nations on the Wabash as high up as the Ouiatenon, came to Post Vincennes and followed the example of the Grand Door chief, and as expresses were continually passing between Captain Helm and myself, during the entire time of these treaties, the business was settled perfectly to my satisfaction and greatly to the advantage of the public."

Governor Henry soon received intelligence of the successful progress of the expedition under the command of Colonel Clark. The French inhabitants of the village of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Post Vincennes, having taken the oath of allegiance to the state of Virginia, the General Assembly of that state in 1778 passed an act which contained the following provisions, viz:— 'All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled or shall hereafter settle on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in the district county which shall be called Illinois county and the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the advice of the Council, may appoint a County Lieutenant or a Commander in Chief in that county during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many Deputy Commandants of military officers and commissioners as he shall think proper in the different districts during pleasure; all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this Commonwealth and the oath of office according to the forms of their religion; and all the civil officers which the inhabitants have been accustomed to, necessary for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts to be convened for that purpose by the County Lieutenant or Commandant or his deputy and shall be commissioned by the said County Lieutenant or Commander in Chief."

Before the provisions of this law were carried into effect, Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, collected an army consisting of about thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers and four hundred Indians. With this force he passed down the Wabash and took possession of Post Vincennes on the fifteenth of December, 1778. No attempt was made by the population to defend the town. Captain Helm was taken and detained as a prisoner and a number of the French inhabitants were disarmed. When Governor Hamilton entered Vincennes, there were but two Americans there, Captain Helm, the commander, and a soldier by the name of Henry.

The latter had a cannon well charged and placed in the open fort gate, while Helm stood by with a lighted match in hand. When Hamilton and his troops got within hailing distance, the Captain in a loud voice called out—"Halt." This stopped the movements of Hamilton who in reply demanded a surrender of the garrison. Helm exclaimed, "No man shall enter here until I know the terms." Hamilton answered, "You shall have the honors of war." The fort was surrendered with a garrison of one officer and one private.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, before leaving Detroit, made all the arrangements for a grand onward rush against the settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains in the early spring of 1779.

Colonel George Rogers Clark in the latter part of 1778 had marched into the wilderness of the Northwest with less than two hundred Virginians, captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia and made a peaceable conquest of Vincennes in the heart of the Indian country. He was now in position to check the savages if they persisted in their attacks on the young settlements in Kentucky and Virginia and to break up their confederations with the British. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton determined, if possible, to recapture the lost forts, and to this end, he left Detroit with a company of Regulars and Volunteers and gathered an army of Indians three times as large as Clark had. Having recaptured Vincennes without any opposition, he went about repairing the fort to make suitable quarters for the garrison. Being late in the season and the weather very bad, he sent his Indian army away in the command of some of his Canadian Indian partisans to the Ohio river to watch for and intercept reinforcements to Clark's army and to annoy the settlements on the borders of Kentucky and Virginia. He sent delegates to the Southern Indians to prepare them for the coming raid when spring should open and selected points to rendezvous in the spring, in order to be in a position to dislodge Clark and drive him out of the country.

His intention then was to overrun the country west of the Allegheny Mountains with his northern and southern Indian confederates and sweep away all opposition to the British in all the vast region between the Mississippi river and the Alleghany Mountains. Fortunately for the American cause, Hamilton had underrated his rival who was a much better soldier and much more resourceful than he was.

After Post Vincennes had been recaptured by Hamilton from Captain Helm, Clark was at Kaskaskia and had no information of the situation there until the latter part of January, 1779. He met with Francis Vigo, who was a trader at that time in St. Louis and favorable to the Americans. He tendered Clark his services and was requested to go to Post Vincennes to report the condition of things at that place. Vigo readily accepted the hazardous service and started, but before he got to his destination he was captured by hostile Indians and carried a prisoner before Governor Hamilton who had then been at the Post only a few days. For some three weeks Vigo was held a prisoner on parole, requiring him to report daily to the fort then called Fort Sackville. He refused to be set at liberty which was offered him if he would swear that he would not do anything during the war that would be inimical to the British interest. Father Gibault, who was a great friend to the Americans, as we have shown, interested himself in Vigo's behalf and after services one Sunday morning, the latter part of January, went to the fort, attended by a large number of parishioners and notified Hamilton that they would not sell any more supplies to his troops until Vigo was released. Hamilton had no evidence against him so he agreed to release him on condition that he would not do anything to injure the British interests on his way to St. Louis. Vigo started with two companions down the Wabash and Ohio and went up the Mississippi until St. Louis was reached. He was only a short time in securing some needed clothing and supplies, and was soon in his pirogue going down the Mississippi as fast as his boat would take him. Arriving in a short time at Kaskaskia, he gave Clark a minute account concerning all matters at Vincennes.

Seven days after receiving Vigo's report, Clark, with a force of one hundred and seventy men, started on a dreary march from Kaskaskia on the Mississippi to Vincennes on the Wabash river. At the same time he despatched an armed galley with forty men under Captain John Rogers to go down the Mississippi river, up the Ohio and Wabash to a point near the mouth of White river. The route Clark followed was an old Indian trace through forests and prairies. The weather being uncommonly rainy, all the large streams were out of their banks. These hardy woodsmen, weighed down with their arms and provisions, pressed along on foot through forest, marshes, ponds, broad rivers and overflowed lowlands, until they reached the crossing of the Little Wabash where the bottoms were overflowed several miles in width to the depth of three to five feet. The troops waded into the water, which in some places was up to their arm pits, even to the necks of some of the shorter men, and commenced to make their way across. During the journey a favorite song would be sung, the whole detachment joining in the chorus. When they had arrived at the deepest part from whence it was intended to transport the troops in two canoes which they had obtained, one of the men said that he felt a path quite perceptible to his naked feet, supposing that it must pass over the highest ground. This march was continued to a place called "The Sugar Camp."

Clark's Memoirs gives the following:—"Where we found about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, there we went into camp. Most of the weather we had on this march was warm for the season. The night we went into camp was the coldest we had and the ice in the morning, which was the finest we had on the march, was from one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick near the shore and still water. A little after sunrise I lectured the men. What I said to them I have forgotten but I concluded by informing them that passing the place that was then in full view and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue. I told them that in a few minutes they would have a sight of their long-looked-for object and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for a reply, whereupon there was a great huzza. As we generally marched through the water in line, before the third man entered I halted and called to Captain Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men and put to death any who refused to march, as we wished to have no such persons among us. All gave a cry of approbation and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men near myself, and judged from my own feelings what must have been that of others.

"When I reached the middle of the plain, the water being about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing and as there were no trees or bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading and play back and forward with all diligence, and to pick up the men and encourage the party. I sent some of the strongest men forward with orders that, when they got to a certain distance to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow and when they got near the woods to cry out—'Land'. This strategem had its desired effect. The men encouraged by it exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities, the weak holding by the stronger, the water never getting shallower but continuing deeper. Getting to the woods where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders, but gaining the woods was of great consequence. All the short and weakly men hung to the trees and floated on the old logs until they were taken off by the canoes. Those who were 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 shore was a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres. We soon found that the fires did not avail to warm the men and bring back the circulation, but two strong men had to take the weaker ones by the arms and run them up and down along the path in order to restore the circulation and, it being a delightful day, this had the desired effect. Fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town and took through this plain as a near way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men and they gave chase, taking the Indian canoe captive. On board there was a half a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow and kettles. This was a grand prize and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served to the weakest ones with great care. Most all men got a little but a great many gave their share to their weaker comrades, jocosely saying something cheering to them as they did so. By the afternoon this little refreshment and fine weather gave new life to my men.

"After crossing a narrow, deep lake in the canoes and marching some distance we came to a copse of timber called "Warrior Island." We were now about two miles distant from the town and in full view of the fort, with not a shrub between us. Every man feasted his eyes and forgot that he had suffered anything; saying that all that had passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear, and that a soldier had no right to think; passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now that we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken ground was covered with water, full of ducks and we observed several men on horseback shooting them, within half a mile of us. We sent out a number of our young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner, in such a manner as not to alarm the others; which they did. The information we got from this prisoner was that the British had that evening completed the walls of the fort and that there were a good many Indians in town. Our situation was now truly critical as there was no possibility of retreating in case of defeat and in full view of the town that had at this time upwards of six hundred men in it. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would now have been a reinforcement of immense magnitude to our little army. But we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man as they expected nothing but torture from the savage if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours, and we knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well, that many were lukewarm to the interests of either and I also learned that The Grand Door, Tobacco's Son, had but a few days before, openly declared in council with the British that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knife. These were favorable circumstances and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants—

> "To the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, Gentlemen:—Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request those of you who are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring to you, to remain still in your houses; and those, if any there be, who are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the "Hair-buying General" and fight like men, and if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends of liberty may depend on being well treated and I once more request them to keep out of the streets for every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat as an enemy."
>
> Signed, G. R. CLARK.

"I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew it could do us no damage, but it would cause the lukewarm to decide, encourage our friends and astonish our enemies. We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town and in a few moments could discover, by our glasses, some stir in every street that we could penetrate, and great numbers running or riding out on the commons, we supposed to view us, which was the case. The thing that surprised us was that nothing as yet had happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed—no drum, no guns. We began to suppose the information we got from our prisoners was false and that the enemy already knew of us and were prepared. A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town, crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction or success, nothing less than these being thought of. We had but little to say to our men except to inculcate the idea of the necessity of obedience. We knew that they did not need encouraging and that anything might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number of men to perform. They were perfectly cool under subordination, pleased with the prospect before them and much attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that implicit obedience to order was the only thing that would insure success and hoped that no mercy would be shown to persons violating such orders. Language like this from soldiers to persons in our situation was exceedingly agreeable.

"We moved on slowly in full view of the town, but as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable as possible, in leaving the covert which we were in we marched and countermarched in such a manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given him which they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pair. These were displayed to the best advantage and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level but had frequent raises in it, seven or eight feet higher than the common level, which was covered with water, and as these raises generally ran in an oblique direction to the town, we took advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered. Our colors showed considerably above the heights as they were fixed on long poles for the purpose and at a distance made no despicable appearance. As our young Frenchmen, while on Warrior Island, decoyed and took several fowlers with their horses, officers were now mounted on these horses and rode about, more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, crossed ponds where they could not have expected us and about eight o'clock gained the town. As there was yet no hostile move we were impatient to have the cause of this unriddled, and Lieutenant Bayley, with fourteen men, was ordered to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction and took possession of the strongest part of the town. The firing now commenced on the fort but they did not believe it was an enemy, as drunken Indians often saluted the fort after night, until one of their men was shot down through a port hole. The drums now sounded and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Reinforcements were sent to aid the attack on the garrison while other arrangements were making in town. We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us. Having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves and had just retired before my letter arrived. As it was near roll call, the placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of their houses for fear of giving offence and no one dared to give information. Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight. This was observed from the garrison and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given, and as a part of the town lay between our lines of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the wall.

"Captain W. Shannon and another, being some time before taken prisoners by one of their scouting parties and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the Sugar Camp some sign of us. They supposed that it was a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town and Captain Lamotte was sent to intercept them. It was at him, the people said, they were looking when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison, and among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry, under pretense of conveying him provision, went and whispered to him the news and what she had seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow prisoners which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege and, I believe, did much damage. Ammunition was scarce with us as most of our stores had been put on board the galley and though her crew was small, such a reinforcement at this time would have been of incalculable value in many ways. Fortunately for us, at the time of its being reported that all the goods in the town were to be taken for the King's use (for which owners were to receive bills), Colonel Legras and Major Bosseron and others, had buried the greater part of their powder and balls. This was immediately produced and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen. The Tobacco's Son (with a number of his warriors) immediately mustered his men and let us know that he wished to join us, saying that by morning he would have a hundred men. We thanked him for his friendly disposition, said that we were sufficiently strong ourselves and that we would council on the subject in the morning, as we knew there were a number of Indians in and near the town that were our enemies and some confusion might occur if our men should mix in the dark, but hoped we might be favored with his council and company during the night, which was agreeable to him.

"The garrison was soon completely surrounded and the fire continued without intermission (excepting about fifteen minutes a little before day) until nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by all the troop, excepting fifty men kept in reserve, joined by a few of the young men of the town who got permission. I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation at the fort, the town and the parts relative to each other. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floor of the strong block houses, at each angle of the fort eleven feet above the surface. The ports were so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty-five yards of the walls. They did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which were badly wrecked. Their musketry in the dark employed against woodsmen, covered by houses, palings, ditches and the banks of the river, was of little avail and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men great care was taken to preserve them, sufficiently covering them and to keep up a hot fire to intimidate the enemy as well as destroy them. The embrasures for their cannon were mostly closed, for our riflemen, finding the true direction, would pour in such a volley when they were open that the men could not stand to the guns and seven or eight of them were killed in a very short time. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon that they might have the pleasure of shooting them down with their rifles, fifty of which would be leveled at them the minute the port flew open. I believe if they had stood at their artillery the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as most of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls, and in a few hours were covered equal to those in the fort and much more experienced in that mode of fighting. Sometimes an irregular fire as hot as possible was kept up from different directions for a few minutes and then would follow only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual. A great noise and laughter would immediately commence in different parts of the town by the reserve parties as if they had fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved.

"Conduct similar to the above kept the garrison constantly alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or blown up, as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets and appeared to be frequently very busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls. The situation of the magazine we knew well. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow this up in case our artillery would arrive but as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had again joined the enemy (the certainty of which we were unacquainted with), we resolved to lose no time, but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible. If the vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night we resolved to under-mine the fort and fixed on the spot and plan of executing the work which we intended to commence the next day. The Indians of different tribes that were unfriendly had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamotte continued to hover about in order, if possible, to make his way into the fort and parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few of his party were taken, one of whom was Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads had captured him, tied him to a post in the street and fought from behind him, supposing that the enemy would not fire on them for fear of killing him as he would alarm them with his voice. The lads were ordered to untie their prisoner by an officer who discovered them at their amusements and to take him off to the guard which they did, but took a part of his scalp on the way, there happening to him no other damage.

"As most of the persons who were the most active partisans in the department of Detroit were either in the fort or with Captain Lamott, I got extremely uneasy for fear that he would not fall into our power, knowing that he would go away if he did not get into the fort in the course of the night. We found that without some unforseen accident the fort must eventually be ours and that a reinforcement of twenty men, although quite a few of them would not be of great moment to us in the present state of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened the enemy's forces by killing and wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation we concluded to risk the reinforcement in preference to his (Lamott's) again going among the Indians. The garrison had at least a month's provisions and if they could hold out, in the course of that time,he might do us damage.

"A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of observation. The firing entirely ceased and orders were given that in case of Lamott's approach, not to alarm or fire on him, without a certainty of killing or taking all. In less than a quarter of an hour, he passed within ten feet of an officer and party that lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to Lamott and the others and, as they mounted, our party shouted. Many of them fell from the top of the walls, some within and others back but as they were not fired on they all got over, much to the joy of their friends. In considering the matter they must have been convinced that it was a scheme of ours to let them in and that we were so strong as to care but little about them. The firing immediately commenced on both sides with double vigor and I believe that more noise could not have been made by any equal number of men. Their shouts could not be heard for the firearms, but a continual blaze was kept up around the garrison without much done until about daybreak, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them about sixty or seventy yards from the fort. A loophole then could scarcely be darkened without a rifle ball passing through it and to have stood by their cannon would have destroyed their men without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men unless some decisive stroke required it.

"Thus the attack continued until about nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fourth. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of great moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country and not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we thought perhaps these papers might be destroyed. To prevent this I sent a flag with a letter demanding the garrison, the letter being as follows:—

> "Lieutenant Governor Hamilton: 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 and stores, for if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware also of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town for by heaven, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you."
>
> Signed, G. R. CLARK.

"The British Commandant returned the following answer:

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

"The firing then commenced warmly for a considerable time and we were obliged to be careful to prevent our men from exposing themselves too much as they were now much animated, having been refreshed during the flag. They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place and put an end to the business at once. The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison were wounded and there was no possibility of standing near the embrasures. Toward evening a flag appeared with the following proposal:

> "Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he promises there shall be no defensive work carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any defensive work. That is—he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be and promises that whatever may pass between them and another person mutually agreed upon, to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that, whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate."
>
> Signed, HENRY HAMILTON.
>
> February 24, 1779.

"I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce for three days on such terms as he proposed. Some said that it was a scheme to get me into their possession but I had a different opinion and no idea of his possessing such sentiments, as an act of that kind would in all probability, ruin him. Although we had the greatest reason to expect reinforcements in less than three days that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals and sent the following answer:—

> "Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and begs to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm, Feb. 24, 1779."
>
> Signed, G. R. CLARK.

"We met at the church about eighty yards from the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Supt. of Indian Affairs, Captain Helm, their prisoner, Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some propositions. I told him that I had no other to make other than I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit and that they could not suppose they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better. I added that it was useless to make any further propositions to me and that by this time he must realize that the garrison would fall. We must, I said, view all the blood spilled in the future by the garrison as murder and that the troops were already impatient and calling aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort. If such a step were taken many, of course, would be cut down and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him; it would be out of the power of the American officers to save a single man.

"Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination and I told him he was a British prisoner and it was doubtful whether or not he could speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was free from that moment and might use his pleasure. I informed the Captain that I would not receive him on such terms but that he must return to the garrison and await his fate. I then told Lieutenant Governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We then took our leave and had gone but a few steps when Hamilton stopped and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reason for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I offered. I told him I had no objection to giving him my real reasons which were these—I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him and I wanted an excuse for putting them to death or otherwise treat them as I thought proper; the cries of the widows and the fatherless children on the frontiers which they had occasioned now required their blood from my hands and I did not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute command of their authority which I looked upon as almost divine. I would rather lose fifty men I told him than fail to impower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety, and if he wished to risk the massacre of his garrison, for their sakes, it was his own pleasure; also I might take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see them executed. Major Hay gave great attention. I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance which in a great measure influenced my conversation during the time and on my concluding, 'Pray sir,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partisans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal ones.' I never saw a man in a moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale, trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed and I observed, was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for one and his sorrow for the other. Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolution changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts, that I would reconsider the matter and would let him know the results and no offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. This was agreed to and we parted.

"When all that had passed was made known to our offificers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

During the conference at the church, some Indian warriors who had been sent to the Falls of Ohio for scalps and prisoners and had just returned, were discovered, as they entered the plains near Post Vincennes and a party of American troops commanded by Captain Williams, went out to meet them. The Indians who mistook the detachment for a party of their friends, continued to advance with all the parade of successful warriors. When our troops had arrived at the proper distance from the proud and strutting warriors, they opened fire on them, killing two and wounding three and took six prisoners and brought them into town. Two of them proved to be white men and related to some of Clark's French volunteers and were released. They then brought the three wounded and four Indian prisoners to the main street, near the gate of the fort, there tomahawked them and threw them into the river.

In the course of the afternoon of the twenty-fourth the following articles were signed and the garrison capitulated:

> I. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present, with all the stores.
>
> II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war and march out with all their arms and accoutrements.
>
> III. The garrison is to be delivered up at ten o'clock tomorrow.
>
> IV. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.
>
> V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage.
>
> Signed at Post Vincennes, February 24, 1779.
>
> Agreed for the following reasons—the remoteness from succor, the state and quality of provisions,

unanimity of officers and men to its expediency, the honorable terms allowed and lastly—the confidence in a generous enemy.

Signed, Henry Hamilton.
Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent.

To again quote from the memoirs—"The business now being nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison and patrolled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. Those remaining on duty lay on their arms and for the first time in many days past got some rest.

"During the siege I had only one man wounded. Not being able to afford to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Almost every man had conceived a favorable opinion of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. I believe that whatever affected myself made some impression on all of them and I am happy to find that he never deviated while he stayed with us from the dignity of conduct that became an officer in his situation.

"The morning of the twenty-fifth approaching, arrangements were made for receiving the garrison, which consisted of seventy-nine men and about ten o'clock it was delivered in form and everything was immediately arranged to the best advantage. On the twenty-seventh our galley arrived all safe. The crew were much mortified that they did not have a hand in the fray, although they deserve great credit for their diligence. They had on the passage taken up William Myres, express from the government. The despatches gave us great encouragement. Our battalion was to be completed and an additional one to be expected in the spring. On the day after the surrender of the British garrison, I sent a detachment of sixty men up the Wabash to intercept some boats which were laden with provisions and goods from Detroit. The detachment under the command of Captain Helm, Major Bosserone and Major Legras, proceeded up the river in three armed boats about one hundred and twenty miles, where the British boats, seven in number were surprised and captured without firing a gun. These boats had on board about ten thousand pounds worth of goods and provisions and were manned by about forty men, among whom was Phillip Dejean, a magistrate of Detroit. The provision was taken for the public and the goods divided among the soldiers, except about eight hundred pounds worth to clothe the troops we expected to receive in a short time. This was very agreeable to the soldiers as I told them the state should pay them in money proportionate to the time of service and they had a great plenty of goods. The quantity of public goods added to all of those belonging to the traders of Post Vincennes that had been taken by the British and surrendered to us, was very considerable. The whole was divided among the soldiers, except some Indian medals that were kept in order to be altered for public use. The officers received nothing except a few articles of clothing that they stood in need of.

"We yet found ourselves uneasy. The number of prisoners we had taken added to those of the garrison was so great when compared to our own numbers, that we were at a loss how to dispose of them so as not to interfere with our future operations. On the seventh of March. Captains Williams and Rogers, set out by water with a party of twenty-five men to conduct the British officers to Kentucky and to further weaken the prisoners, eighteen privates were sent with them. After their arrival at the Falls of the Ohio, Captain Rogers had instructions to superintend their route to Williamsburg, to furnish them with all the necessary supplies on the way and to wait the orders of the Governor. A company of volunteers from Detroit, composed mostly of young men, was drawn up, and while contemplating the trip to a strange country, they were told that we were happy to learn that many of them had been torn from their fathers and mothers and forced to go on this expedition and that others, ignorant of the true cause of the contest, had enlisted from a principle that actuated a great number of men, namely, that of being fond of enterprise. We told them that they now had a good opportunity to make themselves fully acquainted with the nature of the war, which they might explain to their friends and as we knew that by sending them to the states where they would be confined in jails, probably for the course of the war, would make a great number of their friends in Detroit unhappy, we had thought proper for their sake to suffer them to return home. They were discharged on taking an oath not to bear arms against the Americans until exchanged. They were furnished with arms, boats and provision. Many others that we could trust we suffered to enlist in the army, so that our charge of prisoners was much reduced."

The hardships and great exposure endured by Clark and his men in the terrible march from Kaskaskia through the floods of the Wabash and the suffering for the want of food endured by them was almost beyond endurance; but the exciting times attending the battle and the great victory won by them, cured all their ills and they were as happy and cheerful as if they had spent their time in comfortable barracks. Of that march and victory John Randolph who so aptly called Clark "The Hannibal of the West," says—"The march of the great man, Clark, and his brave companions in arms across the drowned lands of the Wabash, does not shrink from a comparison with the passage of the Thrasymeneus marsh. The mere battle of St. Vincent dwindles in the proportions of a mote compared with that of Thrasymeneus but it was the turning point which probably settled the possession at the peace of Paris of a territory vastly larger than that of all Italy, which was the stake between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The Carthaginians won the battle but lost the stake. Clark won both. If Hannibal was four days and four nights in the Clusian marsh in summer, the Virginians were five days in the winter torrents of the Wabash. Clark underwent all the hardships of his men, wading the floods, encouraging them to follow—Hannibal waded the marsh on the back of his war elephant."

In speaking of what followed the capture of Post Vincennes, Clark continues—"I had yet sent no message to the Indian tribes, wishing to see what effect all this would have on them. The Piankashaws being of the tribe of Tobacco's Son were always familiar with us. Part of the behavior of this Grandee, as he viewed himself, was diverting enough.

He had conceived such an inviolable attachment for Captain Helm, that on finding the Captain was a prisoner and not being as yet able to release him he declared himself a prisoner also. He joined his brother as he called him and kept continually condoling their situation as prisoners in great distress, at the same time wanting nothing that was in the power of the garrison to furnish. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, knowing the influence of Tobacco's Son, was extremely jealous of his behavior and took every pains to gain him by presents. When anything was presented to him his reply would be that it would serve him and his brother to live on. He would not enter into council saying that he was a prisoner and had nothing to say but was in hopes that when the grass grew his brother, the Big Knife, would release him and when he was free he could talk. In short, they could do nothing with him and the moment he heard of our arrival he paraded all the warriors he had in his village joining Post Vincennes and was ready to fall in and attack the fort, but for reasons formerly mentioned he was desired to desist.

"On the fifteenth of March, 1779, a party of upper Piankashaws and some Pottawattamie and Miami chiefs made their appearance, making great protestations of their attachment to the Americans, begging that they might be taken in under the cover of our wings, that the roads through the land might be made straight, all the stumbling blocks might be removed and that our friends and neighboring nations might also be considered in the same point of view. I well knew from what principle all this sprang. As I had Detroit now in my eye, it was my business to take a straight and clear road for myself to walk in without thinking much of their interest, or anything else but that of opening the road in earnest, by flattery, deception or any other means that occurred. I told them that I was glad to see them and was happy to learn that most of the nations on the Wabash and Maumee rivers had proved themselves to be men by adhering to the treaties they had made with the Big Knife last fall, except a few weak minded that had been deluded by the English to come to war. I did not know, I said, exactly who these few were nor much cared but understood they were a band chiefly composed of almost all the tribes. Such people were to be found among all nations but as the sort of people who had the meanness to sell their country for a shirt, were not worthy of the attention of warriors, we would not say more about them and think on subjects more becoming to us. I told them that I should let the Great Council of America know of their good behavior and that they would be counted as friends of the Big Knife and would always be under their protection and their country secured to them as the Big Knife had land enough and did not want any more, but if ever they broke their faith, the Big Knife would never again trust them, as they never held friendship with people that they found with two hearts. They were witnesses of the calamities the British had brought on their countries by their false assertions and their presents which was proof of their weakness. They could see, we told them, that their boasted valor was like to fall to the ground and they would not come out of the fort the other day to try to save the Indians that they flattered to war and suffered them to be killed in their sight. As the nature of the war had been fully explained them last fall, they might clearly see that the Great Spirit would not suffer it to be otherwise and that it was not only the case on the Wabash but everywhere else. We assured them that the nations who would continue obstinately to believe the English would be driven out of the land and their countries given to those who were more steady friends to the Americans. We further told them that we expected for the future that if any of our people should be going to war through their country they would be protected which should always be the case of their people when among us and that mutual confidence should continue to exist.

"They replied that from what they had seen and heard, they were convinced that the Master of Life had a hand in all things, that their people would rejoice on their return and that they would take pains to diffuse what they had heard through all the nations and made no doubt of the good effect of it. After a long speech in the Indian style calling all the spirits to witness, they concluded by renewing the chain of friendship, smoking the sacred pipe and exchanging belts and, I believe, went off really well pleased but not able to fathom the bottom of all they had heard. The greatest part of it was mere political lies. Captain Shelby, afterward, with his own company only, lay for a considerable time in a Wea town in the heart of their country and was treated in the most friendly manner by all the nations that he saw. He was frequently invited by them to join and plunder what was called the King's pasture at Detroit, meaning to steal horses from that settlement. Things now being pretty well arranged, Lieutenant Richard Brashear was appointed to the command of the garrison which consisted of Lieutenants Baley and Chaplain, with forty picked men; Captain Leonard Helm, commandant of the town, superintendent of the Indian affairs; Moses Henry, Indian agent, and Patrick Kennedy, quartermaster.

"Giving necessary instructions to all persons that I left in office, I set sail, on the twentieth of March, on board our galley which was now made perfectly complete, attended by five armed boats and seventy men. The water being very high we soon reached the Mississippi, the winds favoring us. In a few days we arrived at Kaskaskia to the great joy of our new friends, Captain George and company waiting to receive us. On our journey up the Mississippi we had observed several Indian camps which appeard to be fresh but had been left in great confusion. This we could not account for but were soon informed that a few days past a party of Delaware warriors came to town and appeared to be very impudent. In the evening, having been drinking they said they had come there for scalps and would have them and flashed a gun at the breast of an American woman present. A sergeant and party at that moment passing the house saw the confusion and rushed in. The Indians immediately fled and the sergeant pursued and killed them. A party was instantly sent to rout the camps on the river, this being executed the day before we came and being the sign we had seen.

"Part of the Delaware nation had settled at the fork of White river and hunted in the countries on the Ohio and

Mississippi. They had, on our first arrival, hatched up a sort of peace with us but I always knew they were for open war but never before could get a proper excuse for exterminating them from the country which I knew they were loath to leave. All the other Indians wished them away as they were great hunters and killed their game. A few days after this Captain Helm informed me by express that a party of traders who were going by land to the falls of the Ohio, were killed and plundered by the Delaware Indians on White river. It appeared that their designs were altogether hostile as they had received a belt from the Great Council of their nation. I was sorry for the loss of our men but otherwise pleased at what had happened as it gave me an opportunity of showing the other Indians the horrid fate of those who would dare to make war on the Big Knife and to excel them in barbarity I knew was the only way to make war and gain a name among the Indians. I immediately sent orders to Post Vincennes to make war on the Delawares, to use every means in their power to destroy them, to show no kind of mercy to the men but to spare the women and children. This order was executed without delay. Their camps were attacked in every quarter where they could be found. Many fell and others were brought to Post Vincennes and put to death. The women and children were secured. They immediately applied for a reconciliation but were informed that I had ordered the war and my people dare not lay down their tomahawks without permission from me, but if the Indians were agreed, no more blood should be spilled until an express should go to Kaskaskia, which was immediately sent. I refused to make peace with the Delawares and let them know we never trusted those who had once violated their faith, but if they had a mind to be quiet they might, if they could get any of their neighboring Indians to be security for their good behavior. I informed them I would let them alone but that I cared very little about it.

"Privately directing Captain Helm how to manage, a council was called of all the Indians of the neighborhood and my answer was made public. The Piankashaws took it on themselves to answer for the future good conduct of the Delawares and the Tobacco's Son in a lengthy speech informed them of the baseness of their conduct and how richly they had deserved the blow they had met with. He had given them permission to settle that country but not to kill his friends. They now knew, he said, that the Big Knife had refused to make peace with them but that he (Tobacco's Son) had become security for their good conduct and they might go and mind their hunting but if they ever did any more mischief—he did not finish but pointed to the sacred bow that he held in his hand as much as to say that he himself would in the future, chastise them. Thus ended the war between us and the Delawares in this quarter, much to our advantage, as the nations present said we were as brave as Indians and not afraid to put an enemy to death."

After the great achievments accomplished by Clark in reducing the forts on the Mississippi, capturing Vincennes and permanently establishing the Americans in control of all that portion of the Northwest territory from whence the raids were made up and started that were so disastrous to the scattered settlements on the borders of Kentucky south of the Ohio river; and after making treaties with the Indians at which he had no equal, the culminating feat that this hero wished to accomplish was to capture Detroit. That would have put a finishing stroke to the intrigues of the British agents around the great lakes, with the Indians. The accomplishing of this would not have been attended with half the hardships that he and his army had undergone. The French and half-breeds would all have been his allies and he would have had the influence of the lower Wabash Indians whom he had won over and who could have been controlled to aid him in pacifying the other Indians farther up the Wabash. Considering the favorable situation he was in, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have captured Detroit and brought all that section under the control of the Americans. The accomplishment of this great achievement, however, was not to be. Virginia, at that time, was having many hurried calls for troops to aid the army in other quarters and the continental money had become so depreciated that it was worth next to nothing. Probably other military aspirants were jealous of the great renown that Clark had won and were lukewarm in their support of any measure that would give the needed help to carry forward the enterprise that would still further have added to his heroic record. Clark returned to the Falls of the Ohio in the last of the summer of 1779. As he had ordered, the garrison that he had left on Corn Island had already moved to Louisville and had built a stockade. He busied himself with the affairs for the defense of the country, having a general supervision over the country around the Falls and the territory he had captured. Clark had the honor of being the founder of the city of Louisville. A well informed historian of that city says—"To Clark belongs the honor of founding that city as clearly as does the glory of capturing Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes."

Soon after his return from his great victory he drew a plan of the proposed town of Louisville and made a map of the public and private divisions of the land as he thought they ought to be established. This map is still preserved and shows the wonderful sagacity of General Clark. During the time from 1779 to 1781 he was busy with various military operations. One of these was building Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi river, four miles below the mouth of the Ohio. This probably (though sanctioned by Jefferson and the Virginia legislature) was a mistake as it brought on a war with the southern Indians. A Scotchman named Colbert organized the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians and with one thousand warriors attacked the fort. They lay for several days beseiging it but in a night attack were repulsed with considerable loss. General Clark, coming to its relief, the siege was raised and the Indians went back to their towns. There were a great many raids by the Indians, some of them commanded by British officers on our frontier. Many small battles were fought between the marauders and the Americans with about equal damage to the two parties.

There was a loud call for volunteers to fight the invaders.

and carry the war into their own country. Clark was put at the head of this expedition against Detroit. He was at the Falls of the Ohio, repaired to Fort Pitt and made every effort to secure volunteers but met with many disappointments. Finally he started down the river with four hundred men and in a few days was followed by Colonel Archibald Lochry with something over one hundred men. One place of general rendezvous was at Wheeling, Virginia. Clark waited five days and as he had met with so many disappointments, concluded this was another and that Colonel Lochry had decided not to go on the expedition. In this he was unfortunately mistaken. Colonel Lochry coming to Wheeling found that Clark was gone and decided to follow on. On the 24th of August, 1781, Colonel Lochry ordered the boats to land on the Indiana shore about ten miles below the Miami river and at the mouth of Lochry creek, the line between Dearborn and Ohio counties, to cook provisions and cut grass for their horses.

Tradition has it that a hunting party which had been sent out to secure meat had killed a buffalo a little distance in the woods and the troops had landed to cook and prepare the meat and graze their horses, when they were fired on by a party of Indians that were in ambush not far from the bank. They took to their boats expecting to cross the river and were fired on by another party of Indians from the other shore. The Indians in large numbers swarmed on both banks of the river, waded into the shallow water and attacked the boats, killing forty of the men and capturing the rest. The Colonel and a number of his men were murdered after they had surrendered' This was a severe blow to all who were on that ill-fated expedition and all hope of a successful campaign againstDetroit was lost.

Clark marched from Louisville overland, along the old Indian trace to Vincennes. On arriving there he found everything in a bad way. The greatest cause of all the trouble was the depreciation of the Colonial currency. Clark is accused of drinking very hard at this time and many of his men deserted.

During the winter of 1782 Great Brittain and the United States made their provincial treaty of peace and agreed to a cessation of hostilities. In consequence of this there was a period of rest along our frontiers during the years 1783. '84 and '85. During this period there was a determined effort made to secure treaties with the tribes of Indians north and northwest of the Ohio. Some of them accepted the offers of peace proffered by the treaties. The majority of the Indians were determined not to give up their lands north of the Ohio river. The Americans were as determined to settle that section. The Indians formed themselves into a great Northern confederacy; nearly all the Indians joining in this movement and being led by many of their greatest chiefs. There was a continual warfare and there was but little emigration of Americans into that section for a dozen years. In 1783 General Clark was dismissed from the service. or more properly speaking. he was let out of the service of Virginia. There was no money to pay for anything and the authorities of that state in a spasm of retrenchment did this ungrateful act without considering the great service this fearless hero had done for them. On that occasion Benjamin Harrison. the Governor of Virginia. wrote to General Clark a letter which contained the following passage:—"The conclusion of the war and the distressed situation of our state with respect to its finances calls on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone that I have come to the 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 service of general officers in that quarter unnecessary. You will. therefore. consider yourself out of command. but before I take leave of you. I feel called upon, in the most forcible manner to return you my thanks and the thanks of the Council for the very great and singular service you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of 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."

General Clark was out of the service but when trouble came with the Indians in 1786 there was no one to take his place. In this year they were upon the war-path and murdered a good many white persons, some of these taking place around Vincennes and others in the new settlement being made near Clarksville. A strong military force was raised in Kentucky for the purpose of attacking the Indians on the Wabash. About one thousand men under the command of General George Rogers Clark marched from the Falls of the Ohio for Post Vincennes and arrived in the neighborhood of that place early in the month of October where they lay in camp for several days waiting the arrival of some military stores and provisions which had been shipped on keel boats from Louisville and Clarksville. When the boats arrived at Post Vincennes, it was found that most of the provision was spoiled and that part which had been brought with the command overland was almost exhausted. These misfortunes soon made a spirit of discontent which daily increased. The Kentucky troops having been reinforced by a number at Post Vincennes, were ordered to move up the Wabash river toward the Indian towns which lay in the vicinity of the ancient post of Ouiatenon. The people of these towns had learned of the approach of the Kentuckians and had selected the place among the defiles of Pine creek for an ambuscade. On reaching the neighborhood of the Vermillion river it was found that the Indians had deserted their village on that stream near its junction with the Wabash. At this crisis, when the spirits of the officers and men were depressed by disappointment, hunger and fatigue, some person circulated through the camp a rumor that General Clark had sent a flag of truce to the Indians with the offer of peace or war. This rumor combined with the lamentable change which had taken place in the once temperate, energetic and commanding character of Clark, excited among the troopers a spirit of insubordination which neither the command nor entreaties, nor the tears of the General, could subdue. At that encampment, about three hundred men in a body, left the army and proceeded on their way homeward. The remainder of the troops under the command of General Clark, then abandoned the expedition and returned to Post Vincennes.

In this same month of October a board composed of field officers in the Wabash expedition, met in council at Post Vincennes and unanimously agreed that a garrison at that place would be of essential service to the district of Kentucky and that supplies might be had in the district more than sufficient for their support, by impressment or otherwise, under the direction of a commissary to be appointed for that purpose, pursuant to the authority invested in the field officers of the district by the executive of Virginia. The same board appointed John Craig, Jr., a commissary of purchase and resolved that one field officer and two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of a company of artillery, commanded by Captain Dalton, be recruited to garrison the Post and that Colonel John Holder be appointed to command the troops in this service in order to carry these resolutions into effect. General Clark, who assumed the supreme direction of the corps, began to levy recruits, appoint officers and impress provision for the support of a garrison at Post Vincennes. He sent messengers to the Indian tribes that lived on the borders of the Wabash and invited these tribes to meet him in Council at Clarksville on the 20th of November, 1786, and make a treaty of peace and friendship. The chiefs of the different bands sent word to General Clark that they were willing to meet him in council, not at Clarksville but at Post Vincennes. The following is an extract from their answer—

> "My elder Brother:—Thou ought to know the place we have been accustomed to speak at. It is at Post Vincennes. There our chiefs are laid; there our ancestors bed is and that of our father, the French and not at Clarksville where you require us to meet you. We don't know such a place, but at Post Vincennes where we always went when necessary to hold council. My elder Brother, thou informest me I must meet you at the place I have mentioned yet thou seest, my Brother, that the season is far advanced and that I would not have time to invite my

> allies to come to your council, which we pray you to hold at Post Vincennes."

In replying to this message and to other communications of similar nature General Clark said—

> "I propose the last of April, 1787, for the grand council to be held at this place, Post Vincennes, where I expect all those who are inclined to open the road will appear and we can soon discover what the Deity means."

For a long period after General Clark was let out of the service of Virginia, he was called upon by the United States to act as a Commissioner in almost all the treaties made between the United States and the Indians.

There is an amusing story related about the treaty of Fort Mackintosh on the Ohio river in 1785. The great Chief of the Delawares, Buckongehelas, was present and took part in the treaty. After the other chiefs had addressed the United States Commisssioners who were Generals George Rogers Clark, Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, Buckongehelas arose and not noticing Lee or Butler, went to General Clark and took him by the hand saying—"I thank the Great Spirit for having this day brought together two such great warriors as Buckongehelas and General Clark." This may have shown too much self-appreciation on the part of this great Indian, but it was recorded that he possessed all the qualities of a great man and never violated a treaty nor an engagement.

On the last day of January, 1785, General Clark, Richard Butler and Samuel Parsons were appointed United States Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Shawnees and other Indians. At this treaty an incident occurred that showed Clark's fearless character and was a striking instance of his ascendancy over the minds of the Indians and also showed the characteristics which gave him that ascendancy. The Indians came to the treaty at Fort Washington in a most friendly manner, except the Shawnees, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines—"the first at the battle and the last at the treaty." Three hundred of their finest warriors set off in all their paint and feathers filed into the council house. Their number and demeanor so unusual at an occasion of this sort was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States stockade mustered seventy men. In the center of the hall at a little table, sat the Commissioners, one of them General Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders, also General Butler, Mr. Parsons and a Captain Denny being present. On the part of the Indians an old councilsachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow with an impudent and a villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech which operated effectively on the passions of the Indians who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum to signify that they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltering and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, his elbow resting on the table. He raised his little cane and pushed the sacred wampum off the table with very little ceremony. Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden simultaneous and peculiarly savage sounds which startles and disconcerts the stoutest hearts and can neither be described nor forgotten. At this juncture Clark arose, the scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrating and insulting symbol and ordered the Shawnees to leave the hall. They did so apparently involuntarily and were heard all night debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned Chief was for war and the old Sachem for peace. The latter prevailed and the next morning they came back and sued for peace.

General Clark no doubt had faults—all men do but his heart was in his work and everything he accomplished was for the advancement of the interest of the Country he loved so well. He was ever ready to risk his life for it and its people. No man who was acquainted with the facts of General Clark's business affairs with the United States ever offered a doubt as to his integrity. His only fault was intemperance which ruined him.

In the early nineties when the Indians had become very troublesome throughout the Northwest, there was great need of a competent commander who understood the Indians and Indian warfare. Many turned to Clark's record and longed for such another man. Thomas Jefferson wrote Mr. Innis, of Kentucky—"Will it not be possible for you to bring General Clark forward? I know the greatness of his mind and am the more mortified at the cause that obscures it. Had not this unhappily taken place there was nothing he might not have hoped. Could it be surmounted his lost ground might yet be recovered. No man alive rated him higher than I did and would again were he to become once more what I knew him."

It is not too much to say that, had it not been for General Clark, all the Northwest Territory, at least would have been in the hands of the British at the close of the Revolutionary war and would have become British property. At the treaty of Paris it was hard work to hold it. France and Spain were opposed to the boundary of the United States coming west of the Alleghany mountains or at most they believed that the land between the Ohio and the Cumberland rivers should be all the possession they should hold west of the mountains. Congress, in a spirit of submission, advised our three commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, to take no step without the knowledge and consent of France. Franklin was inclined to obey these instructions but Adams and Jay boldly insisted in disregarding them; consequently the treaty was made with England without the dictates of France.

A few years ago in the State House at Indianapolis, a body of men were assembled who have the great blessings of a free government with the rich boon of American laws and American independence and the liberty of being governed by the votes of the people, guaranteed to them by the blood of heroism and generalship of the leaders and soldiers of the Revolution; and to none, so far as Indiana is concerned, do they owe as much as to General George Rogers Clark. The question this assembly was considering was—should George Rogers Clark have a five thousand dollar monument.

The motion was acted upon adversely. This, considering the events that secured the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota to the United States by the heroism and unparalelled bravery of the same General George Rogers Clark, places these law-makers in an unenviable light.

Clark continued to live at his little home in Clarksville until 1814 when he moved to his sister's, Mrs. William Croghan, at Locust Grove near Louisville, Kentucky and lived there until the day of his death which occurred on the twenty-third day of February, 1818. His achievements were those of a hero and will have but few paralells in our country's history.

CHAPTER III.

THE TERRITORY CAPTURED BY GENERAL CLARK FROM 1779 TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

General Todd's Proclamation—The Court of Vincennes—Virginia Cedes Northwest Possessions to the United States—Town of Clarksville Laid off—Deed of Cession—Ordinance of 1787,

In the year 1779 General John Todd, who had a commission as County Lieutenant from the colony of Virginia, came to the settlements captured by Clark and, in accordance with an act of the Virginia legislature, issued a proclamation concerning the settlements and titles of the land in the southern and western part of what afterward became the Northwest Territory. The proclamation read as follows:

"ILLINOIS COUNTY} To Wit:

"Whereas, From the fertility and beautiful situation of the lands bordering on the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois and Wabash rivers, the taking up of the usual quantity of land heretofore allowed for a settlement by the government of Virginia would both injure both the strength and commerce of the country—

"I Do Therefore issue this proclamation, strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever from making any new settlements upon the flat lands of the said rivers or within one league of said lands unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitant, until further orders herein given.

"AND in order that all claims to lands in said county may be fully known and some method provided for perpetuating by record, the just claims, every inhabitant is required, as soon as conveniently may be to lay before the person, in each district, appointed for the purpose, a memorandum of his or her land with copies of all their vouchers and where vouchers have never been given or are lost, such depositions or certificates as will tend to support their claims; the memorandum to mention the quantity of land, to whom originally granted and when; deducing the title through the various occupants, to the present possessor. The number of adventurers who will shortly over-run this country renders the above method necessary, as well to ascertain the vacant lands as to guard against trespasses which will probably be committed on lands not on record.

"Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia, the 15th of June in the third year of the Commonwealth. 1779.

(Signed) JOHN TODD, JR."

For the preservation of peace and the administration of of justice, a court of civll and criminal jurisdiction was organized at Vincennes in June, 1779. The court was composed of several magistrates. Colonel J. M. P. Legrass, who had received the appointment of Commander of the Post Vincennes, acted as the president of this new court and exercised a controlling influence over the proceedings. Following after the usages of the early commanders of the French posts in the west, the magistrates of the court at Vincennes commenced to grant tracts of land to the French and American inhabitants of the town and to the officers, both civil and military, of the county. The court assumed the power of granting lands to all applicants and at the end of the year 1783 there had been twenty-six thousand acres granted. From 1783 to '87, when General Harmor stopped the granting of land by the Vincennes court, there had been twenty-two thousand acres more granted by that court to individual applicants. The commander of the post and the magistrates over whom he presided, formed the opinion that they were invested with the authority of all the land in that region which had in 1742 been granted by the Piankashaw Indians to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes for their use. Accordingly, an arrangement was made by this greedy court whereby the whole country in which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished was divided between the members of the court and orders to that effect were put on record. In order to have the appearance of modesty each member of the court absented himself on the day the order was to be made in his favor.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the United States was deeply in debt and without any resources to pay with except what could be derived from the sale of lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. The title of this domain was claimed by a number of the colonies and states as their charters extended their limits to any land acquired on their west. Virginia set up a special claim on account of her conquest and the retaining of posessions through General George Rogers Clark to all the land of the Northwest Territory. To this the other states demurred and said that as they all joined together for a common defense, that whatever was gained by conquest should be shared equally by all. There was so much justice in this that Virginia deeded her northwest possessions to the United States.

By an act of the seventh of January, 1781, the General Assembly of Virginia resolved that on certain conditions they would cede to Congress, for the benefit of the United States, all the right, title and claim which Virginia had to the territory northwest of the River Ohio. Congress, by an act of the 13th of September, 1783, agreed to accept the cession of the territory and the General Assembly of Virginia on the 20th of December, the same year, passed an act authorizing their delegates in Congress to convey to the United States, the right, title and claim of Virginia to the lands northwest of the River Ohio.

In October, 1783, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act laying off the town of Clarksville at the Falls of the Ohio in the county of Illinois. The act provided that the lots of half an acre each should be sold at public auction for the best price that could be obtained. The purchasers were to hold their lots subject to the condition of building on them within three years of the date of sale, a dwelling house, twenty feet by eighteen with a brick or stone chimney. William Fleming, John Edwards, John Campbell, Walker Daniel, George R. Clark, Abraham Chaplin, John Montgomery, John Bailey, Robert Todd and William Clark were, by the act of the assembly, constituted trustees for the town of Clarksville.

On the first day of March, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, delegates in congress on the part of Virginia, executed a deed of cession by which they deeded to the United States, on certain conditions, all the right, title and claim of Virginia to the country northwest the River Ohio. The deed contained the following conditions—"The territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into states containing a suitable amount of territory, not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square or as near that amount as circumstances will admit and the states so formed shall be distinct Republican states and admitted members of the Federal Union having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states. The necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia in subduing any British post or in maintaining forts and garrisons for the defense or in acquiring any part of the territory that is here ceded and relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States. The French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of Kaskaskia, Post Vincennes and the neighboring 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. A quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel and now General, George Rogers Clark 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 who have since been incorporated into the said regiment; to be laid off in one tract the length of which shall not exceed double the breadth, in such a place on the northwest 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. In case the quantity of good lands on the southeast side of the Ohio on the waters of the Cumberland river, between Green river and Tennessee river which have been reserved by law for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, should, from the North Carolina line, bearing in farther on the Cumberland lands than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency shall be made up to the said troops in good lands to be laid off between the River Scioto and Little Miami river on the northwest side of the River Ohio in such proportions as has been engaged to them by the laws of Virginia.

"All the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States and not reserved for or appropriated to any of the before mentioned purposes or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered as common funds for the use and benefits of such of the United States as have become or shall become, members of the confederation of Federal alliances of the said state of Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure; and shall be faithfully and bonafide disposed of for that purpose and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

In the spring of 1784, after the deed of cession had been accepted by Congress, the subject of future government of the territory was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, of Virginia, Chase, of Maryland and Howle, of Rhode Island. The committee reported an ordinance for the government for the territory northwest of the River Ohio. The ordinance declared that after the year 1800 there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude otherwise than in the punishment of crimes in any of the states to be formed out of said territory. This provision of the ordinance was rejected but on the 23rd of April, 1784, Congress, by a series of resolutions provided for the maintenance of temporary government in the country which the United States had acquired northwest of the Ohio.

Soon after Virginia had deeded her lands northwest of the River Ohio to the United States, General Rufus Putnam and others organized a Massachusetts Company which had for its purpose the purchase of a large body of land in what is now the state of Ohio. Continental money had become very cheap, worth from fifteen to seventeen cents on the dollar. The Company had secured enough of it to pay for one and one-half million acres of land. Reverend Manassa Cutler, their agent had also intrusted to his care for other parties a large amount of this money, in all, enough to purchase five and one-half million acres of land. As this would materially reduce the national debt, the administration of the United States was in favor of it. At that time Massachusetts owned the Territory of Maine which she was trying to sell and was opposed to the opening of the Northwest Territory. This put Virginia on her mettle and the South all sided with her. Dr. Cutler had come on to New York to lobby for the Northwest Territory. The South caught the inspiration and rallied around him. Massachusetts was in a peculiar situation: she was opposed to the proposition but could not vote against it as many of her citizens were largely interested in the western purchase. Thus Dr. Cutler was able to command the situation. True to the convictions of his heart he dictated one of the most complete documents of good statesmanship that has ever adorned our law-book. The important section were as follows—

"1. The exclusion of slavery forever from the Northwest Territory.

"2. Provision for Public Schools. Section No. 16 in each township of thirty-six square miles will be retained and sold for the benefit of the Public Schools.

"3. A provision prohibiting the adoption of any constitution or the enactment of any law that shall nullify pre-existing contracts. Be it forever remembered that this compact declares religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind and therefore schools and the means of education shall always be encouraged."

Dr. Cutler planted himself squarely upon this platform and would not yield, giving his unquallified declaration that it was that or nothing. That unless the holders of the territory could make the land desirable they—the purchasers—did not want it.

On the 13th day of July, 1787, the bill was put on its passage and was unanimously adopted. Thus the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, a mighty empire, were dedicated to freedom, intelligence and morality.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY ORGANIZED—LAWS GOVERNING IT.—GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR AND THE INDIANS—MILITIA ESTABLISHED AND CIVIL AND MILITARY OFFICERS APPOINTED—LAWS ADOPTED AT VINCENNES—DEFEAT OF ST. CLAIR'S ARMY BY INDIANS—GENERAL WAYNE'S VICTORY NEAR THE MAUMEE—FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

On the fifth of October, 1787, Major General Arthur St. Clair was elected by Congress governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio. By the first instructions which Governor St. Clair received from Congress in 1788 he was authorized and directed—first, to examine carefully into the real temper of the Indians. Second—To remove, if possible, all cause of controversy so that peace and harmony might be established between the United States and the Indian tribes. Third—To regulate trade among the Indians. Fourth—To neglect no opportunity that might offer of extinguishing the Indian right to land westward as far as the River Mississippi and northward as far as the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude. Fifth—To use every possible endeavor to ascertain the names of the real head men and warriors of the several tribes and to attach these men to the United States by every possible means. Sixth—To make every exertion to defeat all confederations and combinations among the tribes and to conciliate the white people inhabitating the frontiers toward the Indians.

In the month of July, 1788 Governor St. Clair arrived at the new town of Marietta at the mouth of the Muskingum river, where he began to organize the government of the Northwest Territory in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance of 1787. At Marietta, in the county of Washington before the close of the year 1788, the Governor and judges of the General Court of the Territory—Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchel Varnum and John Cleave Simms, adopted and published various laws under the following titles:

1. A law for regulating and establishing the militia in the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio.

2. A law for establishing general courts of the peace of quarter sessions (and therein the powers of single justices); and for establishing county courts of common pleas (and therein of the power of single judges to hear and determine upon small debts and contracts); and also a law for establishing the office of sheriff and for the appointment of sheriffs---Published on the 23d of August.

3. A law establishing a court of probate---Published on the 30th of August.

4. A law for fixing the terms of the general court of the territory of the United States, northwest of the River Ohio---Published on the 30th of August. This law was made in the following words---

> "The general court for the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, shall hold pleas civil and criminal at four certain periods or terms in each and every year in such counties as the judges shall from time to time deem most conducive to the general good, they giving timely notice of the place of their sitting on the first Mondays of February, May, October and December, provided, however that but one term be held in any one county in a year, and all processes, civil and criminal, shall be returnable to said court wherever they may be in said territory. And as circumstances may so intervene as to prevent the session of the Court at the time and place fixed upon, it shall and may be lawful for the Court to adjourn from time to time by writ directed to the sheriff of the county and to con-

> tinue all processes accordingly; and in case neither of the judges shall attend at the time and place aforesaid and no writ be received by the sheriff, it shall be his duty to adjourn the court from day to day during the first six days of the term and then to the next term to which all processes shall be continued as aforesaid; provided, however, that all issues in fact shall be tried in the county where the case of action shall have risen."

5. A law respecting oath of office. Published on the 2d of September.

6. A law respecting crimes and punishments. Published on the 6th of September. By this statute the crimes of treason, murder and houseburning in case where death ensues from such burning, were respectively punished by death. The crimes of burgalry and robbery were punishable by whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes; fine and imprisonment for any term not exceeding forty years. For the crime of perjury the offender was punishable by a fine not exceeding sixty dollars or whipping not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, disfranchisement and standing in the pillory for a space of time not exceeding two hours. Larceny was punished by fine or whipping at the discretion of the court. If the convict could not pay the fine of the court it was lawful for the sheriff, by the direction of the court to bind such convicts to labor for a term not exceeding seven years to any suitable person who could pay such fines. Forgery was punishable by fine and disfranchisement and standing in the pillory for a space of time not exceeding three hours. For drunkenness the law was as follows:

> "If any person shall be convicted of drunkenness before one or more justices of the peace, the person so convicted shall be fined for the first offense the sum of five dimes and for every succeeding offense upon conviction the sum of one dollar. In either case if the offender neglects or refuses to pay the fine, he shall be set in the stocks for the space of one hour, provided, however, that complaints be made to the justice or justices within two days after the offense shall have been committed.

"WHEREAS, idle, vain and and obscene conversation; profane cursing and swearing and more especially the irreverently mentioning, calling upon, or invoking the sacred and Supreme Being by any of the divine characters in which He has graciously condascended to reveal His infinitely beneficent purpose to mankind, are repugnant to every moral sentiment, subversive to every civil obligation, inconsistent with the ornaments of polished life and abhorrent to the principles of the most benevolent religion;

"IT IS EXPECTED, THEREFORE, If crime of this kind should exist it will not find encouragement, countenance or approbation in this territory. It is strictly enjoined on all officers and ministers of justice, upon parents and other heads of families and upon others of every description, that they abstain from practices so vile and irrational and that by example and precept, to the utmost of their power, they prevent the necessity of adopting and publishing laws with penalties upon this head.

"AND IT IS HEREBY DECLARED that the government will consider as unworthy its confidence all those who may obstinately violate these injunctions.

"WHEREAS, mankind in every stage of informed society has consecrated certain portions of time to the particular cultivation of social virtues and the public adoration and worship of the Common Parent of the Universe, and whereas a practice so rational in itself and conformable to the divine precepts is greatly conducive to civilization as well as to morality and piety; and whereas for the advancement of such important and interesting purpose, most of the Christian world has set apart the first day of the week as a day of rest from common labor and pursuits;

"IT IS HEREBY THEREFORE ENJOINED that all servile labor, works of necessity and charity only excepted, be wholly abstained from on said day."

7. A law regulating marriages. The third section of this law was as follows:

"Previously to persons being joined in marriage as aforesaid, the intention of the parties shall be made known by the publishing of the same for the space of fifteen days at the least, either by the same being publicly and openly declared three several Sun-

> days, holy day days or other days of public worship in the meeting in the towns where the parties respectively belong or by publication in writing under the hands and seal of one of the judges before mentioned or of a justice of the peace within the county, to be affixed in some public place in the town wherein the parties respectively dwell or a license shall be obtained of the Governor under his hand and seal, authorizing the marriage of the parties without publication as is in this law before required."

8. A law in addition to a law entitled---"A law for regulating and establishing the militia in the territory of the River Ohio." Published on the 23rd of November.

9. A law appointing coroners. Published on the 21st of December.

10. A law limiting the time of commencing civil action and instituting criminal prosecutions.

After the session of the court of Marietta was concluded and the laws for the government of the Territory passed, Governor St. Clair, accompanied by the judges, made a visit to the western part of his Territory for the purpose of organizing a civil government. Before this he had sent instructions to Major Hamtramck, the Commander at Vincennes, directing him, through the agency of friendly Indians that were well known among the Piankashaws, to find out all he could about the Indian tribes along the Wabash. He accompanied this instruction with a speech for each of the tribes which the Major sent to them by Antoine Gamelin, a Frenchman, as a special envoy who understood the language of nearly all the tribes of Indians on the Wabash. Gamelin's wife was the daughter of the head chief of the Ouiatenons and through that influence it was hoped that his mission would be successful.

Gamelin visited many tribes of Indians and after friendly council with them, delivered the speeches. In his route he went as far eastward as the Miami village of Kekionga which stood where Ft. Wayne now stands. Gamelin's report will best show the disposition of the Indians toward the Americans.

"The first village I arrived at," says Gamelin, "is called Kikapouguoi. The name of the chief of this village is called Les Jambes Croches. He and his tribe have a good heart and accepted the speech. The second village is at the River Vermillion, called Piankashaw. The first chief and all the warriors were well pleased with the speech concerning peace but they said they could not give presently a proper answer, before they consulted the Miami nation, their eldest brethren. They desired me to proceed to the Miami town, Kekionga, and when coming back let them know what reception I got from them. The said head chief told me that he thought the nations of the lake had a bad heart and were ill-disposed for the Americans and that the speeches would not be received particularly by the Shawnees at Miamitown. On the eleventh of April I reached a tribe of the Kickapoos. The head chief and all the warriors being assembled, I gave them two branches of white wampum, with the speeches of His Excellency, Arthur St. Clair, and those of Major Hamtramck. It must be observed that the speeches had been in another hand before mine. The messengers could not proceed further than the Vermillion on account of some private wrangle between the interpreter and some chief men of the tribes. Moreover something in the speech displeased them very much; it was that portion included in the third article which says—'I do now make you the offer of peace—accept it or reject it as you please.' These words seemed to displease all tribes to whom the first messenger was sent. They told me that they were menacing and finding that it might have a bad effect, I took it upon myself to exclude them and after making some apology they answered that they and their tribe were pleased with my speech and that I could go on without danger but they could not presently give me an answer, having some warriors absent and without consulting the Ouiatenons, they being the owners of the land. They desired me to stop at Quitepiconnae (Tippecanoe) saying that they would have the chief and warriors of the Ouiatenons and those of their nation assembled there and I would receive a proper answer. They said that they expected by me a draught of milk from the Great Chief and the commanding officer of the Post, to put the old people in a good humor; also some powder and balls for the young men for hunting and to get some good broth for their women and children---that I should know a bearer of speeches should never be with empty hands. They promised to keep their young men from stealing and to send speeches to their nations in the prairies to do the same.

"The 14th of April, the Ouiatenons and the Kickapoos were assembled. After my speech one of the head chiefs got up and told me---'Oh Gamelin, my friend and son-in-law, we are pleased to see you in our village and to hear by your mouth the good words of the Great Chief. We thought to receive a few words from the French people but I see the contrary. None but the Big Knife is sending speeches to us. You know that we can terminate nothing without the consent of our brethren, the Miamis. I invite you to proceed to their village and speak to them. There is one thing in your speech I do not like. I will not tell of it; even were I drunk I would perceive it but our elder brothers will certainly take notice of it in your speech. You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, they being constantly encouraged by the British.' Another chief arose and said---'The Americans are very flattering in their speeches. Many times our nation went to their rendezvous. I was once myself. Some of our chiefs died on the route and we always came back all naked and you, Gamelin, you come with speeches with empty hands.' Another one said to his young men---'If we are poor and dressed in deer skins, it is our own fault. Our French traders are leaving our villages because you plunder them every day, and it is time for us to have another conduct.' Still another one expressed himself as follows---Know ye that the village of Ouiatenon is the sepulcher of our ancestors? The chief of the Americans invites us to go to him if we are for peace. He has not his leg broken, having been able to go as far as the Illinois. He might come here himself and we should be glad to see him at our village. We confess that we accepted the ax but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which receive the ax first, calling us women. At the present time they invite our young men to war. As to our old people, they are wishing for peace.' They could not give me an answer before they received advice from the Miamis, their elder brothers.

"On the 18th of April I arrived at the River L'Anguille (Eel river), at a point five or six miles above the place where it flows into the Wabash. The Indian village located there was near or where Logansport, Indiana, now is. The chief of the village and those of war were not present. I explained the speech to some of the tribes. They said they were well pleased, but could not give me an answer, their chief men being absent. They desired me to stop at their village coming back. They sent with me one of their young men to hear the answer of their eldest brethren. On the 23d of April I arrived at the Miami town. The next day I got the Miamis, the Shawnees and the Delawares all assembled. I gave to each nation two branches of wampum and began the speeches, before the French and English traders who were invited by the chiefs to be present, I having told them myself that I should be glad to have them present since I had nothing to say against anybody. After the speeches I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum (Ft. Harmor) between his Excellency, Governor St. Clair, and sundry nations. This displeased them. I told them that the purpose at this present time was not to submit them to any conditions but to offer them the peace, which made their displeasure disappear. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech and that he soon would give me an answer. In a private discourse with him he told me not to mind what the Shawnees would tell me, they having a bad heart and being the pertubators of all the nations. He said the Miamis had a bad name on account of mischief done on the River Ohio but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Shawnees, his young men having only gone for a hunt.

"On the 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawnees, invited me to go to his house and there said to me---'My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawnees and

and Delawares, I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech and pleased with it but, after consultation, we cannot give you an answer without hearing from our Father at Detroit and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief or to stay here twenty nights to receive his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from the Americans and no two are alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us. Then take back your branches of wampum.'

"The 26th of April five Pottawattomies arrived here with two negro men whom they sold to Engliah traders. The next day I went to the great chief of the Miamis, called Le-Gris, his chief warriers also being present with him. I told him how I had been served by the Shawnees. He answered me that he had heard of it and said that nation behaved contrary to his intention. He desired me not to mind those strangers and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

"The 28th of April the great chief desired me to call at the French traders and receive his answer. 'Don't take bad,' said he, 'of what I am to tell you. You may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer. We must send your speech to all our neighbors and to the lake nations. We cannot give a definite answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit.' He desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Shawnees; also a copy of speeches in writing. He promised me that in thirty nights he would send an answer to Post Vincennes by a young man of each nation. He was well pleased with the speeches and said they were worthy of attention and should be communicated to all their confederates, being resolved among them not to do anything without an unanimous consent. I agreed to his request and rendered him the two branches of wampum and a copy of the speech. Afterward he told me that the five nations so called or the Iroquois were training for something; that five of them and three Wyandottes were in this village with branches of wampum. He could not tell me presently their purpose but he said I would know of it very soon.

"The same day Blue Jacket invited me to his house for supper and before the other chiefs told me that, after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit to see the commandant who would get all his children assembled to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night---that I was not ashamed to speak to them before the sun.

"On the 29th of April I got them all assembled. I told them I was not to go to Detroit; that the speeches were directed to the nations of the River Wabash and the Miami and to prove the sincerity of the speeches and the heart of Governor St. Clair I had willingly given a copy of the speeches to be shown to the commandant of Detroit and according to a letter written by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamis, Shawnees and Delawares mentioning to them to be peaceable with the Americans. I would go to the commandant very willingly if it were in my direction being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant, neither he to me, and that they must immediately resolve if they intended to take me to Detroit or else I would go back as soon as possible. Blue Jacket got up and told me, 'My friend, we are well pleased with what you say. Our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit; it was only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our answer is the same as the Miamis. We will send in thirty nights a full and positive answer by a young man of each nation by writing, to Post Vincennes.'

"In the evening Blue Jacket, having taken me to supper with him, told me in a private manner that the Shawnee nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fires and sent away their young men, being a-hunting, without a mouthful of meat; also had taken away their women, wherefore many of them would, with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would maybe tend to take away, by degrees, their lands and would serve them as they did before. A certain proof that they intended to encroach on their lands was their new settlement on the Ohio. If they didn't keep this side of the Ohio clear, it would never be proper reconcilement with the nations, Shawnees, Iroquois, Wyandottes and perhaps many others. Legris, chief of the Miamis, asked me in private discourse what chief had made treaty with the Americans at Muskingum (Ft. Harmon). I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago but that they were not chiefs nor delegates who made that treaty; they were only young men who, without authority and instructions from their chiefs, had concluded that treaty which would not be approved. They had gone to the treaty clandestinely and they intended to make mention of it in the next council to be held.

"The 2nd of May, I came back to the L'Anguille. One of the chief men of the tribe being witness of the council at Miamitown, repeated the whole to them and whereas the first chief was absent, they said they could not for the present time, give answer but that they were willing to join their speech to those of their eldest brethren. 'To give you proof of an open heart,' they said, 'we let you know that one of our chiefs has gone to war on the Americans but it was before we heard of you for certain they would not have gone hither.' They also told me that a few days after I passed their village, seventy warriors, Chippewas and Ottawas from Michilimacinac arrived there. Some of them were Pottawattomies who, meeting on their route the Chippewas and Ottawas, joined them. 'We told them,' they said, 'we heard by you---that your speech is fair and true. We could not stop them from going to war. The Pottawattomies told us that as the Chippewas and Ottawas were more numerous than they they were forced to follow them.'

"On the 3d of May I got to the Weas. They told me that they were waiting for an answer from their eldest brethren. 'We approve very much our brethren for not to give a definite answer without informing of it all the lake nations. Detroit was the place where the fire was lighted, then it ought first to be put out there. The English commandant is our father since he threw down our French father. We could do nothing without his approbation.'

"The 4th of May I arrived ot the village of the Kickapoos. The chief presenting me two branches of wampum, black and white said---'My son, we cannot stop our young men from going to war. Every day some set off clandestinely for that purpose. After such behavior from our young men we are ashamed to say to the great chief of the Illinois and of the Post Vincennes that we are busy about some good affairs for the reconcilement, but be persuaded that we will speak to them continually concerning the peace and when our eldest brethren will have sent their answer, we will join ours to it.

"The 5th of May I arrived at Vermillion. I found nobody but two chiefs. All the rest were gone a-hunting. They told me they had nothing else to say." In a despatch from Post Vincennes May 22d, 1790, Major Hamtramck says—"I enclose the proceedings of Mr. Gamelin by which Your Excellency can have no great hopes of bringing the Indians to peace with the United States. Gamelin arrived on the 8th of May and on the 11th some merchants arrived and informed me that as soon as Gamelin had passed their village on his return, all the Indians had gone to war; that a large party of Indians from Michilimacinac and some Pottawattomies had gone to Kentucky and that three days after Gamelin had left the Miami village, Kekionga, an American was brought there, scalped and burned at the stake."

The great reason that the French and afterwards the English, were so successful in dealing with the Indians and attaching them so firmly as their allies, was that they dealt with them as a parent would with a child, giving them many presents and humoring their whims. This was pleasing to the Indians but after a time it became very expensive. As a French writer puts it—"These importunities of gifts for everything that they saw or could think of, grew on the Indians and it became so expensive that it was a question whether their friendship was worth the great trouble and expense."

The free sons of fair America, who were the best blood of many foreign nations, knew no way to transact business with the aborigines but by the rules of business that would govern the transaction of one people with another, consequently they were not successful in their attempts to treat with the Indians who had been pampered and spoiled by the French and English nations to hold their friendship. In every attempt that the American made to treat with the Indians for friendship or concessions of territory they were met with the taunt that they were not like the French and English, who always commenced such proceedings with a large gift of many articles useful to the Indians; that this made their hearts glad and that the American always came with empty hands.

Major Gladwin, the British commandant at Detroit, had an experience with Pontiac and his confederated bands which is described by him in a private letter to a friend—

> "The Indians under Pontiac have been so domineering over the French and have become so exacting that when my commissioner made overtures for an alliance of peace and friendship, he was rejected. They gave as a reason for not making the treaty that when their great Father, the French King, wanted any special favor he gave his red brethren a ship load of goods of all kinds for the Indians' comfort; that the English now wanted them to forsake their allegiance to their great Father, the King of France, and give it to them; for this they should at least offer them three ship-loads of guns, powder, lead, blankets, clothing of all kinds and many articles for decorating their body to expect them to grant such a great favor."

Governor St. Clair was at Kaskaskia when he received Gamelin's report which satisfied him that there was no prospect of peace with the Wabash Indians. He sent the secretary of the Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent, to Vincennes and directed him to lay out Knox county and establish the militia and appoint necessary civil and military officers. Mr. Sargent proceeded to Vincennes where he organized the camp of Knox, appointed the necessary civil and military officers and gave notice to the inhabitants to present their claims to titles of land which was found to be a very difficult proposition. In his report to the president he said—

> "The lands and lots which were awarded appear from the evidence, to belong to those persons to whom they were awarded, either by grants, purchase or inheritance, but there are very few titles which are complete owing to the very loose way that public business has been carried on. The concessions by the French and British commandants are made on small scraps of paper which are loosely kept in the Notary's office; but the fewest number of these concessions are in a book of record."

The most important land transactions were often found scrawled down on a loose sheet of paper in very bad French and worse English. Three-fourths of the names were made with marks without being attested by a notary or any one else. Many of these claimants at the post of Vincennes had been occupying the land on which their houses were built for generations and the only evidence of their having any claim to it would all be recorded on a piece of paper not any too large for a target in a shooting match. Mr. Sargent said that there were about one hundred and fifty families in Vincennes in 1790. The heads of these families had at some time had a title to a portion of the soil which title he had spent weeks in trying to straighten out. While he was busy with these claims he received a petition signed by eighty Americans asking for confirmation of the grants of land ceded by the court which had been organized by Col. John Todd under the authority of Virginia.

Congress of the 3rd of March, 1791, authorized the governor of the territory in all cases where the improvements had been made, under a supposed title for the same, to confirm the persons who made such improvements on the land supposed to have been granted, not to exceed in quantity four hundred acres to one person. In 1790 a session of court was held in Vincennes at which Wihthrop Sargent, Acting Governor, presided and the following laws were adopted.

1. An act prohibiting the giving or selling of intoxicatihg liquors to Indians residing in or coming into the territory

of the United States northwest of the River Ohio and for preventing foreigners from trading with the Indians.

2. An act prohibiting the sale of spirituous or other intoxicating liquors to soldiers in the service of the United States, being within ten miles of any military post within the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio and to prevent the selling or pawning of arms, ammunition, clothing and accoutrements.

3. An act for suppressing and prohibiting every species of gaming for money or other property and for making void contracts and payments made in consequence thereof; and for restraining the disorderly practice of discharging arms at certain hours and places.

."POST VINCENNES, JULY 3, 1790.

"To the Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esq., Secretary in and for the territory of the United States northwest the River Ohio and vested with all the powers of governor and commander-in-chief:

"Sir:—

As you have given verbal orders to the magistrates who formerly composed the court of the district of Post Vincennes under the jurisdiction of the state of Virginia, to give you their reasons for having taken upon them to grant concessions for the lands within the district, in obedience thereto, we beg leave to inform you that their principal reason is that, since the establishment of this country, the commandants have always appeared to be vested with the power to give lands. Their founder, Mr. Vincennes, began to give concessions and all his successors have given lands and lots. Mr. Legras was appointed commandant of Post Vincennes by the lieutenant of the connty—John Todd who was, in the year 1779, sent by the state of Virginia to regulate the government of the country and who substituted Mr. Legras with his power. In his absence Mr. Legras, who was then commandant, assumed that he had in quality of commandant authority to give lands according to the ancient usages of other commandants; and he verbally informed the court of Post Vincennes that when they would judge it proper to give lands or lots to those who should come into the Territory to settle, or otherwise, they might do it; and that he gave them permission to do so.

> "These are the reasons that we acted upon and if we have done more than we ought, it was on account of the little knowledge we had of public affairs."
>
> F. Bosseron   Pierre Gamelin
> his
> L. Edeline   Pierre (X) Querez
> mark

While in Vincennes in 1790 Mr. Sargent received an address from the leading citizens as follows:

> "The citizens of the town of Vincennes approach you, Sir, to express as well their personal respects for your honor as a full approbation of the measures you have been pleased to pursue in regard to their government and the adjustment of their claims as inhabitants of the territory over which you at present preside. While we deem it a singular blessing to behold the principles of free government unfolding before us, we cherish the pleasing reflection that our posterity will also have cause to rejoice at the political change now originating. A free and efficient government wisely administered and fostered under the protecting wings of an august union of states, cannot fail to render the citizens of this wide, extended territory securely happy in the possession of every public blessing.
>
> "We cannot take leave, Sir, without offering to your notice a tribute of gratitude and esteem which every citizen of Vincennes conceives he owes to the merits of an officer (Major Hamtramck) who has long commanded at this post. The unsettled situation of things for a series of years previous to this gentleman's arrival tended in many instances to derange and in others to suspend, the operations of these municipal customs by which the citizens of this town were used to be governed. They were in the habit of submitting the superintendence of their civil regulations to the officer who happened to command the troops posted among them; hence, in the course of the late war and from the frequent change of masters, they labored under heavy and various grievances but the judicious and humane attention paid by Major Hamtrauck during his whole command, to the rights and feelings of every individual, craving his

interpositions, demands and will always receive our warmest acknowledgment.

"We beg you, Sir, to assure the supreme authority of the United States of our fidelity and attachment and our greatest ambition is to deserve its fostering care by acting the part of good citizens.

"By order and on behalf of the citizens of Vincennes.

ANTOINE GAMELIN, Magistrate.
PIERRE GAMELIN. "
PAUL GAMELIN "
JAMES JOHNSON, "
LOUIS EDELINE, "
LUKE DECKER, "
FRANCIS BOSSERON, "
FRANCIS VIGO.
Major Commandant Militia.
HENRY VANDERBURGH,
Major of Militia."

To this complimentary testimonial, Winthrop Sargent made a brief but appropriate reply as follows:

"VINCENNES, July 25, 1790.

GENTLEMEN:—

Next to that happiness which I derive from a consciousness of endeavoring to merit the approbation of the sovereign authority of the United States by the faithful discharge of the important trust committed to me, is the grateful plaudits of the respectable citizens of this territory and be assured, gentlemen, that I receive it from the town of Vincennes upon this occasion with singular satisfaction.

"In an event so interesting and important to every individual as the organization of civil government, I regret exceedingly that you have been deprived of the wisdom of our worthy governor. His extensive abilities and long experience in the honorable walks of public life might have more perfectly established that system which promises to you and posterity such political blessings. It is certain, gentlemen, that the government of the United States is most congenial to the dignity of human nature and the best possible palladium for the lives and property of mankind. The services of Major Hamtranck to the public and his humane attention to the citizens

> while in command here, have been highly meritorious and it is with great pleasure that I have officicially expressed to him my full approbation thereof.
>
> "Your dutiful sentiments of fidelity and attachment to the general government of the United States, shall be faithfully transmitted to their august president.
>
> "With the warmest wishes for the prosperity and welfare of Vincennes, I have the honor to be, gentlemen, Your obedient, humble servant,
>
> WINTHROP SARGENT."

During most of the years 1790 and 1791, Governer St. Clair was very busy with the military affairs of the territory. The civil affairs were turned over to Winthrop Sargent and he was given authority of acting governor. St. Clair then determined to return to Ft. Washington where General Harmor was stationed and consult with him as to the expediency of sending expeditions against the hostile Indians. When he arrived at Ft. Washington from Kaskaskia, after a consultatian with his military leaders, they determined to send a strong detachment against the Indians located on the head waters of the Wabash. At that time the United States troops in the northwest were but little over four hundred effective men. A part of the milita designed to act with the troops on these expeditions there was about three hundred from Virginia, that rendezvoused at Fort Steuben and with the garrison of that station marched to Vincennes and were joined to the forces of Major Hamtramck who was authorized to enlist what milita he could at Post Vincennes. With this force he marched up the Wabash river, having orders to attack any Indians that he might find with which his force was strong enough to engage. The governor had the authority of the president to call on the state of Virginia for one thousand troops and Pennsylvania for five hundred. These troops, less the three hundred Virginians that went with Hamtramck, assembled at Ft. Washington add were joined to the regular troops at that station.

On the last of September Governor St. Clair, in obedience to instructions from the president of the United States, sent the following letter to the British Commandant at Detroit:

"MARIETTA, September 19, 1790.

Sir:—

As it is not improbable on account of the military preparations going forward in this quarter of the country may reach you and give you some uneasiness, while the object to which they are directed in not perfectly known, I am commanded by the president of the United States to give you the full assurance that pacific dispositions are entertained toward Great Britain and all her possessions; and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken is not intended against the Post you have the honor to command nor any other place at present in the possession of the British troops of his Majesty; but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastising some of the savage tribes whose depredations are becoming intolerable and whose cruelties have, of late, become an outrage, not on the people of America only, but on humanity; which I now do in the most unequivocal manner.

"After this candid explanation, Sir, there is every reason to expect both from your own personal character and from the regard you have for that of your nation that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command; and that you will do what in your power lies to restrain the trading people from those instigations, from which there is good reason to believe much of the injuries committed by the savage has proceeded.

"I have forwarded this letter by a private gentleman in preference to an officer by whom you might have expected a communication of this kind, that every suspicion of the purity of the views of the United States, might be obviated."

General Harmer left Ft. Washington on September 30th, with an army of fourteen hundred men arrived at Maumee Octobor 17th then commenced the work of chastising the Indians but met with misfortunes that were more injurious to the American than were harmful to the Indians. The savages received a severe chastisement but the militia behaved so badly that it was of but little service. The detachment of three hundred and forty militia and sixty regulars, under the command of Colonel Hardin, were badly defeated on the Maumee October 22d. On the next day the army took up its line of march for Ft. Woshington which place they reached November 4th, having lost in the expedition one hundred and eighty-three killed and thirty-one wounded. During the progress of this expedition, Major Hamtramck marched up the Wabash as far as the Vermilion river, destroying several deserted villages without finding any enemy to oppose him. He then returned to Vincennes.

The savages were badly punished by these expeditions yet they refused to sue for peace and continued hostile.

On March 9th, 1791, General Henry Knox, Secretary of War, sent a letter of instructions to General Scott in Kentucky, recommending an expedition of mounted men, not to exceed seven hundred and fifty against the Wea towns along the Wabash. With this force, General Scott crossed the Ohio river May 23d, 1791, reached the Wabash in about ten days. Many of the Indians having discovered his approach deserted their villages but he succeeded in destroying all the villages around Ouiatenon together with several Kickapoo towns, killed thirty-five warriors and took sixty-one prisoners. Releasing a few of his aged prisoners he gave them a talk and asked them to carry it to the towns farther up the Wabash and to the country of the Maumee. Owing to the disabled condition of his horses he was unable to go farther.

In March, 1791, Congress provided for raising and equipping a regiment for the protection of the frontiers and governor St. Clair was placed in command of something more than three thousand troops, some of them yet to be raised and all of them to be employed in quelling the Indians in the Northwest Territory. He was instructed by the Secretary of War to march to the Miami village, Kekionga and to establish a permanent military post there and such posts elsewhere throughout his territory as would be in communication with Ft. Washington. The post at the Miami village was to be of such strength as to hold the savage in that neighborhood in check; also to afford shelter for five or six hundred men in case of an emergency. The Secretary of War urged St. Clair to establish that post as the most important part of his campaign. As in previous treaties, the Indians were to be conciliated, every inducement being offered to them to cease their hostilities. Said the Secretary of War—"Having commenced your march upon the expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority and after having arrived at the Miami village and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with your remaining force and endeavor to strike them with great severity. In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash and thence over the Maumee and down the same to its mouth on Lake Erie, the boundary between the people of the United States and the Indians (except so far as the same would relate to the Wyandotts and the Delawares) on supposition that they will remain faithful to their treaties, but if they should join in war against the United States and your army should be victorious, the said tribes should be removed without the boundary mentioned."

Before starting on the march with the main force to the Miami town, Governor St. Clair, June 25th, 1791, authorized General Wilkinson to conduct an expedition with not more than five hundred mounted men, to the Indian villages on the Wabash. Accordingly, General Wilkinson, on July 20th, with his mounted men well armed and with provision for thirty days, marched and reached the Kenapacomaqua village on the north bank of Eel river, (now Cass county, Indiana.) six miles above its mouth where, on August 7th, he killed six warriors and took thirty-four prisoners. This town, which was scattered along the river for three miles, was totally destroyed and Wilkinson and his command encamped on its ruins. The next day he commenced his march upon the Kickapoo town on the prairie which he was unable to reach, owing to the impossible condition of the route he had taken and the condition his horses were in.

In making his report he estimated the results of the expedition as follows: He had destroyed the chief town of the Ouiatenon nation and made prisoners of the son and sisters of the King. He had burned a respectable Kickapoo village and cut down four hundred acres of corn, mostly in the milk.

There is no doubt that these expeditions of Hamtramck, Harmor, Scott and Wilkinson seriously damaged the Indians but they were not subdued. They regarded the policy of the United States as calculated to exterminate them and the English at Detroit urged them on. They were excited by the loss in former expedition and the tales of woe told them by the British traders, to such a degree that they were desperate. As has been before stated at that time the British government still had garrisons at Niagara, Detroit and Michilimackinac, although it was declared in the second article of the definite treaty of peace in 1783 that the king of Great Britain would, with all convenient speed and without causing any destruction or carrying away any negroes or property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his forces from the garrisons and his fleet from the United States and from every post, place and harbor within the same. That treaty also provided that the creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bonafide debts previously contracted. The British government contended that the United States had broken faith in this particular understanding of the treaty and in consequence refused to withdraw its forces from the territory. The British garrison in the lake region was a source of much annoyance as they offered succor to the hostile Indians and encouraged them in making raids among the Americans. This state of affairs in the territory northwest of the Ohio continued from the commencement of the Revolutionary War to 1796 when, under a second treaty, all British soldiers were withdrawn from the country.

In September, 1791, St. Clair moved from Ft. Washington with about two thousand men. On the 3rd of November the main army consisting of about fourteen hundred effective troops moved forward to the head waters of the Wabash where Fort Recovery was afterward erected. Here the army encamped. At this time the Little Turtle, Blue Jacket and Buckongehelas and other Indian chiefs were secreted a few miles distant with a large force of Indians waiting for a favorable opportunity to bring on an attack. This they commenced on the morning of the 4th of November a little while before sunrise. The attack was first made upon the militia which gave way. St. Clair was defeated and returned to Ft. Washington with a broken and dispirited army, having lost thirty-nine officers and five hundred and forty men, killed and missing and having twenty-two officers and two hundred and thirty-five men wounded. St. Clair lost several pieces of artillery and all his ammunition, provision and baggage were left on the ground. One of the sad features of this terrible disaster was the loss of more than two hundred women who had followed their husbands, brothers and fathers on this campaign, expecting to settle with them in some of the fine country that would be reclaimed from the Indians. Over the most terrible fate that awaited and was meted out to these unfortunate women it is best to draw the veil. The Indians, in this battle, manifested the most fiendish and cruel brutality to the dead and dying Americans. Believing that the whites had made war for many years for the sole purpose of acquiring land, they thrust great chunks of dirt into the mouths and the great gashes cut in the cheeks of the dying and dead soldiers.

The defeat of St. Clair's army was a severe blow to the Northwest Territory and retarded the settlement of the middle and western part of that territory for many years. The Indians, owing to the very easy victory which they had gained over the Americans, whose army was almost twice as large as theirs, determinedly organized many raids which they sent into the thinly settled region of the Northwest Territory, Kentucky and on the borders of Virginia. There was so much destruction wrought by the Indians that many families who had come to the settled stations around the Ohio Falls and at Ft. Washington, moved farther back to Kentucky and Virginia. Some military critics were very severe and outspoken in censuring General St. Clair, though this was probably very unjust. The main reason of his defeat was that a large portion of his army had been hastily gathered together and many of them were from the thickly settled sections of Virginia and Pennsylvania where they had had no experience in Indian warfare and owing to the hurried disposition of the troops before the commencement of the main campaign, they had had but little opportunity to receive military training or discipline; also a portion of the new levies were commanded by officers who had no military experience. General St. Clair was an old man and had been very successful and efficient during the seven long years of the Revolution. When he was chosen to the important position of Governor of the Northwest Territory, he was a member of Congress and was president of that body.

After the return of the defeated army to Ft. Washington, St. Clair resigned his position of Major General in the United States army but retained the governorship of the Northwest Territory to which he gave all of his time. To the vacancy made in the army roll by the resignation of St. Clair, General Anthony Wayne (more familiarly known as "Mad Anthony") was promoted. General Wayne was an old officer and had won a very enviable reputation during the long struggle for liberty. On taking command he at once moved to Ft. Pitt (Pittsburg, Penn.)

In 1792 the government of United States determined to reorganize and place a large army in the field for the purpose of subduing the hostile Indians in the Northwest Territory and General Wayne set about preparing, drilling and equipping the army that he had gathered about him for the purpose of thoroughly chastising, defeating and destroying the Indians who had defeated St. Clair's army and destroyed so many American soldiers and American women.

During the rest of 1792 and up to October, 1793, Wayne remained at Ft. Pitt but on the latter date moved with his army to Ft. Washington where he remained the rest of that year and until July, 1794, preparing his army to be in the best condition for effective service, drilling them in a manner that they would be able to resist any of the known modes of Indian warfare. On July 26th Major General Scott with sixteen hundred mounted riflemen from Kentucky, joined the regular troops under Wayne at Ft. Washington and on the 28th of July the combined army began its march for the Indian towns on the Maumee.

Arriving at the mouth of the Auglaize, they erected Ft. Defiance and on August 15th they advanced toward the British fort at the rapids near the Maumee. On the 20th, almost within reach of the British guns the Americans gained a complete victory over the combined forces of the hostile Indians and a company of Detroit militia, amounting to seventy-eight men. The number of the enemy was estimated at two thousand against about nine hundred American troops actuallyengaged. As soon as the action commenced, the Americans charged the Indians who abandoned themselves to flight and dispersed with terror and dismay. The Americans lost on this occasion thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was probably three times as great. Wayne remained on the field and in the vicinity for several days after the battle, burning the Indian towns and destroying their corn-field for many miles on both sides of the Maumee. The Indians retired from that section disheartened to the country far to the north. Wayne continued sending messages to the Indians trying to persuade them to meet him and form a treaty.

After this, for a time, there was a suspension of hostilities and raids by the Indians, for from nearly every town in the Northwest Territory numbers of young hunters were engaged in that battle. Probably the Indians never on the American continent had gathered together a more efficient army of two thousand men, commanded by some of their greatest leaders, Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Buckongehelas and many other distinguished chiefs. Tecumseh, then in the first flush of his greatness commanded a troop of one hundred Indians on that field. They had chosen their battle field in a large territory of fallen timbers with an advance line of what we would now call skirmishers under two of their most successful war chiefs. The Indians were so well located that they had no doubt that they would gain a complete victory over Wayne's force. They had invited a number of British officers and soldiers to occupy positions in sight of the field to see them annhilate the American army, but they had reckoned without their host. General Wayne had an army of four thousand men equipped and drilled that for efficiency and moral in that mode of warfare perhaps was never excelled on the American continent. It was commanded by some of the most resolute and efficient officers who have honored the roll of fame among American heroes.

As soon as the battle commenced a detachment was ordered to charge both flanks of the Indian army and the centre and in a very short time it put them to precipitate flight. Not more than nine hundred of Wayne's men had an opportunity to distinguish themselves in that battle. After the battle during the time that Wayne was in camp near the Maumee he and his staff with a large escort of cavalry, made several trips of observation over the battle-field. During some of these trips the cavalcade was halted in front of the fort. This brought on such a spirited controversy between the commander of the British fort—Wm. Campbell—and General Wayne that it seemed, at one time, as if a collision would be brought on between the British and American armies.

About the middle of September, 1794, Wayne's army commenced its march toward the deserted Miami village and on the following day arrived there and selected a site for a new fort named Ft. Wayne. The fort was completed near the last of November and garrisoned by five hundred and fifty-eight men and officers, infantry and artillery, under the command of Colonel John F. Hamtramck. After this Wayne resumed his march. Arriving at Greenville he took up his headquarters there for the winter and remained there most of the summer of 1795. During all the time between the battle ane up to August of the next year Wayne had his scouts interpreters and trusted men among the Indians, trying to get them to meet him at Greenville for the purpose of making a general treaty of peace with all the hostile Indians of the

Northwest Territory and about the middle of August he succeeded in the attempt.

At that treaty a concession of a large amount of land on the Ohio, Sioto and Miami rivers was made the United States by the Indians. By this concession, commencing at a point on the eastern Ohio line near where Ft. Recovery was erected, a line was run to the south coming to the Ohio river at a point opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river. This small strip of land was the first real concession made by general treaty with the Indians that is located in the state of Indiana.

After the conclusion of these treaties there was a period of rest for the pioneers as the Indians, for some years afterward, were a little shy of making war on the frontiers. During that period there was a great influx of settlers into Onio around Marietta, Ft. Washington and at points in the territory of the Ohio Land Company; also there was a great impetus given to emigration into the state of Ketucky, around the Ohio Falls, Louisville on the north side of the river at Clarksville and in the territory set off for the officers and soldiers of General Clark's army. Outside of these settlements in Indiana Territory, there was no emigration to any part of it except an occasional fool-hardy, restless pioneer who would locate at some point in the wilderness.

The territory that is now Indiana, for some time after 1800 all belonged to the Indians, except the small strip granted by the Greenville treaty, the territory of Clark's grant and a section of land around Vincennes granted by the Piankashaw Indians. The government of the United States had repeatedly warned its officers at the different stations in the territory not to permitt any settlements to be made until the land was acquired from the Indians.

In 1795 a treaty with Spain was made by the United States which secured the free navigatin of the Mississippi river. After the treaty was signed and the people on the borders of the Alleghany mountains knew of it, a large number of emigrants came to the Northwest Territory. Most of them settled at various points in what soon afterward became the state of Ohio.

In 1796 the British evacuated Detroit and the United States forces occupied the territory. The post at Detrott was garrisoned by troops commanded by Captain Potter, secretary of the Northwest Territory. Winthrop Sargent went to Detroit and organized the county of Wayne, which included all that is now the state of Michigan, northeast Indiana and northwest Ohio. During that year settlements were made in many parts of Ohio.

In the year 1798 nominations for representatives for the Territory took place and on the 4th of February, 1799, they convened at Losantville, now Cincinnati, which was then the capital of the territory, for the purpose of nominating persons from whom the members of the legislature were to be chosen, in accordance with a previous ordinance. This nomination being made the assembly adjourned until the 16th of September, 1799. From those names the President selected as members of the council Henry Vanderburg of Vincennes, Robert Oliver of Marietta, James Finley and Jacob Burnett of Cincinnati and David Vance of Vanceville.

On the 16th of September the Territorial Legislature met and on the 24th the two houses were duly organized, Henry Vanderburg being elected president of the Council. The message of Governor St. Clair was addressed to the assembly and on the 13th of October that body elected William Henry Harrison as delegate to Congress. He received eleven votes which was a majority of one over his opponent, Arthur St. Clair, Jr. The number of acts passed at this session and approved by the Governor was thirty-seven. The most important of those passed related to the militia and to taxation. On the 19th of December the session of the first legislature in the west was closed and on the 30th of December the President nominated Captain William Byrd to the office of Secretary of the Territory, Vice William Henry Harrison, elected to Congress.

In 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided. Ohio at that time was preparing to form a state constitution. The division was made by commencing at the mouth of the Great Miami river, running thence north until that line intersects the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The report of the committee for the division of the Territory was accepted by Congress and in accordance with its suggestion was approved May 7th. Among its provisions were these—

"From and after July the 4th, 1800, all that part of the Northwest Territory which lies westward of the line from the mouth of the Miami river to the north, before mentioned, shall for the purpose of temporary government be known as Indiana Territory with headquarters of the same at Post Vincennes on the Wabash river."

CHAPTER V.

PRISONERS RECAPTURED FROM THE INDIANS — TERRIBLE FIGHTING AROUND THE PLACE WHERE OWENSVILLE, INDIANA, NOW STANDS.

In 1792 James Greenway, Thomas Doyle and Stephen Murtree were soldiers in the United States service and were on duty at Vincennes under command of Major Hamtramck. During the summer of that year their term of enlistment was out and they were given their discharges. They did not intend to go back into the service for a while so they determined to fit out a hunting and trapping outfit as in that early day there were but two kinds of employment in the Northwest Territory: one was soldiering and hunting Indians and the other was hunting game and trapping for furs.

Securing two large Indian canoes with such things as were necessary for their use, they started down the Wabash intending to hunt and trap on that river and its tributaries. In the fall, as they were floating down the Wabash they came to a small island seven or eight miles south of the mouth of White river. Examining the island they found that it would be a good place to make a camp, so selecting a site giving them a good view up and down the river and both banks, they built a barracade suitable for defense and inside of that built a small cabin. There was a Frenchman with the party by the name of Pierre DeVan who looked after the camp and hunted in the neighborhood. He was a character in many ways and proved to be a hero of the first water. He had been much with the Indians and understood the language of several tribes. He had a great hatred for all Indians as they had murdered his uncle who was the only relative he had in this country.

The fall was spent in hunting bear and deer for their skins, the winter in trapping. During the early winter the hunters had gone down the river and while the Frenchman was roaming over the little island he saw an Indian canoe tied to the shore opposite the mouth of a creek on the west bank of the river. He slipped back and hid himself in a convenient place to see what went on. He didn't have long to wait for an Indian was seen to rise up from back of a log looking in every direction for some time. Having concluded that no one was there, the red man went into the camp and commenced loading himself with the camping outfit to take to his canoe and while in the midst of his act the Frenchman shot him.

When the hunters returned and found the dead Indian they asked DeVau what made him kill the Indian and he answered: "Piankeshaw Indian a great liar and if I no kill him he maybe kill me. If I let him go two months we all be killed." They very materially strengthened their fortifications and told the Frenchman to stay inside when they were gone and to keep a good look-out. They intended to stay on the island as long as the water would let them as fur was much better late in the winter than in the early part. They caught many beaver and it was the last of February before the water commenced to rise so as to cause them any alarm about their camp.

They got everything in shape and loaded all their things into their canoes and started for Vincennes where they sold their skins and purchased a good supply of ammunition, salt and corn meal to take back with them when the water went down which was about the middle of April. When they reached the island again they found that the high water had wrecked their fortifications and little cabin and they had to do their work all over again. After this was completed they found that all the game had been driven out of the bottoms by the high waters and they resolved to go to the hills on the east side of the river for a hunt.

There was yet water in the little creek for their canoes and they followed it upstream for several miles when it seemed to become a brushy pond. They left their canoes here and went in a southeasterly direction. They had to wade through shallow water for a long distance before they got to higher land. Here they made a fire, dried their clothing and prepared a temporary camp, aiming to stay until they had all the meat they wanted and had acquainted themselves with the surrounding country, and it turned out they had no trouble in killing all the deer they could take care of.

The next morning they all went to a place seen by one of them the day before, which he felt sure it was a regular bear den in a cave or hole in a bluff. While they were hunting for the place they heard a loud, piercing scream not far away, coming, apparently, from a child. It was very loud at first but gradually grew weaker until it ceased. The hunters were greatly startled and could not account for such a noise in this great wilderness. They hid in the bushes for a while waiting for further developments but did not see or hear anything more.

They resolved to find out the cause of the screaming and it was determined that Doyle should go first, the other two to keep him in sight and be governed by his motions. He crawled through the thick brush and when they were near a high bluff he signalled to the others to come to him. He had seen smoke and heard voices that he believed to be those of Indians. The smoke seemed to come from the eastern side of the bluffs and they determined to go farther around. Advancing very carefully for two or three hundred feet they could see the fire and going still farther could see that there were several Indians around it and a little to one side a white man and woman were sitting on a log with their hands tied behind them. There were four Indians in view and the hunters each selected one to shoot at. After firing they determined they would reload their guns where they were and trust to luck for the outcome. They all fired at once, killing two and fatally wounding another one that fell in the fire; the fourth one ran around the side of the bluff.

After waiting awhile the hunters slipped to where the prisoners were, cut the leather thongs they were bound with and finished the Indian who was kicking and squirming in the fire. Doyle determined to follow the other Indian and in a short time a shot was heard in the direction he had gone. Soon an Indian was seen running eighty or ninety yards away. The two hunters fired at him and he dropped his gun but kept on running. On going around the bluff in the direction Doyle had gone, they came upon his lifeless body, killed no doubt by the Indian at whom they had just been shooting.

The prisoners released were James Griscom and his wife, Rachel. The screaming heard by the hunters was little Mary Griscom, who the day before had a fall that had hurt her ankle so that she could not walk and had to be carried for several miles to where the camp was made. She was no better the morning the hunters found them and would hinder their time in marching, so the Indians resolved to kill her. One of them gathered her up and going to the top of the bluff threw her over to the bottom, many feet below, killing her.

Griscom informed the hunters that there were three more Indians that had gone away with their guns, he supposed to hunt and that they might return at any time. They took the Indians' guns and hid them in the brush; then took Doyle's body around to the end of the bluff where the body of the little girl was and hastily put them in a crevice or shelf in the rock made by the action of running water and covered and wedged them in so that they would be safe from animals.

After consulting together they resolved to avenge the death of the brave Doyle and little Mary by killing the other Indians if they should return. Murtree went back up the slope of the bluff to a point where he could see for some distance around and also see where the fire was. The others dragged the dead Indians into the brush, then made up the fire and hid behind a screen of brush so they could have a view of the fire and of Murtree who was to signal to them when he saw anything of the Indians. They were in that position about one hour when Murtree signalled them to be on the look out, pointing to a position beyond the fire. In a short time two Indians came into a view with a deer on a pole with them. As they came near the fire they stopped and looked around for their comrades. At that moment Greenway and Griscom fired, killing one and breaking the thigh of the other, who fell but tried to drag himself, gun in hand to a log and was killed by Murtree. The hunters remained in their position for some time but the other Indian did not return. Fearing that the Indian wounded in the first battle would be able to find some other band of warriors and come back to his camp, and being told by Griscom that an Indian town they had come near the day before was not more than six miles south of them, they concluded to get away as soon as they could.

Griscom also told them that another band of Indians with four prisoners had been with their party and had gone to the town. The band he was with would not go to the village but went around it.

Gathering up such of the plunder stolen by the Indians as would be of use to them, and taking all the Indian guns, they went to their camp where they had eight deer killed the day before. It took a long time to load their canoes as they had to wade through the slush and water a long distance to get to them. It was late in the afternoon when they started for their island camp and after night when they arrived there. The next day they fixed up quarters for their new comers who were very grateful for being released from captivity but were very sad over the loss of their little Mary.

Griscom gave this account of their capture: He, with his wife and little daughter seven years old; George Talbert and wife, a sister of Mrs. Griscom's and little boy five years old; Thomas West and wife; Davtd Hope and wife; a brother James, 15 years old and a sister, Jane, 11 years old, had embarked on a boat, which they fitted out near Wheeling, Va., for the mouth of the Ohio river. Mr. Hope had been there when a soldier. The river was in a good stage of water and the run most of the way had been very pleasant, not requiring much use of the oars. They saw nothing of Indians until a day after passing the mouth of Green river. Late in the evening, three days before they were liberated by the hunters, they came to the head of a large island and the current drew the boat into the channel on the north side. As soon as they were well into the schute they were fired on by a concealed foe on the north bank, killing Talbert and Mrs. West, severely injuring Hope and breaking Mrs. Hope's arm. They lay down in the bottom of the boat hoping that the current would carry them beyond the reach of the Indians' guns, but soon they were seen coming after them in two canoes. The boatmen fired at them, killing two and wounding another one. West was shot and fell overboard. Griscom, in his hurry, broke the lock of his gun and before he could get another one the Indians were in the boat. They finished killing Hope and his wife and Mrs. West, as they were badly wounded and captured and tied the other seven. The boat was soon landed and unloaded and the stores divided among the twenty Indians capturing them. The prisoners were huddled together and lay on the bank until the next morning when they started on the trip northward. On the second evening, coming to the edge of the Indian town before mentioned, Mrs. Talbert, her little boy and the two Hope children were taken by the Indians that stopped there. The Griscom family was taken around the town to the point where they were liberated. The two hunters and Griscom had many consultations trying to form some plan to recapture Mrs. Talbert and the three children taken to the Indian town if they were still there. They finally took Pierre DeVan, the Frenchman, into the council and talked over many ways to best accomplish the dangerous undertaking and, as they were brave men, decided that, come what would, they would make the attempt.

The water had gone down until it was nearly all out of the bottoms and the hunters made arrangements to go to the Indian town which, as they understood from Griscom, was twelve or fifteen miles away, at the same time intending to go by the bluff and bury Doyle and the little girl. They were in a quandary what to do with Mrs. Griscom, it being dangerous to leave her at the camp as at any time Indians from their town on the Patoka or White river not far to the northeast, might came to the Island. She decided the question by informing them that she intended to go as she had been raised on the frontier of Virginia where Indian raids and counter raids by whites were of frequent occurence and that she would not in any way be a hindrance to them---if need be using a rifle as well as the best. This being settled they decided to start early the next morning.

They marched along the bayou to the place where they had left their canoes on the other trip and thence to their camp of two weeks before. It was agreed that Murtree should make a reconnoissance of the surrounding neighborhood, going as far as the bluff. He was gone about an hour and reported everything as they had left it except that he didn't see the least trace of the five Indians they had killed and left there. He supposed their bodies had been carried away and eaten by bears, wolves or panthers as the conntry was full of them. The shelf where the two white people were placed was just as they had left it. They all went to that point, taking an axe and a wooden shovel that they had made for the occasion. After selecting a place for the grave and digging it, they uncovered the bodies, carried them to it and buried them side by side. Though the mother of little Mary was a brave woman, it was very trying to her to thus give up her only child. It was necessary, however, not to waste time and so they were soon on the march again, Griscom leading the way.

He intended to go within about a mile of the town and then let Pierre DeVan, the Frenchman, go to the village in his full Indian dress, representing that he had been with four Indian hunters going to the Ohio river; that he had shot a deer and while following its trail had gotten lost from the party and failed to find them, his purpose being to find the number of men in the village and if he could, to see Mrs. Talbert and give her a word of their plan.

Griscom, after finding a good hiding place for the party, went with him near to the town. As they went he found a good place for defense, not more than half a mile away to which he could bring the rest of the party. He told DeVan that when he had accomplished his mission to come to this place.

The party was moved up to the new position Griscom had found. It was after dark when DeVan came slipping into camp and reported that there were eight or nine warriors and an old man who seemed to be the head and that he had seen the white woman and the boy but not the other children. The Indians seemed to want him to go away as they told him his friends were to the east. As there was a big creek he could not cross to the south but would have to go to the east quite a distance, then south. While the old man and the warriors were in consultation he had a chance to say only two words in English to Mrs. Talbert—"Friends near." She said nothing but looked at him as if she understood. The old man sent a young Indian with him for about two miles east and put him in a trace that would take him to the creek where he could cross it. He went south far enough to feel sure that he was not watched, then turned into a thicket, waited for dark and came into camp.

They all held a consultation and it was decided best not to attack the Indians as there were too many warriors, but to try and get Mrs. Talbert by stealth, if possible and not to attempt that until late in the night.

Waiting until after eleven o'clock, DeVan, Murtree and Greenway started, the hunters intending to go near the edge of the town so that DeVan could have a point to come to if attacked. Then DeVan was to do his part in his own way. Everything was very quiet for nearly an hour after they had taken their station. At that time three Indians came to the town and they must have been bearers of bad news for soon there was great excitement among them. Two women were screaming and tearing their hair.

It was fully two o'clock when everything was quiet again Soon the stillness was broken and a terrible noise raised by the snapping and snarling and howling of many dogs and the screaming of a child, which raised a great commotion among the Indians. Soon the Frenchmen with the little boy in his arms and Mrs. Talbert after him came running to where the two hunters were. The child was still moaning so loud that the Indians could tell the direction in which they had gone. It was placed in its mother's arms and she did all she could to make it keep still. DeVan told the hunters it was best for them to take the woman and child back to the others and for all of them to start north by the north star and leave him to check the Indians. They did this and it was but a little while until the crack of a rifle was heard, then everything became still. The party had been slipping away for some time when another rifle was heard but a little way to the rear. In a few moments DeVan came up with them and told them to go as they were until just before day and to find a good place for defense, then stop at that place; that there were several Indians following them but he would keep them in check until daylight.

Just at the break of day they came to a small creek where there was some large fallen timber that would make a good place for defense. Hurriedly piling logs between two large fallen trees they made two end walls which provided a fort that could not be successfully attacked unless the enemy had such numbers that they could carry it by storm. Soon another rifle shot was heard and this time a shot was fired at the blaze or flash of DeVan's rifle. In a few minutes DeVan was seen and would have passed had not Murtree ran to him and brought him into the improvised fort. They kept a careful watch for the Indians and in a little while two were seen, half bent one behind the other, following the trail made by DeVan. Greenway and Murtree instantly fired on them. One fell and the other showed that he was hit but managed to get behind an obstruction. Another Indian rushed to the one shot down and dragged him out of sight, DeVan shooting at him but missing him. After this, during all the day a sharp look-out was kept but no more Indians made their appearance.

The little boy who was hurt in the morning was suffering very much. DeVan said that when he ran out of the Indian tepee with the child in his arms, on running around it he ran into a dog kennel where an old bitch had a litter of good-sized pups and such another fuss as they made he had never heard before and the old dog bit the child through the calf of the leg.

In the evening not long before sundown there was heard in the woods to the west of them the chattering of many squirrels, which was thought very probably to be caused by slipping Indians, and a very sharp look-out was kept in that direction. Just as the grey dusk of evening came on Mr. Griscom had his arm broken by a shot that came from a tree not more than sixty yards away. The Indian had climbed up a little tree behind a larger one so that he could see over the log pile. When he shot he tried to get back of the large tree but in his hurry the small tree swayed so much with him that his body came into view from back of the large tree and DeVan shot him, his body falling to the ground.

After this everything became still and the hunters held a consultation to agree on a plan to pursue. They could not form a correct idea of the number of Indians beseiging them nor were they certain that there were any, but they thought, as they were encumbered with two women, the child and the wounded man, that they had better not run any more risk than was necessary. They agreed that they would remain where they were until the middle of the night and then attempt to go to the bluff. In the meantime DeVan would be making a reconnoissance around the camp and along the route they were to go. After he had been gone a while the hooting of an owl was heard in the direction they had come that morning. After a little while it was repeated and soon it was answered not more than a hundred yards from where they were. DeVan returned and said that he was certain that the answer to his owl call was made by Indians and that they were but a little way off—that he had gone to the north, the way the little party would have to go, for about three hundred yards and had not seen or heard anything, so they decided to get away.

Greenway, Murtree and Griscom and the women started to the north, DeVan asking the privilege of staying in the rear. They had to travel very slowly owing to the brush and fallen timber and had gone but a little way when a shot was heard and in a little time another, then two more in quick succession not more than two hundred yards behind them. They came to a large fallen tree and determined to stop and fight it out, but had just gotten into position when DeVan came up with them. He told them he thought it best for them to continue their march as he had fired at an Indian the first time not more than fifteen feet away. The last shot he had fired was at an object about eighty yards away and that two shots were fired at the blaze of his gun, one of them splintering his gun stock. He could not tell how many Indians there were but there were too many for them with their small party. He said he thought he could keep them back but if he found that he could not he would come to them and they would find a place for defense.

The women and hunters started again and had gone about half a mile when DeVan hurried up to them and told Griscom and the women to go as fast as they could for as much as a hundred yards and then to halloo and scream loudly for a little while and he and the other two men would get into a good position and wait for the Indians.

They came to the forks of a good sized creek and soon had a good position. The hallooing and screaming were heard and as they expected, in three or four minutes six or seven Indians came came into view hurrying on to where the noise was made. All three of the men fired and killed two Indians, while the rest were heard running away. One of the hunters brought the rest of the party back to their position and they all remained there until after daylight but saw no more Indians.

At daylight they started again, this time leaving Greenway and Murtree to stay at the creek for a while to see if any Indians would follow, and having DeVan pilot the party. They had gone but a little way when they came to objects familiar to Mr. Griscom and were soon at the south end of the bluff. In a short time the two hunters came up with them and they went into their temporary camp. Fortunately one of the party had killed a deer and some of it was soon prepared and ready to cook. After thus refreshing themselves, they went to their island home, from which they had been gone only three days and two nights but during that time they had underdone enough exciting eqperiences to last a lifetime.

After the very exciting experiences that the three hunters had gone through to liberate Mrs. Talbert and her child from the Indians they rested for several days in their comfortable quarters at the island. Mrs. Talbert's little boy was very ill for some time from the dog bite. Mr. Griscom's arm was very sore, the ball having fractured his arm and it was several weeks healing. Mrs. Talbert said that the Indians who captured the boat at "Diamond Island" belonged to two bands, one of them to the town she was taken to "six miles south of Owensville," the other belonged to a much larger town farther north; and the reason the Indians who had Mrs. Griscom and family would not go into the town she was taken to was, that the two factions had a disagreement about the division of prisoners and spoils taken at the boat and they were afraid the other Indians would take their prisoners away from them. She said that if the Indians that had her and her child had any knowledge of the Indians that were killed at the bluff, they never made it known to her. The Indians that came into the camp the night DeVan came after her were all that were left of ten from the town who attempted to capture another boat on the Ohio river and the women who were crying and tearing their hair were the wives of two of the Indians killed. She said that these two women would have killed her and her child that night if the old chief and two other men had not ptotected her. She also said that the two Hope children were given to three Indians of one family who had helped capture the boat and were adopted by the mother to take the place of a boy and girl of hers who had died.

A few days after Mrs. Talbert and her child had arrived at the Indian town, the three Indian hunters, the two white children and their Indian mother went away in canoes down the small river and were gone for five days. When they returned they had a large iron kettle with them. James Hope told Mrs. Talbert that they went down the small river until it went into a much larger river about one-third as large as the Ohio (meaning the Wabash) and finally they had gone into a creek on the west side and left their canoes and then they went into a beautiful grove where the Indian mother and the two children put up a brush and bark house large enough for them to stay in. The three hunters went away and did not come back until in the evening of the second day and they then had an iron kettle with some salt in it. They did not say how they got it but said they "make salt down in the woods some way off." The next morning they took several deer they had killed and started home. As they were on their way they stopped at a place not far above the mouth of the small river and went into camp, "a very pretty place," James said. The Indian mother asked the two children how they would like to live in that place and told them—"Maybe in one moon we live here."

The next day they came back to the town. Mrs. Talbert learned from an Indian woman that they lived at a much larger town north but they had had some trouble and about sixty Indians had left and come to that place. She also said that there was some trouble even then and it was likely that several families would move away in a short time and that the Indians with the white children were then on a lookout for a new home. Mrs. Talbert said that the same Indians and the white children and three other families had gone away in canoes the morning before DeVan rescued her and she did not know when they intended to return; James Hope told her that they said they were going on a hunting trip.

From their recent experience the hunters felt that it was best for them to be well prepared. They built a strong cabin for the new addition to their camp and put a heavy stockade around their cabins with port holes to shoot from on all sides. The guns captured from the Indians were inspected and three of them put in serviceable condition and their stock of ammunition was ample for any probable need. Mr. Griscom's arm was yet very sore but with the aid of his wife and Mrs. Talbert who were both experts with rifles, he felt sure that he could defend the camp against any probable attack while the hunters were absent.

DeVan's heroic action during the perilous retreat when Mrs. Talbert was recaptured had raised him high in the esteem of his comrads and they had invited him to take the place of Doyle and hunt and trap with them and share their profits while the camp would be left to the care of Griscom. The three hunters intended being on the chase all the time and when near enough would return to camp at night. Their aim was to hunt for large game during the summer and early fall and at the same time explore the surrounding country. Greenway and Murtree had land warrants for two enlistments and they wanted to find a suitable place and when the land was surveyed lay their claims. They knew that the east side of the river was infested with Indians and concluded to do their hunting for a time on the west side and inspect the different creeks and inlets for beaver in order to trap when the fur season came.

They had been hunting and prospecting for several weeks and had seen no Indians, so they concluded to go up a good sized stream that empties into the Wabash river on the east side several miles south of their island camp, on an inspection for Beaver signs; (this small river now known as Black river drains with its many tributaries a large section of fine country and at that time was one of the best beaver trapping territories in southern Indiana.) They ran up the river for several hours coming to a good sized creek that empties into the river on the northwest side. They followed this for some distance until they came to point where they could conceal their conoes and then went on a hunt, agreeing to be back to that place at night.

It was late when DeVan returned; the other two were there before him and had prepared a temporary camp. DeVan said that when he was about two miles up the river and one mile south of it he heard voices and listeuing found that they were coming nearer. Secreting himself in a thick cluster of vines, in a short time he saw six persons passing within about sixty yards of where he was hidden. These persons consisted of three Indian men, one Indian woman and two white children, the girl being small and the boy a good-sized lad and both dressed in buckskin the same as the Indians. All were carrying vessels of different kinds that he thought were filled with honey.

DeVan's report made it certain that the two white children were near them and in the hands of the Indians and from Mrs. Talbert's statement it was almost certain that they were the Hope children. It was decided to make reconnoisance that night in the neigborhood where DeVan saw the Indians and see if they could locate their camp. They went to the place where DeVan thought he was hidden when the Indians and white children went near him. On going in this direction for as much as a mile, a dog commenced to bark at them not far away. The hunters remained quiet for some time and then DeVan proposed that he should go near and find out why the dog was there. He had been gone but a short time when two or three dogs commenced barking. Talking in the Indian tongue was heard but neither Murtree nor Greenway understood what they were saying.

Finally a light was made by pushing the chunks of wood up together and several persons were seen moving around. DeVan slipped back to the place where the rest of the party were and said that he had gotten within one hundred and fifty feet of the camp where the fire was and that there were three or four wigwams. The Indians thought that it was wolves prowling around that caused the dogs to bark so and the fire was made up to scare them away. After talking over the situation they determined to slip around the camp at a safe distance and see what they could find out.

On going around they found a spring four or five hundred feet from the fire that evidently was used, as it was covered over with fresh brush to keep the sun out; the dogs all the time they were walking around keeping up a continual barking following the direction the hunters were going. Several Indians were seen moving around the fire; finally one of them got some splinters and made a torch in order to shine the eyes of whatever animal it was and with their guns started in the direction the dogs indicated, encouraging them to attack. The hunters saw that they would have to kill the Indians or get away and they thought it would lessen their chance to recapture the children if they were to shoot the Indians so they quietly slipped away in the direction of the river.

The dogs followed them a little way and then went back. The Indians were seen throwing their torches away. The hunters went back to their camp satisfied with their night's work in locating the Indians' camp where they believed the children were, the question uppermost in their minds being how they could recapture them. They felt it was their duty to release them if it could be done but they did not want to run unnecessary risk in doing it.

They were some little time in forming a plan of action. Greenway proposed that they start back to the Indian camp about two hours before day and hide themselves where they could see what was going on and where they would have a good view of the spring. At an early hour they started for the Indian camp without any settled plan of what they would do more than to keep a look-out for the white children, thinking they might go to the spring for water for themselves. It was still dark when they found a suitable place for concealment and in a little while smoke was seen coming out of the tops of several wigwams.

Just at daylight three Indian women went to the spring for water and soon after four Indians with their guns started on a hunt followed by three dogs. After this there was stillness for some time, then a shot was heard in the direction that the Indians had gone and in quick succession two or three more shots. The dogs were making a terrible noise as if furiously barking at some animal at bay. The Indian camp was soon in a stir and two other Indians with guns started to the sound of the combat. After going a short distance they stopped and were seen to examine something on the ground and started to follow the trail made the night before by the white hunters while going around the Indian camp.

These last two Indians went for some distance, finally hallooed to some one in camp and were soon joined by two other Indians. They all followed the trail until it came to where the hunters started to their camp when the two Indians came out with the torch. They seemed to be holding a consultation and then the last two Indians that had come out hurried to the camp and got their guns, all four starting on the trail. Soon after the Indians had left.

A white boy and an Indian woman were seen coming to the spring with an iron kettle carried between them on a pole, followed by a little white girl. When at the spring the Indian woman commenced to fill the kettle. The hunters slipped up behind them; DeVan caught the woman and tied a thick piece of rawhide in her mouth so that she could not make a noise and tied her hands behind her. Greenway spoke to James Hope, the boy, and told him that Mr. Griscom had sent for them. The little girl was badly frightened but James quieted her. Hiding the kettle in a thicket they started, taking a direction that would bring them to the river several miles east of that place.

As the Indian hunters were all gone the captors felt assured that the Indian woman would not be missed for some time. They traveled very fast and before noon they were over the river and marching rapidly to the north. DeVan told the Indian woman that they belonged to a large band of white people who were hunting for the two children and that they would get to their camp the next morning. He told her that she would not be hurt as she had been good to the children and that she might go and live with them all the time or when they got to camp she might go back—she could do as she pleased as they did not intend to keep her a prisoner.

The Indian woman said that she had three sons that she did not want to leave and she would go back if they would let her. They had made a long march when they finally came to a nice camping place. After eating their supper they gathered brush and leaves for beds. They told the Indian woman that she had better go on with them but she said she would go back. After taking her leave of the children she started on their back track very slowly at first but was soon seen running like the winds.

In a little while the rescuing party was rapidly marching away, shaping their course so they would strike the Wabash river near their island camp. They marched for several miles after the Indian woman left them and on coming to a suitable place, rested until two o'clock in the morning when they again started and a little before day found that they were in the neighborhood of the river but could not decide how far south of their camp as it was yet quite dark. Continuing up the river fully two miles they came to familiar objects that they knew were about two miles south of the island. They had gone one mile further when they heard the sound of guns firing up the river. They could not account for this, as there was too much of it for any hunting party, unless it was an attack on their fort.

Hurrying on until within about one-half mile of the fort, Murtree went forward to find out what it meant. He was gone but a little time and when he got back said that he could not see anything of the people at the fort or anyone else and that the firing was from the fort and the west side of the island. Murtree said he thought they could get to the fort by keeping themselves well screened by the brush.

They hurried on until opposite the stockade. They could not see anything of the white people but every little while a rifle would crack; sometimes two or three of them. The firing of those outside the stockade was very rapid at times. Leaving the two children in hiding, the three hunters waded in as far as they could and swam to the island. Greenway and Murtree went to the gate, made themselves known and were admitted. DeVan took a canoe back and brought the children. The Indians were behind large logs at the water's edge firing at the stockade but were doing no damage to those inside the works.

DeVan was near the southwest angle of the stockade when he heard a sound as if some one was struggling or strangling on the outside near the wall. He got an augur and bored a hole near the ground so he could see what it was that caused the noise and found that an Indian was lying there in the last agonies of death. He could see another Indian not more than ten feet away who was being dragged, feet formost, with a strap held by some other Indian behind a log and soon the dead Indian was out of sight. In a few moments he saw an Indian crawl from back of the same log and tie a cord to the wounded Indian and drag him away. The opening was so small he could not bring his gun to bear on the Indian.

The Indians during all this time kept up constant firing. Soon they ceased firing and Murtree and DeVan went out on the east side and crawled around the fort. The Indians were in their canoes, some of them having crossed the river, were carrying some of their dead and wounded companions up the bank. The two hunters got in a good position and fired upon them. Those in the fort were firing from the port holes and the Indians in two of the canoes that were in the stream were returning the fire. The canoes drifted with the current down the river beyond gunshot. The occupants rowed them to the shore and climbed up the bank, carrying their bark canoes with them.

After the battle was over and the Indians had gone, the hunters made an examination of the island but did not find any dead Indians, but pools of blood in many places made it evident that many of them had been hit.

Mr. Griscom said that two days before two canoes with four Indians were seen coming down the river. One of them put to shore and two Indians landed and after looking around for about a half an hour went back to their canoe. They then went down the river and were gone for two or three hours and then they were seen coming back, passing on the west side of the river apparently paying no attention to the fort It was thought they had gone for good but the next day several canoes were seen up the river. They landed on the west side and went into camp having large fires. "This," said Griscom, "caused us to keep a careful lookout. There were yet four guns that had been captured in the former battles with the Indians that had not been put in serviceable shape. These were cleaned up, new flints put in the locks and loaded. This gave us seven guns for defense and every precaution was taken to have everything in readiness, all of us determining to remain up all night. It was near the middle of the night when some objects were seen moving between the fort and the west side of the island. We called to them thinking it might be you hunters returning but there was no response and nothing was seen until just at daylight. At that time I was trying to see over the top of the stockade by leaning a piece of board out against the timbers and tiptoeing so that I could raise my eyes above the top of the wall, when a shot was fired at me that cut the side of my cap. At once a rush was made by a number of Indians to scale the walls and get into the fort. Fortunately the women were at their posts and shot several times at the Indians not more than forty feet away and before they ceased their attempt to take the fort there must have been eight or ten of them killed or wounded."

The Indians fell back to the west side of the island and had been shooting at the stockade until after the hunters had gotten into the fort. None of the white people had been seriously hurt in the battle. Mrs. Talbert had her cheek burned by a ball that grazed her face. The Indians in attempting to storm the fort made a fatal mistake. The white people went into a strong log cabin built in the center of the stockade with port holes on every side, which was made on purpose to repel such an attack. There was but one Indian who got over the walls and Mrs. Griscom shot him through the head. Another one got on top of the wall and was shot, falling inside the fort; several others were shot as they attempted to get over the wall. Griscom said he was certain that as many as six Indians had been killed and as many more wounded. From what they could see and hear when the Indians undertook to storm the fort there were as many as twenty-five of them. The heroic action of the two women saved the lives of those in the fort at the time of the attack by being in the inner fort with two loaded guns apiece.

After the battle a close watch was kept all day and night but no Indians were seen. The hunters built two more strong cabins and prepared them far defense as well as for comfort. By this time it was very hot weather and they decided to stay close around their camp until the weather became cooler.

The Hope children gave a very interesting history of their experience while they were prisoner . The three young hunters who had them for their part of the boat-fight spoils were looked up to by the other Indians as their very best warriors. Their mother, to whom they gave the Hope children, was the widow of a prominent chief who was killed in Kentucky some years before. In adopting the children in place of two of hers who had died she first gave them articles that had belonged to the dead children and then had them take off their clothing and put on a buckskin suit. She next brought some tea in a bowl, sprinkling some of it over them, then giving them a small portion to drink after which she drank a small portion herself. After this ceremony she took them into her wigwam and gave each of them a number of skins for their beds. James Hope said that no one could have been kinder to them than was this Indian mother. She would have them sit down by her and would pat and caress them calling them by their Indian names. At other times she would look at them and cry most piteously and then caress them with all the affection of a fond mother.

James said that the morning he told Mrs. Talbert that they were going on a hunting excursion was the last time he had heard of the town where she was prisoner. Eight men and four women besides their Indian mother came to the place where he was recaptured with all their effects and none of them had heard of their former home since.

The Griscoms, Mrs. Talbert and the hunters held many consultations about what was best for them to do. They had lost what little they owned when the boat was captured and Mrs. Talbert had lost her husband. If they wanted to do so, they could not go back to Virginia and they did not have friends or relatives at any other place. The country on every side was a wilderness roamed over by hostile Indians. At Vincennes and Kaskaskia there were small settlements of white people and a few American soldiers were in forts at these places but there was nothing they could do if they went there. The people there, outside the soldiers, were of another nation and were only friendly to the Americans because they hated the English more.

These unfortunate people were high minded and did not want to be a burden to the hunters who were there for the profit of hunting and trapping for fur. The hunters proposed to Mr. Griscom that he, his wife, Mrs. Talbert and the two Hope children, should remain on the island until they could do better or the high water forced them to go away and Griscom should assist them in hunting and trapping and share in the profits; the two women, with the help of the children, taking care of the camp. This was agreed to and everything was put in readiness for the fall and winter's hunt, all the time being very careful to keep watch for the Indians. Greenway made a trip to Vincennes during the warm weather and learned that there was great activity among the Indians; that they were continually on the war path and that there had been many skirmishes between them and the Kentuckians who were always as ready to fight as the Indians were.

The warm weather had finally gone and the fall had come. The hunters were on the chase killing bear and deer. Buffalo were plenty in small herds and many of them were killed. The meat was cured by drying it and the hides prepared for market. There were no incidents other than come to hunters during the fall and winter. They secured the hide of many beaver and other fur bearing animals. Near the last of February the high water came and they had to abandon their comfortable quarters, all going to Vincennes to sell their peltry and live until the water went down.

Griscom and his wife remained for several years in the neighberhood of Vincennes, hunting and trapping but finally moved to the Illinois country.

Mrs. Talbert married a discharged soldier at Vincennes and later moved to the neighborhood of the Yellow Banks now Rockport.

The two Hope children, James and Jane, found a soldier in the fort at Vincennes who was a cousin of their mother's. He took them in charge until his enlistment was out and then went with them to the country north of the Cumberland river not far south of where Bowling Green, Kentucky, is now located.

Greenway, Murtree and DeVan enlisted in the army and were with Wayne at the battle of Maumee. After the war was over DeVan came back to his old hunting grounds and was on the chase until just before the battle of Tippecanoe when General Harrison engaged him as scout to do some work in finding out what the Indians west of the Wabash were doing and if it were likely the Prophet could control them. His report was so satisfactory to General Harrison that he enlisted him in the army and gave him an easy position in the quartermaster's department.

Murtree after the war of 1812 was over was mustered out at Niagara Falls, finally came west and laid warrants on land in Posey county.

James Greenway was promoted to a Quartermaster's Sergeant and was in the regular army for many years. After the last war with England was over General John I. Neely, who was an aide-de-camp and Adjutant General to General Wm. H. Harrison, was detailed by the government to settle up the quartermaster and commissary business at several military stations in the northwest. James Greenway, a quartermaster-sergeant was detailed and ordered to report to General Neely for duty in closing out the surplus quartermaster supplies and he proved to be a very competent man in his line of business. They were at this work more than a year and in this way became very well acquainted. During that time Greenway showed General Neely the notes of the principal events of his life for many years before the date they were working together. The locality mentioned in the notes was familiar to the General and he secured a copy of them;

in this way the data for this chapter was secured. General Neely was very much interested in the stirring events that took place twenty-five years before that time in the neighborhood of his home, as they were narated to him by Greenway.

When they had finished the work the General invited him to visit him and they would then go over the places mentioned in the notes. This invitation was accepted and in the fall of 1818 Greenway secured a furlough and visited him at his Gibson county home.

They were hunting several weeks together and during that time they went to Coffee Island and up Coffee bayou to what is known as Brushy pond, thence over the old trace to the bluff. The located the grave where Thomas Doyle and Mary Griscom were buried in 1793. They at that time had filled the last two feet of the grave with various sized rocks to keep the animals from digging the bodies out and it was by these rocks that the General and Greenway now identified the graves. By the invitation of General Neely, Major David Robb, who was an old Tippecanoe comrade, was with the party the day the graves were located and he, being a surveyor, took the following notes:

> "On the level land at the base of a high bluff, Thomas Doyle and Mary Griscom are buried in the same grave, 23 feet northwest of the northwest point of the bluff, located in the southwest quarter of section thirty-three, township two, south, range 12, west, the survey of 1804."

In 1867, Captain David F. Embree, a grandson of David Robb, showed the author the notes that had been made in his grand-father's field note book of that early day, also on the same leaf the notes of young Ziba Foote* who was drowned in Foot's pond in 1804 was recorded as being located

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AUTHOR'S NOTE—Young Foot referred to was an engineer from the east and was with one of the surveying corps in southwestern Indiana late in the fall of 1804, surveying the land that was ceded by the Indians to the United States in August of the same year. He attempted to cross Foot's pond (named for him) on a frail raft, that came apart and let him into deep water and he was drowned. Years afterward his brother, Dr. Foot, purin section 21, township 3, south, range 13, west.

After the visit was over Greenway returned to his post and nothing more was heard of him until 1827 he wrote General Neeley this letter:

"St. Louis, Mo., June 14, 1827.

GENERAL JOHN I. NEELY,
Princeton, Indiana.

DEAR SIR:—

I will have finished my seventh enlistment in the army on the 24th day of August, this year. I intend to come to Indiana and will call on you. I want to go to the bluff and have a large stone cut out of it, if it is sound rock and place it over my cousin, Thomas Doyle's, grave. I hope, sir, that everything has been favorable to you. I am your obedient

JAMES GREENWAY."

He never came and this is the last General Neely ever heard of him.

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chased a stone quarry at Bedford, Indiana, had the bones of his brother taken up from where they had been buried on the banks of Foot's pond and carried to Bedford where he had a grave cut out of a solid limestone rock, put the bones in it and sealed them up.

CHAPTER VI.

ORGANIZATION OF INDIANA TERRITORY—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON—GENERAL GIBSON, SECRETARY—TERRITORIAL JUDGES APPOINTED—SLAVERY QUESTION—LAWS OF INDENTURE—SPECIMENS OF INDENTURE PAPERS.

On the division of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, by an act of Congress, May the 7th, 1800, Indiana Territory comprised all of the northwest territory except that which soon became the state of Ohio. The people retained all the laws and rights that were given to them by the Ordinance of 1787, that had been in force in the Northwest Territory. On the 13th of May, 1800. William Henry Harrison (who was a native of Virginia and at that time a member of Congress from the Northwest Territory) was appointed governor of Indiana Territory. General John Gibson, who had fought through the Revolution from the commencement to the close and had come out of the war with the rank of a General, was appointed secretary. The secretary arrived at Vincennes, which had been selected for the seat of government for the Indiana Territory, in July and in the absence of the Governor he appointed military and civil officers. It was not until January, 1801, that Harrison came to Vincennes where, by proclamation he called the Judges William Clark, Henry Vanderburg and John Griffith, who had been appointed Territorial Judges, to meet at the new territorial capital, Vincennes, for the purpose of adopting such laws as were required for the government of the territory and and for the performance of other acts conformable to the laws and ordinance of Congress.

The governor and the judges, accordingly, met at Vincennes on the 12th of January, 1801, and continued to hold session from day to day until the 26th of the same month, when they adjourned after having adopted and published seven laws and three resolutions as follows:

1. A law supplemental to a law to regulate county levies.
2. A resolution concerning attorneys and counselors-at-law.
3. A law to regulate practice of the general court upon appeals and writs of errors.
4. A law respecting amendments and jeofail.
5. A law establishing courts of general quarter session of the peace in the counties of Knox, Randolph and St. Clair.
6. An act repealing certain acts.
7. A law appointing a territorial treasurer.
8. A resolution for the establishment of ferries.
9. A law concerning the fees of officers.
10. A resolution concerning the compensation of the clerk of the legislature.

The territorial judges held their first session of court of the Indiana Territory at Vincennes, the 3d day of March, 1801. The first grand jury impanelled in the Indiana Territory was composed of nineteen person: Luke Decker, Antoine Marshal, Joseph Baird, Patrick Simpson, Antoine Petit, Andre Montplaisure, John Ockilpree, Johnathan Marney, Jacon Trevebaug, Alexander Valley, Francis Turpin, Fr. Compagnoitte, Charles Languedoc, Louis Severe, Fr. Languedoc, George Catt, John B. T. Barois, Abraham Decker and Phillip Catt.

The law machinery of the territory being constructed, the questions that came principally before the courts and which attracted more attention than any other subject during the first years of the Indiana Territory, were land speculation, the adjustment and settling of land titles and the perplexing question of slavery that had been in existence in the Territory for sixty-five years before the ordinance of 1787 was adopted and was one of the most stubbornly contested questions before the courts. The courts, unfortunately for those interested in having the wise provisions of the ordinance of 1787 carried out, were in sympathy with the slave-holding element. Governor Harrison, after assuming control of the affairs of the territory, exerted his energies in trying to acquire lands from the Indians by treaty. (A history of these treaties is found in the chapter on "Harrison in the Tippecanoe Campaign.")

When the Indiana Territory was formed, Vincennes was the town of the most importance. At that time there was a small settlement where the town of Lawrenceburgc, Dearborn county, now stands. At Armstrong station on the Ohio there was a small settlement and at Clarksville, opposite the Falls of the Ohio, there was another small one. Outside of this, in what is now the state of Indiana, there were no other settlements by the white people except an occasional adventurer who had been a prisoner or raised among the Indians, settling in some section near an Indian town. The only mode of communication between the stations of Indiana Territory was by the Ohio, Mississippi or Wabash rivers. Detroit was a town of considerable importance but had been destroyed by fire in 1798. It was so remote from the sections bordering on the Ohio river that intelligence from that section was only obtained probably, once a year. The mode of communication between the Ohio Falls, Vincennes and the farther western stations was along the old Indian trace connecting these places, which had been there from time immemorial.

For many years before the capture of the Northwest Territory from the British by General Clark, the French inhabitants of the settled stations Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Detroit and, other places, held slaves and dealt in them as they became wealthy in the fur trade. Some of these traders made annual trips down the Mississippi to New Orleans and brought back slaves, men and women. It is safe to say that at thetime Vincennes was captured in 1779, the different posts in the Northwest Territory had more than 200 negro slaves. Adding to this the increase from natural cause and from those brought in from Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas, up to the time that Indiana Territory was formed and William Henry Harrison was made its governor, there were more than three hundred slaves in the Northwest Territory, leaving out what soon became the state of Ohio. There was little notice taken of slavery. Harrison was from Virginia and favored slavery yet he issued a proclamation prohibiting the removal of indentured negroes from the Territory.

The United States judges appointed were owners of slaves. In the summer of 1794 Judge Turner, under Governor St. Clair's administration of the Northwest Territory was at Vincennes holding court. During that term he had a serious misunderstanding with Judge Vandaburgh who was the Probate Judge of Knox county, Northwest Territory. In the midst of the controversy a negro and his wife held as slaves by Vandaburgh applied to Judge Turner's court for emancipation by writ of habeas corpus. The evidence was all in and Judge Turner would have given them their freedom but the night before the decision was to be given the negroes were kidnapped, carried south and sold.

The author here gives a specimen of a decision by the three federal judges, Vandaburgh, Clark and Griffin, during Harrison's administration. There were proceedings brought for the emancipation of a negro and negress that had been brought into Indiana Territory from Kentucky and held without compliance with the formalities of the indenture laws. Influential people aided these negroes in making a habeas corpus proceedings by which they were released, on a technical insufficiency of evidence for the claimant. The full court made a ruling that the negros were not fugitive from slavery.

After this decision the party claiming the negroes attempted to carry them out of the Territory and back to Kentucky. When new proceedings were instituted, which was tried in 1806, the judges heard the case and decided that the negroes were neither fugitives from justice nor slavery and released them. They further said, in giving their opinion, that this order was not to impair the rights of the defendants or any other person who should have them for slaves provided the defendant or any other person could prove them to be slaves.

After this the two negroes built a cabin on the banks of the Wabash river near Vincennes from which place they were kidnapped by a Frenchman hired for that purpose, carried to New Orleans and sold into slavery. With such a trio of judges as those making this decision was there any wonder that slavery was in full force in many places in Indiana Territory at the time the state was admitted to the union?

In 1803 the United States purchased from France for the sum of fifteen million dollars ($15,000,000) the territory that has since been divided into the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Indian Territory, Colorado, and that part of Minnesota west of the Mississippi river. During the year of 1804 all that country north of the thirty-third degree was attached to Indiana Territory by Congress and was under the control of Governor Harrison. The next year this Louisiana Territory was detached and organized into a separate territory.

On the 22d of November, 1802, Governor Harrison, in compliance with the wishes of many citizens of the territory, issued a proclamation notifying them that there would be an election held in the several counties of the territory on the 11th day of December, 1802, for the purpose of choosing delegates to meet in convention at Vincennes on the 20th of December, 1802. The number of delegates from Knox county was four; from Randolph county, three; from St. Clair county, three; Clark county, two. The main object of those who favored the calling of the convention was to take into consideration the expediency of repealing or suspending article sixth of the ordinance of 1787 which prohibited the holding of slaves in all the territory that at that time was in the Northwest Territory.

The convention assembled, Governor Harrison presiding. There was a document prepared in which the delegates in behalf of the people of the Indiana Territory gave their consent that the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787 might be suspended. This document together with the memorial from the delegates and a number of slave-holding inhabitants of the territory was laid before Congress and in the House of Representatives on the 2d of March, 1803. Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, chairman of the committee that this resolution and report were referred to, makes this report—"The rapidly increasing population of the state of Ohio is sufficient evidence to your committee that the labor of slaves is not necessary to prompt the growth of settlements of the colonies in that section. That slave labor, the dearest that can be employed, is only advantageous in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known in that quarter of the United States. The committee deems it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair provisions wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwest country and to give strength and security to their extensive frontiers. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will at no distant day find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of immigration."

Congress refused to suspend the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787 in opposition to the views and wishes which were afterward expressed in several petitions, resolutions and memorial, by the legislative authority and many people of Indiana territory, the decision of Congress remained unchanged.

The principal reasons which were assigned by the memorials in favor of the suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, were that such a suspension would be highly advantageous to the territory, that it would meet the approbation of nine-tenths of the citizens of the territory; that the abstract question of liberty and slavery was not considered as involved in the suspension of the article as the number of slaves in the United States would not be increased by the measure and the suspension of the article would be equally advantageous to the territory, to the slave-holding states and to the slaves themselves; that at the time of the adoption of the ordinance slavery had existed in the territory; that it was made to apply to for a great many years before and that the ordinance was passed by Congress without consulting the interests of the citizens of the territory, who were in no wise represented in that body and the number of slaves would never bear such a proportion to the white population as would endanger the peace and prosperity of the country. The views of those citizens of Indiana Territory who were not in favor of the proposed suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, were at different times sent to the committees at Congress having that matter in charge, in the shape of memorials and remonstrances. A largely attended meeting of the citizens of Clark county was held at Springville; John Beggs being elected president and David Floyd secretary. A committee was raised consisting of Charles Beggs, Abraham Little, Robert Robertson, John Owens and James Beggs. They prepared a memorial which was adopted by the meeting and laid before Congress on the 7th of November, 1807. The memorial of the citizens of Clark county show that great anxiety has been and still is evinced by some of the citizens of this territory on the subject of the introduction of slavery into it. In no case has the voice of the citizens been unanimous. In 1802 at a special convention of delegates from the several counties a petition was forwarded to Congress to repeal the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787.

At that convention the representatives in the eastern part of the territory who were at Vincennes were decidedly opposed to the petition. Again in the year 1805 the subject was taken up and discussed in the general assembly, a majority of the members of the House of Representatives voted against the memorial and it was rejected as is shown by the journal of that house, but a number of the citizens thought it proper to sign the same. Among those who fraudulently attempted to force this memorial on Congress as the declared expression of the majority of the representatives of that assembly were the speaker of the House of Representatives and the president of the council.

Afterward the president of the council was charged with this duplicity when he denied having ever signed the same. History gives the following account of this paper:

"This fraudulent paper was forwarded to the Congress of the United States as the expressed wish of the legislators of this territory. In the present year of 1807 this subject was taken up by the legislature of this territory again and a majority of both houses passed the resolution to suspend the sixth article in a proportion of two to one and it is presumed, this action is before you. Let it be understood that when this action was taken, that there were but three members of the assembly present, beside the speaker, who, for certain reasons, positively refused to sign the resolution. As a last substitute after the bill was passed, they prevailed on the president to vacate his seat and appoint one of the other members speaker pro tem. for the purpose of signing the resolution. This doubtful conduct of a small minority of the representatives of this territory will be convincing to your honorable committee in Congress that those in this territory are driven to a desperate strait in order to unlawfully hold their slaves.

"It is contended by the pro-slavery element that a majority of the voters of this territory are in favor of annulling the sixth article in the ordinance of 1787, while those opposed to slavery being in the territory feel sure that a majority of all the voters are opposed in any way, disapproving any of the provision in the ordinance of 1787, believing that such an action would be an insult offered to the Congress of the United States.

"There is a large emigration coming into the section of the country around the Falls of the Ohio and your committee thinks it best for all concerned to allow the present condition of things to remain undisturbed until there is sufficient number in different sections of the said territory to form into states and to adopt state constitutions. Then all questions for the well being and happiness of the people to be governed by the constitutions can be adjusted in accordance with the wishes of the majority."

When it became evident to the slave holders of the territory that Congress would not make any provision for nullifying the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, in order that they might hold the slaves that were then in the territory, the obnoxious indenture laws were passed by the legislature in 1807. The provisions of that act are herein given.

> "The laws of the Indiana Territory concerning slaves and negro or mulatto servants. An act concerning the introduction of negroes and mulattoes into this Territory.
>
> "SEC. 1. It shall and may be lawful for any person being the owner or possessor of any negroes or mulattoes of any age above the age of fifteen years and owing service or labor as slaves, in any of the states or territories of the United States, or for any citizen of the said states or territories of the United States purchasing the same; to bring the said negroes or mulattoes into this Territory.
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> "SEC. 2. The owner or possessor of any negroes or mulattoes, as aforesaid, and bringing the same into this territory, shall within thirty days after such removal go with the same before the clerk of the court of common pleas of the proper county; and, in the presence of said clerk, the said owner or possessor shall determine and agree to whith his or her negro or mulatto, upon the terms of years which the said negro or mulatto will and shall serve his or her owner or possessor and the said clerk is hereby authorized and required to make a record thereof in a book which he shall keep for that purpose.
>
> "SEC. 3. If any negro or mulatto removed into this territory as aforesaid shall refuse to serve his or her owner as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for such persons, within sixty days thereafter to remove the said negro or mulatto to any place by the laws of the United States or territory from whence such owner or possessor may or shall be authorized to remove the same.
>
> "SEC. 4. If any person or persons shall neglect or refuse to perform the duty required in the second or to take advantage of the benefit of the preceding sectipn, hereof, within the time there respectively prescribed, such person or persons shall forfeit all claims and rights whatever to the service and labor of such negroes or mulattoes.

"SEC. 5. Any person removing into this territory and being the owner or possessor of any negro or mulatto as aforesaid, under the age of fifteen years; or if any person shall hereafter acquire a property in any negro or mulatto under the age aforesaid, and shall bring them into this territory, it shall and may be lawful for such person or persons, owners or possessors, to hold the said negro or mulatto to service or labor, the male until they arrive at the age of thirty-five years, the female until they arrive at the age of thirty-two years.

"SEC. 6. Any person removing any negro or mulatto into this territory under the authority of the preceding section, it shall be incumbent upon such persons within thirty days thereafter to register the name and age of such negro or mulatto with the clerk of the court of common pleas for the proper county.

"SEC. 7. If any person shall remove any negro or mulatto from one county to another county, within this territory who may or shall be brought into the same under the authority of either the first or fifth section hereof, it shall be incumbent upon such person to register the name and also the age of said negro or mulatto which the said clerk of the county from whence and to which said negro or mulatto may be removed, within thirty days after such removal.

"SEC. 8. If any person shall neglect or refuse to perform the duty required by the two preceding sections hereof, such persons, for such offense shall be fined in the sum of fifty dollars to be recovered by indictment or information and for the use of the proper county.

"SEC. 9. If any person shall neglect or refuse to perform the duty and service herein required, he shall, for every such neglect or refusal, be fined in the sum of fifty dollars to be recovered by information or indictment and for use of the county.

"SEC. 10. It shall be the duty of the clerk of the court of common pleas, aforesaid, when any person shall apply to him to register any negro or mulatto, agreeable to the preceding section, to demand and receive the said applicant's bond with sufficient security in the penalty of five hundred dollars, payable to the governor or his successors in office, conditioned that the negro or mulatto, negroes or mulattoes, as the case may be, shall not, after the expiration of his or her service, become a county charge which bond shall be lodged with the county treasurers, respectively, for the use of the said counties, provided always that no such bond shall be required or requirable in case of time of service of such negro or mulatto, shall expire before he or she arrives at the age of forty years, if such negro or mulatto be at that time capable to support him or herself by his or her own labor.

"SEC. 11. Any person who shall take or forcibly carry out of this territory or who shall be aiding or assisting therein any person or persons owing or having owed service for labor, without the consent of such person or persons, previously obtained before any judge of the court of common pleas of the county where such persons owing or having owed such service or labor resides, which consent shall be certified by said judge of the common pleas to the clerk of the court of common pleas where he resides at or before the next court. Any person so offending, upon conviction thereof, shall forfeit and pay one thousand dollars, one-third to be used by the county, two-thirds to be used by the person taken or carried away. To be recovered by action of debt, provided there shall be nothing in the section so construed as to prevent any master or mistress from removing any person owing service or labor from this territory as described in the third section of this act.

"SEC. 12. The said clerk for every register made in the manner aforesaid shall receive seventy-five cents from the applicant therefor.

"SEC. 13. The children born in this territory of a parent of color owing service or labor by indenture, according to the law, shall serve the master or mistress of such parent, the male until the age of thirty and the female until the age of twenty-eight years.

"SEC. 14. The provisions contained in a law of this territory respecting apprentices, entitled, "an act respecting apprentices" shall be enforced as to such children in case of misbehavior of the master or mistress or for cruelty or ill-usage. Approved September 17, 1807.

The first laws for the indenture of slaves were made by the board of control in Indiana Territory—the governor and the three federal judges in 1803. They provided that "persons coming into the territory under a contract to serve a stated period at any kind of labor shall serve that term."

This contract was assignable to any person in the territory if the slaves consented. This law was made so that persons coming to the territory from slave states before starting could indenture their slaves for as long a period as they would be of service to them; in most cases for thirty years.

The next attempt to clinch slavery in the territory was by an act of the Territorial Legislature in 1805. An act for the introduction of negroes and mulattoes into the territory was passed. It provided that any slave holder in the United States could bring any slave over fifteen years old into the territory and within thirty days after coming, might enter into an agreement with such slaves before the clerk of a court of common pleas as to the number of years such slaves would serve their masters. If the slaves should refuse to agree, the master had sixty days in which to send him to a slave state.

The laws of the Indiana Territory concerning slaves and negro or mulatto servants passed in 1807 were the same as those in 1805. Neither of these laws had any validity as they were in direct opposition to laws passed by the Congress of the United States for the government of their Northwest Territory. But notwithstanding all that the indented negroes were compelled to serve their masters for the time specified in the indentures and in many cases those so indentured were by one means and another taken into slave states where they are sold into slavery for life. Unfortunately the clear cut laws prohibiting slavery in the territory did not have much force with those intrusted with the administration of the laws. There was no secret about holding slaves in all the counties of the territory.

In 1820, four years after the state was admitted into the Union, there were one hundred and ninety slaves in servitude in Indiana as shown by census report. Knox county had one hundred and eighteen; Gibson county, thirty-one; Posey county. eleven; Vanderburg, ten; the other twenty-one were held in Spencer, Warrick. Owen, Sullivan, Scott and Pike counties. The other twenty-four counties that were in the state at that time had no slaves. Slavery in Indiana did not disappear from the census report until 1850. Most of the negroes who were emancipated by their owners or by legal process were afterwards kidnapped and sold into slavery in the south.

Below is given a few specimens of the way the poor, unsuspecting negroes were fooled. being made to believe they were signing their emancipation papers. when in fact, they were signing an indenture that gave the control of their labor for a long period of years to their so-called masters who, in many cases, pretended to be liberating them. Since writing this article it has been thought best to withhold the names of those making these pretended emancipation papers and use fictitious ones for the reason that many of the descendants are still living and are among the best people of the state and who would scorn any such dishonest action.

> "On the 27th day of July, 1813, I, Joseph Barton, have this day set free my slave. Thomas Turner, and I hereby make and acknowledge the emancipation paper for his complete freedom. The said Thomas Turner for the privilege of being known as a free man, has agreed to indenture his services to me for a period of thirty years from date.
>
> (SEAL.) JOSEPH BARTON.
>
> "I, Thomas Turner, do hereby accept the emancipation papers for which I sincerely thank my former master and do cheerfully agree to indenture myself to the said Joseph Barton as per the above agreement.
>
> THOMAS TURNER.
>
> July 27, 1813. X My own mark.

On the 30th day of August this generous hearted Joseph Barton sold this negro to a person for five hundred and thirty-five dollars who smuggled him across the Ohio river where he was sold into slavery in the south.

> "I, George Endicutt, have decided to emancipate my slave, Job Boyce, and I hereby certify that I this day give him his freedom and it affords me the

greatest pleasure to bear witness that he has always been an obedient, faithful and honest servant. By an agreement of the said Job Boyce he agrees to indenture himself to me for twenty-three years, or until he is sixty years old. GEORGE ENDICUTT.

(SEAL) August 30th, 1813.

"I, Job Boyce, of my own free will do hereby accept my freedom papers from my former master, George Endicutt, and have agreed to indenture myself to him for the time specified in the agreement, August 20, 1813.

JOB BOYCE.
X My own mark.
(SEAL) Witness, JAMES BOSWELL."

"September 26th, 1813. I, Noah Freeman, of Indiana Territory, on this date, do hereby emancipate my slave, Mary Ann, to enjoy all the rights of freedom that a negro and an uneducated woman can. It affords me great satisfaction to testify that she has been a most faithful and obedient servant. This paper and her freedom to be in force and effect after the 26th day of September, 1833. Until that time she has indentured her service to me and my family.

NOAH FREEMAN.

"I, Mary Ann, the former slave of my master, Noah Freeman, accept my emancipation papers and do agree to faithfully work for my former master and mistress until the 20th day of September, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-three.

MARY ANN.
X My mark.
(SEAL) Witness, JASON BROWN."

"This is to certify that I, James Hartwell, of my own free will and accord, do this day emancipate and give freedom to a negro slave, named Charles Hope, brought by me from North Carolina. In making these papers I want to bear testimony to the painstaking and careful way he has done his work, and that he is a quiet and most obedient servant and has always been very easily managed. For these good qualities it affords me great pleasure to be able to give him his rightly earned freedom. For some necessary expenses that has to be incurred before he

> can leave the home he has so long lived at and for the love he has for me and my family, he hereby agrees to indenture his services to me for twenty-nine years from the 18th of October, 1809, which is the date of this agreement. JAMES HARTWELL.
> (SEAL)
>
> "I, Charles Hope, do hereby acknowledge my thankfulness to my master for the kindness he has shown in setting me free and I cheerfully accept the conditions in my freedom papers and agree to serve the time specified, or until death.
> CHARLES HOPE.
> X His mark."

Note the meanness of this hyprocrite who made the great show of giving this negro pretended freedom with such a good certificate of character, which would make the negro more saleable when he had an opportunity to sell him; and on the fifteenth day of the next November he *did* sell him to a neighbor for four head of horses, ten head of cattle and one hundred acres of military donation land and a promissory note for three hundred dollars. The next year this negro went with his master down the Wabash river on a pretended trip to the saline country of Illinois, but was carried farther south and was sold into slavery for life.

In 1805 the Kukendal family, by their agent, Samuel Vannorsdell, had two negroes arrested and were attempting to carry them out of the territory when Governor Harrison issued a proclamation forbidding their removal, as Vannorsdell did not have the consent of the negroes to remove them. This brought on a spirited law-suit, Governor Harrison and others becoming bondsmen for the negroes. The case went over to the next term of court. At that term the two negroes were produced in court but in the meantime Governor Harrison had indentured one of them for a period of eleven years.

In 1854 the author was visiting a family in an old settled portion of southern Indiana. During that visit it became known to a young lady of that fanily that he was gathering data of incidents concerning the early settlers and of anything that would be of interest about "Ye Olden

Tymes." This young lady informed him that they had the emancipation and indenture papers of "Old Tome," who was their slave and friend, which papers she thought would be of real worth to one gathering such data. She said she would show the papers and he might copy them provided he would not use their names. This was readily agreed to.

> "May 26, 1815.
>
> "To All Whom it May Concern:
>
> This is to certify that this day I have set free and by these presents do give emancipation papers to my faithful servant Thomas Agnew, and from this date he shall be known as a free man. Given under my hand and seal. THOMAS TRUMAN.
>
> (SEAL) Witness, JOSEPH FORTH.
>
> "This is to certify that I have this day received my emancipation papers from my former master. As I don't know any other home but the one I have always lived at, I do hereby indenture myself to my master, John Trueman, for thirty years from this date, he agreeing to feed and clothe me during that time.
>
> THOMAS AGNEW.
>
> May 26th, 1815. X His mark.

After the papers were copied this intelligent young lady related this interesting story of Tom's life:

"Just before the state of Indiana was admitted into the Union my father moved here from a slave state and brought with him, Tom, whom he had owned from his infancy. He had no thought that there would be any trouble about it as Tom was a fixture in the family. A friend one day told my father that parties were preparing to bring habeas corpus proceedings and emancipate Tom. The only thing my father could do was to emancipate him and have him indenture his time after he was a freeman. This was done as shown above and Tom went on faithfully with his work as before. This was nearly twenty years before I was born.

"The good old faithful slave worked on the farm with my father for nearly twenty-seven years after the indenture was made, when my father sickened and died. Tom then kept on working with my brother the same as before.

"On settling up the estate, it was found that my father was more in debt than had been supposed and there would be but little left.

"A cousin of my father who lived in a slave state where he had moved from, held a mortgage on our farm. This cousin was a 'Shylock' and demanded the last cent which would take everything, farm and all at a forced sale. He, however, made this proposition to my mother: that if Tom would go home with him and work for him as long as he lived, he would release the mortgage. This, my mother would not consent to as Tom had less than two years of his indenture term to put in and he was so faithful to the family that she would not listen to such a transaction.

"Tom had learned the condition of things as nothing was kept from him and he had planned with this cousin to give his life service for the family's comfort. He would not consent to anything but that he must go to save the farm and the family from want. The agreement was made, the mortgage was cancelled and Tom went to the home of his new master, now a slave in fact.

"Some time after this an uncle of my mother died and left her several thousand dollars. This made us independent and my mother's first thoughts were of Tom. She went to hunt for him and found him faithfully working away. She went to his master, told him that she wanted to take Tom back with her and that she was prepared to pay him in full for his mortgage, interest and trouble. This he refused, saying that Tom was priceless and that no money could buy him. She tried in every way to have him agree to let Tom go with her but he was obdurate. Tom told her not to mind him, that there would be but a few more years for him to serve as age was creeping on and he would soon be in another country where no trouble could come.

"My mother was a nervy woman and she determined to liberate Tom if it could be done. She was advised to go to Evansville and see a lawyer by the name of Conrad Baker. My mother explained to Mr. Baker Tom's situation and gave him a statement of the evidence that could be obtained. She also gave him the emancipation and indenture papers. Mr. Baker told her there was no doubt about Tom being legally free and if he could be gotten into a free state there would be no further need of legal proceedings. It was found that this could not be done so proceedings were brought in the county where Tom was held in slavery, to liberate him. The facts with affidavits to back them up were filed with the case. The court, after hearing all the evidence, decided that since Tom had been given emancipation papers which made him free and since he had indentured himself for thirty years and had put in over time on that agreement, he was now free.

"Tom came back to Indiana with my mother and lived with our family during the rest of his life and when he died we gave him a royal funeral, feeling that we had lost our best friend and one of nature's noblemen."

After Colonel Baker was elected governor of Indiana, the author wrote him about this case and sent him a copy of the emancipation and indenture papers with a pretty full history of the case. His reply is here given in full:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE.

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 20, 1870.

COLONEL W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Indiana.

I am in receipt of your letter together with the enclosure of the 15th inst. It affords me great pleasure to say that no case in my whole practice as a lawyer was so gratifying to me as the liberation from bondage of that true-hearted old Nubian, Tom Agnew.

I well recollect the lady, Mrs. Trueman, who was my client in the case. She was so well pleased with the good deed she had been instrumental in bringing about that she wanted to pay me three or four times my rightful fee.

Allow me, my dear Colonel, to congratulate you on the loving task that you have assigned yourself of perpetuating the history of the Pioneer and the thrilling events that occurred during that early period. There will never be another time in this country's history when such noble, self-sacrificing men and women will live as those who cleared the way for the great civilization that will come to our state.

Very Truly,

CONRAD BAKER."

The author has access to much more data of indentures made by those having negroes in control at an early day in Indiana. That which has already been given is evidence to the readers of the way the pro-slavery people of Indiana intended to perpetuate slavery and that the head of the territorial government was in sympathy with the slavery partisans. When the coustitution for our state was being framed in 1816 the slavery clause was defeated by only two votes.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHERN INDIANA—THE CRUELTY OF THE FRENCH.

During all the time from 1790 except the last part of the year 1794 and 1795 up to several years after the formation of Indiana Territory in 1800, the country now known as southern Indiana was completely at the mercy of the Indians, except a mile or so outside the fort of Vincennes, not much beyond the range of the guns of the few regulars stationed at that post. The great victory won by General Wayne over the Indians in 1794 on the waters of the Maumee had a very pacific effect on all the Indians of the Northwest Territory for a year or so, as nearly every section of that vast country had bands of young hunters in that battle; but there were bands of roving Indians who were always watching for the white people coming to settle in this part of the country. The Indians were on or near the lines leading from their towns on White river to the Ohio river most of the time in spring, summer and fall months.

It is frequently asked why all southern Indiana was so completely under the control of the savage bands of Indians at the close of the eighteenth century when there had been a post at Vincennes for sixty-five years and a fort with French regulars was there as early as 1702. It seems that the French people at that time who were as jealous of the settlement of the country by other people than their own, as were the Indians and that they were either trappers or buyers of furs and did not want this country settled as it would do away with their vocation.

There was no part of Indiana that was not owned by the Indians until 1803 except the strip ceded at Greenville in 1795 when General Wayne held a treaty with many tribes of Indians. The land ceded by that treaty commenced at Ft. Recovery on the west line of what afterward became the state of Ohio running thence in a southerly direction to the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river. This line was made thinking that the Ohio state line would come to that point instead of the mouth of the Miami river. The treaty made in 1803 was a part of the Vincennes tract including quite a section of territory in the Illinois country, west of the Wabash river.

The territory obtained by the treaty of 1804 commenced on the Wabash river at the south line of the Vincennes tract, running thence down that river to its mouth, thence up the Ohio river to Louisville; west from that point until that line intersected the line of the Vincennes tract, thence around that line on the south side to the place of starting. This last treatv gave to the United States all of southwestern Indiana and at once settlers commenced to come into that territory. Before that period they had been warned to keep off the Indians' land both by the Indians and the commanders governing the Northwest and Indiana Territories. Many persons who had started from Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas, intending to settle in the Northwest Territory, had stopped in Kentucky all along the southern bank of the Ohio near the river and were only wating for an opportunity, when the United States had possession of the property to emigrate into that country. During the years 1805 and 1806 there was a large emigration settled in many parts of southern Indiana.

The French were as relentless in their cruelty to the people of the colonies before they were defeated by the colonial and British troops as were the Indians. It is true that when General George Rogers Clark captured Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes in 1779 the French in these places were the Americans' friends but the reason for this was that the French had been badly beaten by the colonial and English troops while the colonies were controlled by the English, losing their princely possession, Canada, and the Northwest Territory and they were ready to befriend and help anyone who was against the British.

The former history of the French when they were the ruling power in all the country west of the Allegheny mountains and north of the Ohio river was full of bloody massacres in connection with their Indian allies, in some cases the French being more brutal and cruel in their treatment of the helpless people on the border settlements who fell into their hands than the Indians.

In the massacre at Fort William Henry in 1757 by the French and their Indian allies, under Montcalm, the French outnumbered the Indians five to one. The Indians indiscriminately murdered the men and carried the women and children into captivity, not one of them ever returning to their homes.

When Captain Beaujeau at Fort Duquesne with four hundred Indians and thirty Canadians won a complete victory over Braddock, these savages with their tomahawks killed the wounded and scalped them without protest. When they returned to the fort at night they were all loaded down with plunder and scalps and had fifteen prisoners with them who they stripped of their clothing and burned to death on the parade ground of the fort where their brutality was witnessed by one thousand regular French soldiers without a protest by any Frenchman. (Narrated by Colonel John Smith who was a prisoner at the fort at that time.)

Again the French and Indians went from Montreal, Canada, in the depths of winter to Schenectady, New York, captured the town, killing all the men and carrying the women into captivity to a fate worse than death. This was very early in our country's history and is reproduced here to show that the savage acts of the French were not confined to a later period when the English had given them provocation.

Lafayette was a brave, generous Frenchman who, of his own volition, espoused the cause of the United States against Great Britain. He was actuated by no hope of reward except the glory that would accrue to him if successful and though a very young man he had foreknowledge that was valuable to him. This country gave him princely presents and loaded him with all the honors due to his heroic actions.

The alliance with France during our war for independence was brought about by our commissioners, mostly through the influence that Dr. Franklin had with the men of letters in France and through his great influence with the good-natured king, Louis XVI. To the United States it was a great blessing in time of need and to France it was a great blessing to transfer her maritime war with England into the waters of her ally. The loans negotiated by Colonel John Laurans and others were all paid with a good premium and no doubt the French people expected that the United States would stand by her in any quarrel she might have with other nations. In 1793 when she was at war with Spain, M. Genet, the French minister to this country, tried to enlist men in Kentucky and elsewhere to capture Louisiana and after he had been recalled and Mr. Fauchit was sent as minister the French tried to involve us in her many wars with European nations and when she found that she could not do that, captured and confiscated some of our best merchant vessels. When our commissioners attempted to adjust the matter, France demanded tribute money for some trumped up claim and only released our ships when Commodore Truxton had captured two of her best war vessels.

The United States owes nothing to England or France for when either of them had a chance with their Indian allies in front, they committed deeds of cruelty that will ever blacken the pages of history.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PIONEER—CHARACTER—HARDSHIPS—ROUTES FOLLOWED—SETTLEMENTS—FOOD—EDUCATION—CUSTOMS—THRILLING AND AMUSING INCIDENTS—WEDDINGS—WORK—DRESS—CRUDE MANUFACTURES.

The close of the Revolutionary War in 1783 was an epoch in this country's onward march to the great destiny laid out for it by the Maker and Ruler of the Universe. The old heroic soldiers came out of that protracted struggle, buoyant and hopeful. exultingly proud of the achievements that they had been instrumental in bringing about. They were rich in deeds of valor and patriotism but very poor in stores of wealth. The country for seven long years had been over-run by contending armies almost from end to end and had been devastated by fire and sword of a ruthless and cruel enemy. Neither age nor sect was exempt from their merciless brutality. The gloating and boasting English were cruel and their two allies, the detested Tories and the barbarous, savage Indians, committed every atrocious act of cruelty that a brutal foe could invent. In many cases the families, homes, towns and neighborhoods were broken up, the property destroyed and the people murdered or scattered to the four winds.

When the excitement attending the momentous events had, in a measure, subsided, there were hundreds of the old heroes who had fought with Washington, Lafayette, Putnam, Green, Sumpter, Servier and Marion who found themselves without any property or occupation and no prospect of bettering their conditions. There was no money but the worthless continental script. The gold and silver had all been sent to France and Spain for arms and munitions of war. Many of these old heroes were maimed by wounds, still more of them broken down by diseases that came to them by the severe trials and privations of the long struggle for liberty.

Most of the above two classes were unable to do anything and could but remain in the section of their former homes; but the strong and hardy veterans, by hundreds determined to better their condition if possible. The fame of Daniel Boone was known to them and glowing descriptions of the rich country west of the mountains on both sides of the Ohio river were told them by hunters and trappers and by the returning soldiers who had been in the campaign of General George Rogers Clark when he saved, to the then enfeebled American republic, the princely heritage of the Northwest Territory.

There was a great uprising of the people on the borders of the colonies nearest the much-talked-of country west of the mountains, preparing to emigrate to new homes. They started in every conceivable manner; some on horseback; others in two-wheeled carts and still others in wooden-wheeled wagons drawn by oxen, probably one-half of them with their rifles and axes, a small bundle of clothing and with their young wives, on foot. These emigrants settled and made their homes in Tennessee and Kentucky, many of them around the Ohio Falls and up the Ohio from there.

The Indians were at war with any who attempted to invade what they termed their country which meant all the region west of the Alleghany Mountains. From the time of Daniel Boone's first advent into the wilds of Kentucky in 1769 the Indians waged a relentless war to drive him and his followers back from their favorite hunting grounds. During the next fifteen years many of these adventurers were killed but the Indians suffered as well.

About 1785 the old heroes of the Revolution commenced to arrive in large numbers and made extensive settlements in many sections of the country south of the Ohio and north of the Tennessee rivers. The Indians became still more determined to stop this advance and during the next twenty years many of the old pioneers were killed, but the Indians suffered more and finally were driven north of the Ohio river. After that raiding bands of Indians occasionally crossed the Ohio and murdered people in the outlying settlements of Kentucky. The whites would organize counter raids and invade the wilderness of the Northwest Territory and punish the Indians, at times killing large numbers of them and destroying their towns and cornfields.

As the Kentuckians settled up near the south bank of the Ohio river, the Indians moved back farther north, the White river becoming the southern line of their principal settlements, leaving a territory from thirty to forty miles between the Indians and the whites from the Wabash on the west to the Miami on the east. There were a few small scattering Indian towns in the wilderness between the two main lines. The men who had fought at King's Mountain and all over the thirteen colonies to wrest this country from the tyrannical yoke of England were not made out of the sort of material that would tamely sit down and let a race of half-naked Indians say that they might come thus far and no farther. Boldly they crossed the Ohio or floated down its waters in boats to locate in the fertile wilderness of Indiana.

The pioneers met with a determined opposition from the dusky denizens of the forest in their attempts to locate in new homes. This was about one or two years before Harrison had succeeded in making treaties with the Indians whereby he secured all southern Indiana as far as Louisville and many of these emigrants were killed and others had to recross the river. Those that remained were besieged almost every day by the Indians that were lying in ambush, watching for an opportunity to shoot the trespassers as they considered the emigrants. They had to build strong forts in every section where they attempted to form settlements and were compelled most of the time to remain within the walls of these stockades that surrounded the blockhouses, all the time keeping a lookout for their sly enemy. In many cases they suffered for the want of food, not daring to go into the forest for game when there was such an abundance on every hand. In some sections the only respite the people had from their forced imprisonment was when cold weather came in early winter. The Indians dreaded the cold and the snow and during such seasons they were mostly in their towns and in their wigwams.

When the pioneers found that the Indians were gone they would kill buffalo, bear, deer and turkeys, curing the buffalo and venizen meat by drying it and making bacon out of the bear meat, storing away large quantities of it in the blockhouses to have when the weather became warm and the Indians were again on the watch for an opportunity to destroy them. These men had come with a determination to stay and make a home for themselves and families. They took every precaution for protection against the Indians and they endured the most trying privations to succeed. More people came, thus making the settlement stronger and soon small patches were cleared. Often one man was concealed and on the watch with his rifle while another cleared a small field that was put in corn and vegetables and this was cultivated in the best way they could. There was great privation endured by these brave people who for weeks at a time had nothing to eat but lean, jerked meat of the deer and buffalo and a few kernels of nuts and acorns. When the corn was ripe enough to be used for food there was great comfort in store for those who had become surfeited by eating nothing but meat.

The emigrants who settled in Indiana at an early date came over the traces made by the Indians. One of these routes was by the way of Red Banks, where Henderson, Kentucky, now is; thence to the north through Vanderburg county, on through Gibson county to Vincennes. Most of these emigrants who made their homes in northern Vanderburg county and western Gibson county, came over that route. There was another crossing of the Ohio at the Yellow Banks, where Rockport, in Spencer county, stands. This route ran to the north through Spencer, Warrick and Pike counties to the old Delaware town at the forks of the White river and there was another crossing at the mouth of Blue river. The emigrants who came over this route settled mostly in Harrison and Washington counties.

The old trace that crossed the Ohio river at Louisville, Ky., known to the white people as the Clarksville and Vincennes trace, that had been a main traveled way from time immemorial, was the most favored route and two-thirds of all the early settlers who came to southern Indiana, west of Louisville, came over that route. The settlers east of Louisville on the Ohio river or in the country adjacent to it, came down the Ohio in boats from Pennsylvania and Virginia. At the treaty of Greenville made with the Indians in 1795 by General Wayne a small strip was ceded in which parts of several of the eastern counties of Indiana were situated. Many of the soldiers who were stationed at Ft. Washington (Cincinnati) as their terms of enlistment expired settled around that fort, out to the Miami river and up that river on both sides.

There was a settlement made in 1805 near the spot where the city of Richmond now stands. Richard Rue and George Holeman were captured south of Louisville, Kentucky, by the infamous Simon Girty, who was in command of a small band of Indians. During a time of their imprisonment they had seen the rich, fertile regions of the White Water country and as soon as they were released they went home and in a short time, with some of their neighbors, made the first settlement in that section of the state. At an early date there was a settlement at Armstrong Station on the Ohio river in Clark county.

The pioneers who first came to Indiana could not have remained for any length of time had it not been for the game which was so abundant on every hand. They often, for weeks at a time, had no other food than the bear, deer and turkey meat. They used every sort of substitute for bread, often roasting the white-oak acorns and eating them in the place of bread with their meat. They would gather the seeds of the wild rice and wild barley and mix it with the roasted acorn, pounding it all up together, making ash cakes of the meal thus obtained. On such food as this with a bountiful supply of meat, the old pioneers and their families subsisted, but as soon as they could raise a patch of corn all this was done away with and the meal made from the corn with beetles, seasoned with the rich bear grease and made into bread was used, and these hardy people prospered and grew fat on it. They were perfectly healthy and the children raised in this way made the strongest men and women. Dyspepsia and kindred stomach troubles were not known. There was but little opportunity of obtaining an education yet they were students of nature and every day learned useful lessons that stood them in need for self-protection and the protection of their families.

In a few years after the first settlers came there were, in most cases, those about the forts or blockhouses who could teach the young people the first principles of education and in after years these people improved the information thus gained by reading the few books that were in the country and many of them became learned in all things needed at that time. The young people were married at a much earlier period in life than the young people of this day. A boy at that time, sixteen or seventeen years old was counted on to do a man's work and to do his part in hunting or in scouting for Indians. The six or eight years now taken to secure an education by our young people to prepare them to be competent to do their part in the great battle of life was spent by their grand and great-grand-fathers and mothers preparing this country so that such great attainments could be secured by the present generation. The difficulties in commencing housekeeping then were not so great as now. They did not have to wait until they had saved money enough to build a fine house and furnish it with the luxuries of life before they got married, thus spending eight or ten years of the best portion of their lives and often failing in their expectations. They were contented to commence life as their mothers and fathers had before them with nothing but what they could manufacture and devise from the cabin down to all their furniture and dress. Instead of spending their time lamenting their sad fortune, they were happy in their love for each other and for the great blessing of perfect health which they enjoyed.

The possessions of these people worried them not at all for neither of them had anything but a small wardrobe of common, warm clothes. They had the great book of nature before them and were happy studying its changing scenes. Neither did they worry about dressmakers for they all make their own clothing from shoe pacs and moccasins to the hats or bonnets which they wore. There was no change of fashion to keep up with and they did not worry about what this or that one had for they all dressed alike and employed their time about more useful things than learning the different styles of making dresses and clothing. They enjoyed life as they found it and loved the simple amusements that all engaged in at that date. Many could go on the puncheon floor and dance for hours without fatigue. They had free use of their bodies, not being encumbered with tight belts that hindered them from breathing and did not know what a corset was, that garment which at this date holds the body of its victims as if in the grip of a vise. Thus they could use every part of their body as freely as nature intended it to be used. In raising their children these hardy women furnished all the food they needed in infancy from their own breasts, thus laying the foundations for strong men and women to take their places.

The clothing of the men and boys was in keeping with their daily life and made for the most part of deer skins. When this was well dressed it made comfortable and serviceable shirts, leggings and coats. Sometimes the women made their petticoats of this very useful and serviceable material. The deer, elk and buffalo skins furnished the material from which all footwear was made.

In an early day there were many scattered herds of buffalo in all sections of Indiana but no such innumerable droves as the later hunters were used to see on the great western prairies. The buffalo skin was covered with a shaggy coat of kinky wool. Sometimes this was sheared and when mixed with a small portion of the wild nettle fibre, to give it strenth, it was carded and spun the same as sheep's wool was. Later on, from this coarse thread they wove a cloth using the nettle thread for chain that made strong and comfortable clothing. The buffalo hair was mixed with the fur and hair of other animals, usually the long hair of the bear, then was carded and spun. They knit this into warm, serviceable stockings but without the fiber of the nettle as it was too short to have the needed strength to hold together.

In most cases the first settlers were young men just married, who, with their young wives, their axes and their rifles and such other property as they possessed, came boldly into this then dense wilderness. If they were so fortunate as to find any before them, they would stop a few days and select a place to make their home. They then cut the logs for their cabin and with the help of their new found friends would carry the logs and put them up, covering the cabin with boards made with their axes for frows and putting weight poles on to hold the boards in place. Cracks between the logs were stopped by wedging in pieces of timber and then filling it all full of mud. A hole of the proper size was cut in the side for a door and often the only door shutter was a bear skin. For a fire place and chimney they cut out three or four logs the width wanted, at the end of the cabin and built a three-sided crib on the outside, joining it to the building. Layer upon layer of mud were then put on the inside of the crib making the jambs and backwall as high as needed to be out of danger of the fire, letting the smoke take care of itself.

The floor and carpet were of mother earth. For a bedstead they would drive a fork into the ground far enough from the side and end of the cabin, then put a pole in the fork and into a crack between the logs and another pole the other way from the fork and to a crack in the logs, thus making the end and side rails of the bedstead. After this they put other poles lengthways as close as they wanted and piled fine brush over this, covering the brush with skins of animals. At this time the proverbial blue figured coverlid made by their good mothers in their old North or South Carolina, Tennessee or Kentucky homes would come into use with such other bed clothing as they were fortunate enough to have brought with them. The deficiency, if any, was supplied by bear and deer skins.

They made a table in the corner in the same way as the bed was made only it had for a top thick boards made level with an axe. For seats the back log was used until it was wanted for its place to form the back of the fire, when its mate was put in and used for a seat until it was wanted. If they were fortunate enough to own an auger, three-legged stools were made.

Many of the first settlers for a few years lived in what was called in that day, a half-faced camp, made by putting two large forks in the ground the proper distance from a large fallen tree to make a twelve or fourteen foot pen then putting a pole from fork to fork and other poles from that one to the log as closely as they were wanted and then piling brush on this. They then rolled logs up to the two sides as high as they wanted them leaving the outer end open usually facing the south. Large fires were made at this open end during cold weather, the occupants lying with their feet to it and their heads toward the large log. Usually these camps were made in the dry season and by the time the rainy season came on they would have plenty of skins to cover them and line the sides, thus keeping the rain and cold out and drying the skins at the same time.

These brave people did the best they could to have the comforts of life but they had very little to do with. There was not a nail in a hundred miles of them. The settler's young wife, his cabin, rifle, axe and possibly a horse were all his earthly possessions, but he was rich in good health, determination and pluck. With his axe he cleared a few acres for corn and vegetables, with his rifle he could have plenty of the choicest meats and skins of bear, deer, beaver, otter and raccoon to exchange for salt, ammunition and a few necessities of life, when he could get his furs to market probably seventy-five miles away.

About what was going on in the outside world he knew nothing and cared less for he had a world of his own around him, fresh and crude as nature could make it. Probably he had not more than two neighbors and they three to five miles away, the only means of communication between them being made on foot over a path running around fallen tree tops and over logs, a blaze made on a tree or sapling now and then keeping them in the right direction. He had severed all connection with his old home and the outside world bidding adieu to mother and friends and to the early associations that are so dear to all. With all this sacrifice he was happy and contented and determined to face the great battle of life and to win. Nature's volumes were ever open before him and he studied well, learning the things needful for his protection. He was threatened with danger from the lurking savages who ever watched for an opportunity to destroy him and his home and in many cases did kill and capture the whole family, but still others came to fill their places.

When two or three had settled in the same place they built forts and in dangerous times moved their families into them remaining there much of the time during the summer and fall months. While the women were there their husbands and fathers were in the wilderness watching the slipping enemy, sometimes killing one and again several of them. It got so that the Indians dreaded them and came less frequently. The pioneers determined to drive them away so that the danger to their families would cease. Finally they hunted the Indians in bands and in many battles defeated them. They met them on their own grounds, defeating and driving them out of this region and on the ruins of their savage wigwams this beautiful country has been made.

SEBASTIAN FREDRICK MURDERED BY INDIANS NEAR VINCENNES.

Some years ago Hon. Jasper N. Davidson related to the author the following interesting story. I asked him to write it for this work which he has kindly done.

"There are many things in connection with the early history of Indiana that doubtless never will be written. The early settlers were surrounded by such thrilling occurrences, attacks by prowling bands of Indians and savage wild beasts, lacking the necessities of life and wanting the neighboring enjoyments and communications, that much suffering as well as inconveniences resulted from these things. The innate desire to possess a home of their own, coupled with the love of freedom and religious liberty, led them to plunge into the almost impenetrable wilderness, surmounting all obstacles, enduring privation hunger and want in a way and to an extent that no other people have ever done.

"No history, either sacred or profane, contains accounts of a people who endured more or underwent greater hardships or overcame such opposition with greater deeds of daring than the early settlers. Knowing these things and with a fixed and steadfast belief in the Guiding Hand of the Great Dispenser or all things, we have a right to believe that the discovery and peopling of this God-favored land was providentially delayed until such time as a people should rise up who could be trusted with the marvelous duties of occupying, peopling, redeeming and governing the fairest and best country on the globe.

"None were more fitted for this task than those who settled Indiana Territory. Just before the close of the eighteenth century the few American settlers who were located near Vincennes were driven to the forts in and around the Old Post as Vincennes was then called. The writer has with great interest listened many times to the accounts of those times given by my grandmother. Her father, who was named Sebastian Fredrick had come down from Pennsylvania with the very earliest immigrants. The family consisted of several sons and one daughter, grandmother. She told of the efforts of the heads of the families in their endeavors to provide for their own; of how her father with his sons and another man went about six miles southeast into the sugar woods and prepared to make sugar. After everything was in readiness the season came on, sap flowed in abundance and success seemed to reward their efforts. When the prowling bands of Indians learned of the location of the camp their visits were of daily occurence and each of the bucks, after eating all they could of the warm sugar, must have a generous cake or two to carry away with them. This became so common and proved so heavy a tax on the supply that the men objected to the amount carried off and they went away muttering in their own tongue.

"In a few days these men were sent to the fort for provisions and to carry in the sugar already made. They left great-grandfather Fredrick in charge of the camp and to keep the kettles going. Early in the night the savages who had become offended by reason of not getting all the sugar they wanted, finding grandfather there alone, attacked him. Evidences next morning when the sons returned from the fort, showed that a desperate encounter had taken place, as the bodies of two dead Indians and the body of my grandfather with a tomahawk sunken in his skull, were found. The tapping gouge had been driven repeatedly into his body around his neck and left sticking in the gash as driven in by the murderous wretches. There was every evidence of a desperate fight and horrible as the results were there had been enough of them left to sugar off all the syrup on hand and carry away all they had made, together with grandfather's scalp, gun and all tools.

"The faithful dog, a large mastiff, lying dead near the body of his master had been a valiant helper in the fray as long as life lasted. A large piece of a buckskin garment still between his teeth showed by the blood stains on it that his work had not been without results. The savages who could travel made their escape and were not again seen in those parts as anyone knew of.

"My grandmother in a year or two after this had a very narrow escape and delivery from one of these savages in the following manner:

"It was the custom at the fort for each family or some member of it to bear a reasonable part of the burdens of providing wood and other necessary supplies for the general want. Grandmother, at that time, being a young widow (named Glass) with two small boys too young to be of any service, was in need of wood. There being none nearer than two or three miles (as Vincennes is located in a large prairie) she had secured the use of a horse and small one-horse cart or wagon and as women in those days, and for many years after this, were accustomed to the use of the axe, she repaired to the woods alone for the purpose of gathering and bringing in a load of wood. While at work she heard a "click-click" as if some one were trying to fire a piece of "punk" with a pocket-knife or a piece of steel and a flint which was then and until much later, the only mode of making a fire. Now and then the same sound would greet her ears but being very busy and intent upon getting her load of wood, to return to the fort, paying but little attention to the noise. Presently a gun fired some distance from her and soon one of her acquaintances from the fort came to her and threw a fresh Indian scalp at her feet with the remark 'See Mrs. Glass how near you came to losing your life.' She accompanied him some distance in the thick woods to a large sassafras stump around which sprouts had grown up thickly enough to completely hide a man. Here the Indian had hidden and tried to shoot grandmother but the flint lock gun would not go off thus giving the white man an opportunity to spy him out and with a well-directed shot bring him down. The "click-click" she had heard and which led the white man to the spot in time to save grandmother's life was the failure of the flint on the Indian's gun to strike fire."

These reminiscences of the daily lives of our ancestors make us realize clearly how they were constantly exposed to the attacks of the stealthy, prowling Indian.

God never gave life to a truer and nobler set of men and women than those who drove out the Indians, subdued the wild animals, cleared away the forests and transmitted life to the strong hardy race that now occupies this glorious country.

JOHN SEVERNS.

The first man to make a permanent settlement in what is now Gibson county was John Severns, a Welshman who emigrated to Virginia with his parents. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war he enlisted as a soldier and was in the army for a while. Before his time was out he secured a furlough and visited his parents in the wilds of West Virginia and together with all the family was captured by the Indians. His father, mother, a younger brother and sister were murdered by them while he and his older brother were held as prisoners and taken back to the Indian town somewhere on the headwaters of the White River. Mr. Severns claimed that during the years that he was a prisoner, many times on a hunting excursion with the Indians with whom he lived, he had hunted over all the land tributary to the White and Wabash Rivers and over the same land on which he afterward settled.

After being a prisoner for seven years he made his escape and soon afterward married and settled in Kentucky where he lived for three years. In 1790 he came to this dense wilderness and settled on the south bank of the Patoka river, two and one-half miles north of Princeton at a point now known as Severns' Bridge. By his knowledge of the Indian dialect, their manners and customs, he was enabled to make friends with them and they permitted him to settle among them. At that time there was a large Indian town on the north bank of the Patoka river, nearly opposite his home. Mr. Severns was a very useful man to the other settlers who came some years after. The Indians had the utmost confidence in him and on this account he rendered very helpful aid to his white neighbors. His older brother, who was captured with him, was given to another family of Indians and taken away and he never saw him again. This brother was adopted by a prominent chief and later married an Indian woman. Many years after Mr. Severns had settled in this country, two of his brother's sons visited him. They were half breeds and were dressed in the Indian costume. He tried to prevail on them to leave off their Indian costume and adopt that of the white man but they refused, saying that their father was dead and they only knew how to live as their tribesmen did and they would not leave their friends.

Mr. Severns lived to a good old age and left several children. One of his daughters married Robert Falls and from that union there has been a large family of that name in this part of the state ever since, some of them becoming very prominent. William Leathers married one of the daughters and many of their descendants are in this section yet.

David Johnson who came to Gibson county in an early date, first settled in the southern part of the county but in 1817 located the farm where he spent his life, two miles north of Francisco. He was a noted hunter and was at one time with a hunting party of which John Severns was one. On that occasion the early settlement of that section was discussed. Mr. Severns having been here so many years before any other white man was accepted as authority on all such subjects. He told the party that in the fall of the year 1793 he was with a half dozen of his Indian neighbors hunting and that he stayed all night at an Indian town near the forks of White river. During the night two white prisoners were brought in, having been captured on the Ohio river. Early next morning everything was great excitement; everyone was in great glee over the capture and preparations were made for the trial and killing of the two white men. First two lines were formed facing each other and the two men were compelled to run the gauntlet betweens the lines. A point some hundred yards beyond the lines of the gauntlet was designated as the place that was to be reached to save their lives. One of the men was of middle age but frail and the other was a strong athletic young fellow. The lines were made up of more than one hundred Indians, mostly squaws and boys, with enough active men to keep the prisoners from getting away. The young man was the first to make the race and he got through the line and to the life station without being much hurt—only a few scratches from sharp sticks. The older man before he started, held up his hands and offered a prayer to God for aid, then commenced the race which was not more than half completed before he was knocked down by a heavy club in the hands of a squaw and was set upon by the horde of squaws and boys and beaten to death. As soon as he was knocked down the young man who was several hundred feet away ran like a deer and jumped into the throng of red devils and tried to save his friend's life but was soon overpowered and dragged away. For this brave act the chief of the village adopted the young man to take the place of a son that he had lost. Mr. Severns on being asked why he did not intercede for the prisoners said that if he had attempted to interfere it would have cost him his life.

If it were possible to draw the veil and disclose a view of the now misty past, many thrilling incidents would be seen that would melt the heart of the stoic and the wail of despair would be heard from those being tortured for no other reason than to gratify the hellish desire of the Indians to destroy. These things took place in this grand country of ours now inhabited by happy, prosperous people but once covered with Indians and Indian towns.

From 1785 to 1812 more than two thousand men, women and children were carried into captivity from Kentucky, and the Northwest Territory and not one in ten of them was ever heard of afterward. No doubt two-thirds of these helpless victims were burned at the stake by the Indians, they having no regard for age or sex, but as joyfully gloated over the death of the helpless infant or its mother as they did over the strong warrior whom they had captured.

The Indian women would employ all manner of cruel torture to make their helpless victims more miserable. When burning at the stake they would keep the fire so low as to burn them only by slow degrees causing them to suffer for many hours before death would come to their relief.

No doubt exists now that the Indians were incited to do many murders that they would not have done, by the British at Detroit and Vincennes. The blood-thirsty Colonel Hamilton, the British Commander at Vincennes when the post was captured by General Clark in 1779 had a standing reward for scalps but no reward for prisoners so the Indians killed their prisoners and took their scalps in. Also the same demon while in command at Detroit ordered the white British subjects and the Indians to spare neither men, women or children but to kill all and bring their scalps to his post trader and they would be paid for at a price agreed upon, depending on the age and sex.

There have been a few instances where individual Indians have shown that the milk of human kindness was in them but as a rule General Sheridan was ringh when he said that—"The only good Indian are dead Indians."

WOOLSEY PRIDE.

Tradition has it that the first white settler in what is now Pike county was Woolsey Pride. In 1800 he built a cabin near what was known as White Oak Springs. During the next two or three years the Tislow, Miley, and Conrad families arrived and settled in the same section, making quite a settlement. Game of all sorts was in abundance and Indians were plenty but friendly. The great victory of General Wayne over them in 1794 had made a great change in their actions toward the few white people who lived in the different sections of the Northwest Territory at that time. There were not many outbreaks until about 1804 when all the tribes in this section came under the influence of the celebrated Shawnee Chief, Tecmseh, and his brother, the one-eyed prophet who was a crafty, smart rascal but a great fraud.

In 1806 or 1807 Pride built a fort of heavy logs, large enough to hold his family and all his neighbors and built a heavy stockade around it by splitting large logs in the middle and hewing the edges until they were thick enough to stop a rifle ball, then setting them in a trench three feet deep, leaving eight feet above the ground. The gates were made in the most substantial manner, the intention being to keep them closed at night and all the time when there was threatened danger. One night the gate had been left unfastened by some late arrival and during the night a very fine horse belonging to Mr. Pride got out and the next morning could not be found. He determined to make an effort to find it, although he did not know whether it had been stolen bp some prowling Indian or had gone away of its own accord.

He equipped himself with his halter and trusty rifle and started to hunt the horse but found it hard to get any trace of him. Late in the afternoon he heard a gun fire a long way off and determined to find who the hunter was. He went in the direction the sound came from and after a long walk he saw his horse standing in the edge of a glade. When he got near the horse he discovered that an Indian was standing by it doing something with a strap around the horse's neck. Getting his gun in readiness he slipped up on tne Indian whose gun he saw lying by the carcass of a deer some yards away. He called the horse by name. This frightened the Indian and by his frantic gestures to show Pride he was friendly the horse became frightened and ran away, taking the Indian with him.

It turned out that the Indian had shot a deer and while trailing it by the blood, found the horse grazing, made friends with him and caught him and putting a leather strap around his neck, led him along until he found the dead deer; he soon dressed the deer and had it ready for loading on the horse but the small string around the horse's neck was not strong enough so the Indian had cut strips of the deer's hide and fastened them together tying one end around the horse's neck and the other around his arm to make sure that he did not get away so when the horse became frightened and ran away he took Mr. Indian with him. Pride followed the trail they made and soon found them. The Indian had lodged in a thick bunch of saplings and vines and the horse was making frantic efforts to pull him through, and had broken his arm, nearly pulling it out of its socket. Mr. Pride quieted the frightened animal, freed the Indian and did all that he could for him, offering to take him to his home but as he would not go he left him and never knew what became of him. The large family of Prides in Daviess, Pike and Gibson counties are relatives and most of them descendants of this man.

JEAN LATURE.

In the fall of 1851 or 1852, I went with my father, in a wagon to Evansville on the Evansville and Petersburg road. When we reached a point near where the road goes into the bottoms of Smith's fork of Pigeon Creek, something went wrong with the running gears of our wagon and we could not go much farther without having it repaired. We turned south on the road that used to go to the McDaniel mill on Smith's fork and kept on until we came to the place where the road left the bottom and up a little hill to a house. Here we found a man who could repair the wagon, but it would require three or four hours to do it. While waiting father made some inquiries about a point not far from where we were and I went with him to it, taking our dinners with us. We were, as I now remember, about one hundred yards from Smith's fork. While we ate our dinner father related to me this strange and pathetic story. In the winter of 1833-4 he loaded a flat boat with pork, venison, hams and poultry at Winslow and ran it out of Patoka river en route to New Orleans. Soon after he got into the Ohio river, one of his principal oarsmen became very ill so much so that he had to leave him at Paducah, Kentucky in charge of a physician and hire another man. This one was an intelligent, middle-aged man, dressed in a full suit of buckskin with all the adornments that the Indians wore and carrying the most finely finished rifle father had ever seen. The new man went to work and proved to be a good hand and was better acquainted with the river than any of the crew. Arriving id the neighborhood of Memphis it was learned from returning boatmen that there wrs a better chance to sell the load by coasting along the lower Mississippi than by going to New Orleans. At Vicksburg, Miss., the crew were paid off, except two who were retained. One of these was the man hired at Paducah, whose name was Jean LaTure. They landed at different points on the river and it took about one month to sell out the produce on the boat. During the time they were leisurely coasting down the river LaTure found out that father was from this section of Indiana and related to him this story.

He said that his father was with Lafayette for a while during the Revolutionary War and afterward settled in Virginia where he married a beautiful French woman. He himself was born in Virginia and was about ten years old when his father resolved to move to Kentucky. After staying there about three years he decided to come to Indiana Territory and to Vincennes where he learned he had relatives. "We had two horses," said La Ture "and loaded one with our plunder, the other was for my mother and eight-year-old sister to ride. We started and traveled for several days, coming to green river. We followed it to the point where it runs into the Ohio and then could find no way to cross either river so went up the Ohio for seven or eight miles and found a family of friendly Indians who carried us over in a canoe, the horses swimming. This was in the fall of 1803. We then traveled in a northerly direction for more than a day when we came to a large creek (Big Pigeon). Following along this creek we crossed one of its forks (no doubt Big creek in Greer township, Warrick county) and continued for several miles farther and came to another fork (Smith's Fork). We did not cross this but went up the south bank until we found some high land and selected a place for a camp, intending to stay a few days and rest. After being in camp about two days, nine or ten Indian hunters came in pretending to be very friendly. We gave them food which they ate but after finishing their meal they jumped up so suddenly that we had not time to think; giving a loud yell one caught me, another my little sister and a third attempted to hold my mother but she got hold of an ax and in the scuffle struck the blade into the Indian's thigh, severing the main artery from which he bled to death. Another Indian ran up back of my mother and killed her with a club. My father was killed at the first by two Indians with clubs. About half of them took the dead Indians away and were gone for some time. The rest loaded our plunder on the horses and we went away to the north, leaving my father and mother where they fell, after taking their scalps. After wandering that day and a part of the next we came to a big Indian town near a river which I think now is White river. My little sister was left there and I never saw her afterward. I was taken to an Indian town near Lake Michigan and lived with the Indians for several years. I went with a party on a hunting expedition and was gone several days, during which trip I made my escape and met a party of General Harrison's soldiers after the battle of Tippecanoe and went with them to Vincennes. I went through the war of 1812 and since then I have hunted Indians and killed every one that I could."

He asked my father if he thought he could go with him to the place and was told that there was no doubt of it as he had hunted all over that section. So LaTure came home with my father, who sent word to Jonas Mayhall who had also hunted all over that country with him, asking him to meet him on a certain day at an agreed place and go with him and LaTure, which Mr. Mayhall did. When they got near to the point that was thought to be the place LaTure jumped from his horse and ran to the point and cried out—"Oh! my beautiful mother, how I wish I could have died with you!" He lay down on the ground and cried as his heart would break. The scene was too much for the two men and they rode away and were gone for some time. Finally my father went to LaTure and asked him to get his horse and go home. He asked my father to lead the horse home, telling him how much he thanked him for his kindness and said that he wanted to stay with his father and mother until sunrise next morning. "Then I shall go" he said "and to the last day that I live I will kill every Indian that it is in my power to do, to avenge the lives of my dear parents."

During the summer of 1834, father went south and with his brother, William R. Cockrum, bought the steamboat Otsego and ran her for some time in the lower Mississippi trade. They secured a contract from the Government to carry a large quantity of military stores from New Orleans up the Arkansas river to the distributing points for the several outposts and forts in that section. During one the trips up the river Jean LaTure came to the boat and was gladly welcomed by my father who had him stay on the boat as his guest until it had to return. In bidding good bye he said that he was successfully hunting Inians and intended to do so as long as life lasted.

Jonas Mayhall, mentioned above, was the father of the late George C. Mayhall and the grandfather of the Mayhall children who now reside in Oakland City.

JOEL HARDEN.

David Johnson was at Vincennes in the summer of 1824 for the purpose of entering land. While there he met Joel Harden and as they roomed together at the hotel, they soon got acquainted and being fond of the chase as most all men were at that early period, they told each other their many adventures. The following was told by Harden, which the author believes will prove interesting to his readers.

Late in the summer of 1792 a large band of Indians went into Kentucky from north of the Ohio river. When across the river they broke up into small bands so as to over-run a large territory in a short time. They were of the Kickapoo and Delaware nations. "My father, with my brother and myself (my mother was dead) had made a temporary camp not far, I think, from where Bowling Green, Kentucky is," said Harden. "We had commenced to build a cabin but on the night of the third day we had been there Indians rushed into our camp. My father attempted to kill one and was killed and my brother and I were captured. He was 19 and I 16 years of age. They scalped my father and took our rifles and what little plunder we had and started north. It was about three days before we got to the Ohio river which we crossed at a point I afterward learned was Yellow Bank—in the Kickapoo's language Weesoe Wusapinuk—where Rockport now stands. There was an old Indian trace to the north that we traveled a part of two days and came to a large spring where the Indians were to meet. Already a number were there and in a day or so all of them had arrived. I think there were sixty-five or seventy warriors and they had captured a number ot women and children besides myself and brother and a negro slave. There was a disagreement between the two tribes of Indians about the division of plunder

One of Delawares was determined to have the negro as he could sell him to the English officers in Canada at a good price. As the negro was being led away one of the Kickapoos shot him dead. The Delaware shot my brother in retaliation. This brought on a battle between these two bands of Indians that was terrible for a short time. The Kickapoos had the advantage from the start, rushing the Delawares and capturing all their prisoners—I now think seven or eight women and children—and all their plunder, but before it was over and the Delawares gone, there were six Kickapoo warriors dead and as many wounded. The Delawares carried their dead and wounded away with them but they lost a number. The Indians remained at the springs for several days taking care of their wounded, then they started along the little trace, traveling northward and crossed two good sized rivers and on to the Indian town at the forks of White river. In a short time we continued to the north until we got to a British Fort in Canada in the neighborhood of Detroit where I was sold to an officer for a servant and was held for several years. I made my escape by the aid of a Frenchman who had taken a fancy to me and hated the British officer for some ill treatment. This Frenchman secured a canoe and we ran out of an inlet to Lake Erie and paddled along the coast until we got to the Maumee river, thence up that river to a fort established by General Wayne several years before, and I remained in this section for some time. While General Harrison was at Ft. Meigs I went there and was at the battle of the Thames where Tecumseh was killed. After the close of the war of 1812. I enlisted for five years in the regular service. For the last five years I have been hunting and trapping along the Wabash and its tributaries and have no relatives in the world that I know of."

The next morning Mr. Johnson invited this lonely, weather-beaten soldier to go home with him. which invitation he accepted and remained with him for more than two years. In the fall of that same year Mr. Johnson made arrangements for his annual hunt. Together with Jessie Houchin, who lived at that time on the Hargrove farm east of what is now Oakland City and his guest, Mr. Harden, he started for the old polk patch now Selvin, Warrick county, where they intended to make their camp and hunt, at the same time helping Harden to locate the place where the Indian battle was fought. They stopped on the way for Conrad LeMasters who lived about two miles east of Pleasantville, Pike county. Mr. LeMasters was ready as he had notice of their coming. The first day they killed several deer and a bear and it was after night when they got to their destination. They had good success in their hunting and had more game than they knew what to do with. Of the deer only the hind quarters and the hides were taken, the rest being left where it was killed. The second day Mr. LeMasters was seriously hurt in a fight with a bear and had to go home. The hunting party, the after hearing Harden's story was satisfied that it was at Honey Springs that the Indian battle had taken place so the two of the party who were left, resolved as they went home to go into the neighborhood and let Harden find the springs, which they did. While they were searching they asked Harden to take a pail and see if he could find some water and they would try and find a bee tree. After being gone for a short time they saw him coming back as fast as his horse would carry him. He was all excitement, telling them that he was sure he had found the place they were hunting. They went back with him and notwithstanding there had been some improvements made at and near the springs, Harden was very positive that it was the one, showing the hunters the place where his brother was killed, which was about 200 feet southeast of the spring. The Kickapoo Indians were killed about 300 feet south of the springs. The Delawares retreated to the southwest and their men were killed in that direction.

Staying all night at the springs, the hunters returned home the next morning. The two falls following the same hunting party was formed and they either went or returned by the springs where Harden would wander over the land near them for hours at a time.

In a statement made by John Fuquay, who was scout to

General Gibson, Secretary of State for Indiana Territory, in 1802, as to whether it would be safe to survey the land between the Ohio and White rivers he said—"There is an old Indian trace running from the yellow banks to the headwaters of the Little Pigeon, where there has been a large Indian town, then in a northwesterly direction to a large spring, then along the spring branch to little Patoka and it crosses the large Patoka at a good ford and continues to the forks of White river.

Data of the recapture of three Kentucky women from the Indians in what is now Pike county, Indiana, was furnished the author in 1855 by William Leathers, son-in-law of John Severns. The story is as follows:

In 1795 John Severns was on White river hunting, when he met two Indian trappers one of whom he had known intimately during his captivity among the Indians. They had been in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, of Canada, for several years but had come south to do a little trapping on their own account and had a large number of traps with them, mostly for beaver. Severns told them of the many beaver and beaver dams along the Patoka river and its tributaries.*

After talking the matter over the Indians agreed that they would hunt bear for awhile and put in the late fall and winter trapping for beaver, all of which was carried out. From the start the three men had all they could do to keep their traps set and care for their peltry. The intention of the trappers was to stay a few days in the neighborhood, catch all they could and then go on farther. In this way they thought they could go over the best trapping territory during the winter. The weather had become pretty cool and the trappers had made their camp against a bluff bank of the river where a thick vein of coal was cropping out. They built their fires against the coal and had a good one. This camp as the river runs was from 35 to 40 miles from Mr. Severns' home. They had been there several days and had become pretty well acquainted with the surrounding country when one morning as they lay in their comfortable quarters a little before day they were startled by the firing of several guns not far away. They would have thought it was Indians shooting at a bear or a gang of wolves prowling around their camp had it not been for the loud hallooing and the screaming of a child or a woman, that continued for some time. The trappers hastily put out the fire and got into a position to defend themselves. In a short time daylight came and Severns and one of the Indians determined to reconnoitre near their camp. On going up the river some distance they heard talking and were satisfied that it was white people. The Indians slipped away and went back to camp while Severns went in the direction of the talking and soon saw several men and women sitting around a fire. One man, who was on the lookout, saw Severns and seeing that he was a white man, called to him and when he got to the party he saw seven of the hardiest type of Kentucky backwoodsmen and three women. One of the men was wounded by a ball through the top of the shoulder. The women's clothing was badly torn and their feet almost bare. They looked weary and careworn and the stop had been made to make some covering for their feet so they could travel. but they were very short of suitable material. Severns told them that if they would wait until he could go to his camp, less than a mile away, he would provide them with all the material they needed. The proposition was gladly accepted and he soon returned with the saddle of a deer and a dressed buck skin. While he was at camp he advised the Indians to keep close as he did not know much about the people, only that they had recaptured three white women from the Indians and had killed several of the latter and that he might go a little way with them to find out what he could. The moccasins were soon mended and the party started on the long return trip. Severns went with them for a few miles and learned that they lived in central Kentucky and that nearly all of the men of their settlement had gone to a salt spring to make salt. While they were absent six Indians attacked two houses and captured the three women. A boy not far from one of the houses saw the Indians and ran to two men building a cabin and gave the alarm and then all the other families ran to the fort not far away. A runner was sent after the men at the salt spring but it was nearly two days before they could get back and start after the Indians. After that they followed them on the run as they knew the Indians would make haste to get back over the Ohio river. When the Kentuckians had crossed the river they had no trouble in following the trail because most of the way they were on a trace that crossed at the ford where Severns found them. "Last night about eleven o'clock," one of the men told Severns "our out runner came back to the party just after we had retired for the night and told us that he had seen a little glimmer of fire about a half mile ahead. Two of our men went back with him and in about an hour one of them came back and said they had located the Indians and that they were all asleep except one who was guarding the prisoners and that as well as they could count them as they lay, there were six Indians and the three women, and that their camp was at the foot of a bluff. He left the other two on a hill about a hundred yards from the Indians. There was a small valley between them and they had a clear view of the camp. The rest of us went to the hill and after a whispered council decided to deploy out so as to reach the camp from the south and east sides and as soon as we could get near enough, to charge the Indians and kill them before they could defend themselves. The men who are husbands of two of the women were to look after them. In creeping up we found the little valley covered an inch or two deep with water from a gushing spring near the Indians' camp which greatly delayed our attack and it was nearly five o'clock when we rushed on them, killing four before they could use their guns. The one left on guard shot one of our men in the shoulder and he and another one got away, the guard with a broken arm."

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*AUTHOR'S NOTE. I have heard hunters say that there was no place in the western country where there had been more beaver than on the Patoka river and that many had been caught as late as 1835. To this day the signs of their industry are to be seen in many places.

After hearing his story, Mr. Severns wished them a safe journey and returned to camp. That afternoon the three trappers went to the battle ground and found four dead Indians which they placed in a large hole made by the uprooting of a tree that had blown down, piling brush, dirt and rocks on them. The Indians were greatly alarmed and Mr. Severns could not induce them to stay longer, so they went down the river to Severns' home and then took their traps and went north.

The only certain location of this battle ground is the Patoka river and Severns' home but the distance and out cropping of the coal makes it certain to my mind that it was Massey's Bridge where the trappers' camp was and that the Kentuckians crossed at Martin's Ford about a mile up the river from the bridge and the place where the battle was fought and the women rescued was at Martin Springs. The hill the men laid on when planning to charge on the Indians, was I believe, where the Martin cemetery i now located.

The data for the bear fight which follows was given me by Mr. Otho Harrison in 1854.

During the summer and fall of 1807 there had been great excitement in all the settlements so recently made in this part of the Indiana Territory. The people had to leave their homes several times and were huddled together in forts. There were many roving bands of Indians prowling around. A family by the name of Larkins had been captured and Mr. Larkins was killed near what is now the east line of Pike county, as they were camped for the night near the old Indian trace. Several emigrants had been stopped and turned back by our rangers until a sufficient escort could be sent with them to their destination

Bands of young Indians would start on a hunting expedition but as soon as they were away from the influence of the older ones, would shape their course so as to be on the usual lines followed by the early settlers coming to this section and at night, while they were in camp, would fall on these helpless people, generally killing the men and taking the women and children prisoners. They would then gather up what articles of value the settlers might have had and go to the northern Indians near the great lakes who were under the influence of the British commander of that section. Here they sold their prisoners for servants and received a reward for their scalps.

There is no doubt but that all the older Indians as well as Tecumseh, looked with apprehension on all these marauding campaigns of their young men. Tecumseh, his brother and a small band of Shawnee Indians lived for several years before 1806 in a Delaware town on White river. In the summer of that year they moved to Greenville, in the state of Ohio. Interpreter LaVerne met Tecumseh one day after he left that section and asked him why he didn't remain near the Wabash as most of his people were in that section. He told LaVerne that the White river Indians were very hot-headed, that they wanted to kill and murder and that they were great thieves and that some time soon they would bring great trouble on all the Indian race. He also said that Indians who hunt for scalps would not make good fighters, that they would shoot a little and run away.

Woolsey Pride's fort near Petersburg had been the home of many of the new comers to that section for some time and the provision had run low. There were vast numbers of bear, deer and turkeys in the woods and if it were safe to hunt them, a day or so would have replenished their larders, so it was decided that three men would go out and kill some game. Paul Tislow, Henry Miley and Woolsey Pride got everything in readiness and early the next morning started, Tislow and Miley taking a bear trap with them as they knew of a place on Pride's creek where there was always plenty of bear signs. They intended to set the trap and go back the next morning. They were fairly successful, having killed three deer and a half dozen turkeys. Hanging up two deer in the woods, they took one deer and the turkeys home with them, after having set their bear trap and baited it.

Early the next morning the three men went out again. Pride took his horse to bring the deer back on, while Tislow and Miley went to the bear trap. When near it they saw a large bear run away and a small one was in the trap fast by its hind foot. They concluded, as it was only a cub weighing not more than one hundred pounds, they would take it with them to the fort alive to show to the women and children. They were making preparations to tie it when it made a great out-cry and the old mother bear came rushing out after their dog and at them full drive. They had no time to get their guns or in any way defend themselves before she was on them, knocking Tislow down and attempting to tear him to pieces. Miley struck at the bear's head with his tomahawk, but hit a glancing blow, not severely disabling it but somewhat addling it so that it turned partly around and off of Tislow, who did not need any invitation but in a moment was up, and running to a tree, climbed it to a safe distance. This left Miley and the dog with the infuriated bear that kept turning around to get hold of him. He followed its motions by holding to its shaggy coat. He made several passes at it with his hatchet but hadn't hurt the animal much. The dog was doing all that it could to help him but if it hadn't been for the hold he had on the long hair on the hind quarters of the bear it would have torn him to pieces, but having hold of it he could govern himself by the bear's motions. When he had time to do anything he would halloo to Tislow to come down and help him but Tislow had been there before and was badly bitten, his clothing torn into shreds and he didn't want any more of it. When Miley was almost worn out two large dogs that had followed Pride came rushing into the conflict, thus releasing him from his perilous position. As soon as Miley loosed his hold he ran to a tree and climbed it, leaving the dogs and bear to fight it out. The great noise made by the men and dogs was heard by Pride and he was seen coming at full speed on his horse, but when he got near the battle there was such a mix-up of dogs and bear that he could not shoot without danger of killing a dog. Finally he got a chance and shot the bear through the middle of the shoulder, disabling both its fore legs, then jumping from his horse he finished it with his tomahawk.

Settling a new country, remote from settled neighborhoods, as southern Indiana was, is always attended with great hardships and privations which none but the brave will endure. The main object in coming to this wild region was to secure free land for homes. A large majority of the pioneers settled on land bought with land warrants for military service in the Revolutionary or Indian wars. The spirit of adventure which is so fascinating caused a few to come but as a whole the people who were the pioneers of this state were from the best families of the countries from which they moved; intelligent, brave, hearty, and honest, willing to endure the many trials and privations they were compelled to, to sustain themselves, and to face the great dangers, incident to driving out the red barbarian from this favored land, where they had cast their lots and intended to make their homes. They went to work to improve their surroundings, always on the look-out for dangers and the everlasting calm only broken by the croaking of the crows by day and the lonesome hoot of the owl by night.

The venturesome hunter sought for signs that he could read to determine his chances for a successful hunt and for his own safety. He could read the sky, morning and evening which gave him the information of what the weather would be for twenty-four hours. Nearly all men who exposed themselves, then as now, had some kind of a pain or ache that told them of damp weather. They were ever on the lookout for signs and listening for sounds that told them whether they were to have good or bad luck in their undertaking. The lonesome howling of a dog was a sure sign that trouble would would come to a family and a dog that was given to such howling did not live very long. These old hunters were learned in wood lore; if they were lost they had only to find the moss which was always thickest on the north side of the tree to tell them the way out and if they were uncertain as to the direction the wind came from, they stuck a finger into the mouth until it was warm, then held it up and the wind was blowing from would feel cool. The wood craft education was necessary for these pioneers. Their business was to hunt game to feed themselves and families: all kind of animals were in abundance and it was not hard to kill the deer and turkey, the principal game that they used for food. For seasoning Johnny cake or ash cakes and other food the fat of the bear was the best and was almost indispensable. It was often attended with great danger to kill them. The bear was always ready for a fair fight, rearing up on his hind feet ready either to box his antagonist to a finish or to hug the life out of him; and it is yet to be recorded where any man went into battle with a bear without the use of a gun and came out without being severely hurt.

Wolves were plentiful but they were never regarded as dangerous to man. They were the slyest, most sneaking animal of all and did make havoc among the young hogs and sheep when they could get a chance. People who raised sheep had to put them every night into secure pens.

The early settlers, as a rule married when they were young; there was no inequality in the way for all were on the same level. If the young man was a good hunter and a good soldier if need be, that was all the requirements needed. The young girl had no bad habits and was industrious and healthy. She had learned from her mother the simple forms of housekeeping. Probably they did not have a cent of money between them. In many cases it was hard for the father of the sons, who were first married in the wilds of this country to get the needed means for the legal part of the ceremony.

When it first became known that there was to be a wedding, everybody old and young, were in great glee in anticipation of the coming feast and the continued frolic which would follow and which generally lasted until two days after the infare, the wedding reception at the groom's father, and until their house was built and properly warmed by an all night's dancing. Then it was turned over to the young people who assumed their position in society as one more family added to the sparsely settled region. Everybody in the whole neighborhood knew that he would be invited in fact the custom on such an occasion was that no invitation was needed and the latch string was out to all comers and especially to the neighbors. The custom of the celebration at the home of the bride has been in vogue as long as the United States has been settled by the white people.

It is not to be wondered at that everybody was on the qui vive when a wedding was on hand, for there was no other gathering where all could go. On the day of the wedding the candidate and his best fellows, probably as many as ten, who had been his friends in the chase and on the scout, gathered at his father's home. The first thing to do was to select two of the best mounted who were to run for the bottle which took place when they arrived within one-half mile of the bride-elect. They timed their march so as to arrive about noon, the wedding usually taking place just before the noon meal. When they got to the point near the home, the word was given and the two young men started at bread-neck speed trying their best to win. A bottle of corn whiskey was given to the young man who first passed a given point. He then turned his horse and, riding at the top of his speed, carried the bottle to the approaching party and treated them all to its contents. I well rdmember a tree shown to me some years ago on the Jackson Martin farm near Littles in Pike county, where a Mr. Martin was killed while running for the bottle: the horse became scared at something and ran against the tree fracturing the young man's skull.

After the return of the racing party the company continued to the house where they found all the people of the neighborhood assembled. Nearly every section had some one with ministerial license who would solemnize the wedding; there was no legal light nearer than the county seat, which was often fifty miles away.

After the ceremony was over the feast began, which was a feast indeed of the best things to be obtained in the country; all sorts of meats and bread made from meal, pounded in a mortar and baked on a hoe or Johnny-cake board. Wild honey was there in abundance as a bee tree could be found on any forty acres, often as many as a dozen of them. Possibly the dinner was served on a table or platform, covered with three foot boards seventy-five or one hundred feet long, and over this was laid a piece of linen cloth that had been lying in the garden for weeks to bleach. This cloth was made entirely by the bride. All the dishes in the neighborhood had been borrowed as the supply was very scant, only a few pewter plates, a few pewter spoons, but horn and wooden ones filled the need and the party were jovial and happy; everyone enjoying themselves.

After the dinner was over the old folks started for their homes, the younger people making preparations for a dance that was to last until broad daylight. They did not understand the fancy dancing of this day but the figures were four handed reels and what they called square sets. Some of the people from Virginia understood dancing a reel that was called in old Virginia—"hoedown." The musician was usually a middle aged man who was an expert with the violin before leaving the older settled sections.

The infare was the same as the wedding; two young men raced for the bottle and the gathering was the same people as on the day before. The feast of good things was enjoyed by all. After the dinner was over and the old folks had gone to their homes the young folks started the dance in which everyone took part. Their dress was all of home manufacture, bride's and all, they were of the most comfortable sort.

The honeymoon of the young people was not extensive in travel. They did not have the worry of packing large traveling trunks nor were there any old shoes thrown after them for their were none to throw.

The first thing to do after the infare was to build a house to live in, but before they could have charge of their new home there must be the regulation house warming. In a former chapter the author has described a cabin built by the first pioneers and following is given a description of one of a little later day.

After a favorable site had been selected all the neighbors helped in cutting and hauling the logs. The first thing to do was to cut three large logs the length the building was wanted and scutch one side and lay them so they were level, on a range with each other. On this the first two end logs were placed, then the puncheons laid, meeting on the middle log for the foundation. The puncheons were first faced with an ax to cause them to lie level. Then the foot adz came into play, making the floor level and smooth. The side and end logs were laid on and notched down so as to make the cracks as small as they could and the walls strong. Usually the corner men scored the logs, each way half the length, until they met the other corner men. The scores were scutched off, making the walls look much better than round logs with bark on. At the square of the house usually about eight feet above the floor, two end logs projected about fifteen inches beyond the wall and usually other logs were laid across the building projecting the same as the end log and the proper distance apart to receive four foot boards for the loft. The butting logs, as they were called, were laid up notched to fit and pinned to the cross logs. Against the butting logs the first course of boards for the roof rested. The slope for the roof was made by cutting the end logs above the square two and one-half feet shorter. The next side log was laid some two feet from the wall, projecting over at each end two feet. This was called a ridge pole or log for the boards to lie on. The same was continued until the top log was in place where the boards of both sides of the roof met, forming the comb. Small logs were split open the length of the ridge pole for the purpose of weighting the roof so the boards would be level and stay in place. The weight poles were tied at each end with hickory withs to the end of the ridge poles. The door was made by cutting out the logs on one side the width wanted and pinning heavy pieces of upright timbers to the end of the logs by boring a hole through the timber and into the end of the logs, which made it very solid. A similar opening was made at the end, only wider, for a chimney. A three sided crib of logs joined to the end logs of the house was made high enough above where the back wall came to form the foundation for the chimney. Timber was driven down to form a place so that clay could be pounded in to make the hearth and raise the fire place even with the floor. After this mud mixed with grass was made and large cats or lumps were pounded in between the boards placed to shape the fire place and the logs, until it was as high as needed and then the chimney was started by drawing it in like a partridge trap until it was of the proper size to draw well, then built with sticks and clay until above the roof. The cracks between the logs of the house were filled with chinking of timber and plastered with mud. The door shutter was made by riving thick boards the length wanted, then putting heavy pieces across called battens then pinning them fast. Heavy wooden hinges were put on by pinning two pieces across the door and auger holes bored through them where they extended over the door's edge, then two butts for the hinges were pinned on the logs inside to a piece called facing with round tenon made on them. The door was then hung by fitting the auger holes over the round tenons. A heavy latch was made that when fastened on the inside could not be opened, without the proverbial latch string of buck skin through a hole in the door and hanging on the outside was used in lifting the latch. When completed the door could not be opened without great power being used. On each side and on the ends of the room a peep hole was left so that what went on on the outside could be seen and if need be could be used for a port hole to shoot from. A heavy piece of timber fitted into these peep holes, windows they could not have as long as there was any danger from Indians.

The gun rack over the door was usually made by fastening the prongs of deer horns in an auger hole. A good lamp was made by forming a cup out of clay and burning it hard. When this was filled with bear's oil, and fitted with a cotton wick, it made a very good light.

Hunting for game through the long days was the most laborious work that could be done. Often when the snow was melting and the creeks and branches overflowing, the hunter waded through the wet all day, at night returning to his humble home all worn out, many times, however, with three to six turkeys tied to his back and again with two to four pairs of venison hams and the hides of the deer. While all were fond of the chase and of necessity had to follow it, yet no labor ever performed by man was more trying on the constitution.

When the spring season came on the deer were poor and they were let alone until the crop was put in. Before planting the crop more acres of ground had to be cleared and the brush and logs burned, the rails made and the fence put around it. This required great labor. Besides his own work the farmer had to assist his few neighbors in rolling their logs so that they would help him in return. Often new comers had to have houses raised. With all his labor he put in his crop in good season and the virgin soil, with little stirring, produced bountifully supplies of corn and vegetables for his stock and table. If the family had boys they aided their father in the crops from the time they were eight years old. If the mother's side of the house had the most help then the strong healthy girls helped their father in putting in his corn and in tending it. Industry was a virtue that was always in force for there were no idlers. When the older people thought their children were a little slack in their work, they would remind them that they were in danger of being caught by the Laurences, meaning the little heat waves caused by the heat from the earth on a very hot day. Such days would add much to the child's disposition to rest.

Anyone who was given to idelness was called a lazy hound and was looked upon with contempt. In fact it was such an odium to be called an indolent, lazy body that the ones so inclined were soon frozen out or talked out and moved away. I well remember an old story that I have heard the old people repeat whed I was a small boy. They always told it as happening in old North or South Carolina or in Tennessee. In the section they would name there lived a strong healthy young man who wouldn't work under any circumstances and his family was not cared for as it should have been. A neighbor filed a complaint and the law took charge of him and as he was being taken to the county seat to be bound out or his labor for a certain period sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds to be used to maintain his family, they passed by the house of a well-to-do farmer who asked the driver what he was going to do with that man and upon being informed said it was a shame for such a big, good-looking fellow like that to be sold and asked – "What does his family need? I am willing to help them." The driver said that if they had two bushels of corn it would last them until roasting ears came and then they could live through the summer. "If that is all that is needed I will give him two bushels of corn. You drive down to the corn pen and get it." Whereupon the lazy man rolled over in the wagon and asked—"Say Mister, is the corn shelled?" "Why no, but you can shell it," was the answer. He rolled back into his easy position and said—"Drive on driver, to the county seat." Then turning to the farmer—"I can't shell corn."

This story was often told as I now recall the circumstances I remember it was always in the presence of some one who was a little slack in the twist about work. Many times since I have become older I have wondered if it were not told to fix more firmly the habits of industry in my mind as well as in others.

Our mother worked from early morning until late at night preparing the needed clothing for the family and doing her household work. The daughters stood nobly by their mother, helping her in every way they could. As the mother grew older they relieved her of the care and weariness of the household duties and went forward in all the needed preparation for the home. The boy, were ever in the fields with their father at work, and when the corn was cribbed they followed him in the chase, killing bear, deer and turkeys for the needs of the family. When winter had come they would go three or four miles away to some neighbor's house where subscription school was being taught for a month or so, thus gathering the first principles of an education.

When these healthy boys and girls came home from school and the daily duties were gone through with, the girls preparing the evening meal, milking the cows and caring for all the household work, the boys attending to their stock and cutting wood for the fire, preparing large back logs to be placed against the back wall of the chimney. After supper was over and the dishes cleared away one of the girls would bring her cards and wool to make the rolls for another who had the large spinning wheel making the rolls into thread. The old people and the rest of the family sat around the fire talking of the events of the day. They had no books but the bible and possibly an old English reader—newspapers they had never seen. After awhile one marries and leaves the old home and then another, until they all have homes of their own clustering around the old homestead which usually fell to the youngest.

This is the way this country has been peopled. True, many have moved to other parts of the country, but in every part of Indiana, second and third generations from the old pioneers yet occupy and control the country outside the towns.

The dress of these people was suitable for the life they had to lead. The hunting shirt was worn by all the men and was made of various sorts of material. It was a loose frock coat coming down below the middle of the thighs. The sleeves were very large. The front part of the garment was made very full, so much so that it would lap over more than a foot on each side, when it was belted. The cape was very large and full, much like the comfortable long capes worn by our cavalry soldiers during the war of the Rebellion. They were ornamented with a heavy fringe around the bottom and down the shoulder seams and a row on the cape about half way from the bottom to the collar. The bosom of these hunting shirts when the belt was fastened was always used by the hunter to carry the things needed for his convenience and comfort. On one side the tomahawk and on the other the hunting knife were each fastened to a loop made in the belt. These two weapons were indispensable and every hunter carried them. The hunting shirt was mostly made out of linsey cloth, some were made out of linen, the cloth made thick by filling made from tow which was gathered from the last hackling of the flax. There were many made out of dressed deer skins for summer and fall wear but they were very cold in the winter time. The skin coats were fantastically ornamented in the fashion of the Indians. The hunting shirts was of any color to suit the fancy of the owner. Some of them were very gay but those intended for the chase or scout were usually a dull color so as not to be easily distinguished. The undershirts, or vests as we now call them, were made of any material they could get. The breeches were made close fitting and over them a pair of buckskin leggins were worn fringed down the outside seams like the Indians. A pair of moccasions for their foot covering and protection were much better for the purpose of hunting and scouting than shoes, which they could not get, as no noise was made in walking. They were made of buckskin in one piece, with a gathered seam along the top of the foot and from the bottom of the heel to the ankle joint. Flaps were left on each side so as to reach some distance up the leg to be covered over with the lower part of the leggins, and all held in place by strong thongs of buckskin tied around just above the ankle joint, to keep the snow and dirt out of the moccasins.

It required only a little time to make a pair of moccasins. For this purpose and for mending the holes worn in them an awl made out of any kind of iron was an indispensable tool, and with a ball of thongs or strings cut from a dressed deer skin, was in the shot pouch or hunting shirt pocket of every hunter. In the winter the moccasins were very cold and dry deer hair was stuffed into them to keep the feet warm. If the wearer owned any red pepper pods a liberal supply of it was put in with the hair. I have heard my father say that in cold wet weather the moccasin was only a little better than going barefooted.

The head dress of the men was as varied as there were kinds of animals. Bear, beaver, fox, raccoon and even the sullen opposum furnished material for headwear. In the summer time they had hats made from the wild oat straw and from the flag that grew in ponds. Even the inside bark of the mulberry roots was cleaned and worked into very light durable hats for summer wear. Gloves were made out of the skins of small animals with the fur on the inside.

The women did not have as elaborate costumes as the men, but they dressed at all times to suit their work and the weather if they had the material to make their clothing from. The linsey skirt or petticoat as it was termed then, worn over some sort of dress of linen or cotton, made much like ladies wear now for night gowns, was the usual costume. If worn in cold weather a waist or jacket was added to the skirt. Their clothing was warm and comfortable. In warm weather they invariably went barefooted, but during the cold weather they had moccasins or shoe pacs, a sort of half moccasin. They made shawls of flannel the same as they made blankets of any color that suited their fancy with bright colored stripes at each end and a heavy fringe sewed on all around it. Later when they got to raising cotton in sufficient quantities, they made a very pretty and serviceable cotton dress with stripes of many colors. For head dress they always wore caps night and day with a frill on the front edge often out of the same goods, very old ladies often wore dark colored caps made of some fine goods brought from their early childhood home. They wore the regulation sun bonnet of that period which differed but little from that worn by many at this time. The head piece or crown was made with casings for splits of wood to keep it in shape with a gathered curtain sewed around the lower edge. These hooded bonnets were good shades from the sun and when taken in connection with the other dress of that day were very becoming to the wearer. For handkerchiefs they had small home-made squares of white cotton cloth of their own spinning and weaving. For gloves leather made out of squirrel hides dressed, was used and they were as soft as the best kid and lasted for all time.

Often it was very difficult to secure the raw material to make this clothing. The flax crop at times failed as the land was too loose for it to do well in. The flax roots are very short and the new soil of that date was a very loose loam and in dry weather the flax would die out and the crop fail. At such time, when the flax failed, some one would go to the rich creek bottoms where nettles grew in abundance and secure loads of the stalks. After it was dried and rotted they broke and worked it the same as they did the flax. A strong thread could be spun from the fiber covering the stems and this thread was woven into cloth and made into clothing. When they had wool and linen thread they wove linsey cloth, the best that could be had for comfort and durability. Every woman was her own weaver. The girls who were fourteen years old could spin and weave and make their own clothing. Their clothing was such as they could make by hand. These early pioneers tanned their own leather. A large trough for a tanning vat back of the smoke house or in it as was often the case, was an indispensable piece of property. The bark of the black oak, carefully secured in the spring when the sap was up, was dried to be used later for tanning their leather. The skins of deer, wolves and later on of bears and cows that had died or had been killed by the panthers were saved and dried until such times as they were wanted to be put into the vat. They were first put in a trough with strong ashes and kept there until the hair became loose and could be scraped off. Then they were put into the vat and the oak bark was pounded up as finely as needed and put in layer after layer as the skins were placed in the trough. When the oak liquor or ooze had been used until it commenced to lose its strength it was drawn off and a new supply of bark put into the vat. After being in the vat for several months the hides were taken out. A board or slab was driven into the ground and the top end was shaved to an edge. Then the hides were scraped back and forth over the edge of the slab until they became pliable; then bear's oil was put on and worked in until every part of the skin was soft. Our people learned from the Indians that the brains of the deer was the best of all material to make the tanned leather soft and pliable and to keep it so. It took nearly three large dressed buckskins to make a leather suit, including a hunting shirt, leggings and two pairs of moccasins.

After they had raised the corn the meal made out of it for their bread was prepared by pounding the corn in hominy blocks and by grinding the corn in hand mills. Hominy blocks were made in the end of a large log standing on end and about three feet high. The hopper for holding the corn was made by burning a hole in the end of the log. Then a hickory pestle was used to pound the corn. This labor was often made lighter and more effective by placing a pole on a fork driven into the ground the proper distance from the meal block. One end of the pole was held down by a heavy log and to the other end was attached a heavy pestle by a strong leather cord. A hole was bored through the pestle the proper distance from the lower end and a hickery pin put into it extending two feet on each side. Then two people could work at the pounding process. The spring of the pole lifted the pestle as high as wanted and the stroke was made by pulling down on the pin. In this way meal could be made much faster than by the single hand process. After beating the corn awhile it was put in a skin sieve made by stretching a raw deer skin over a hickory hoop and when it had dried, burning small holes through it with the tines of an iron fork, thus making a very good sieve. The meal was shaken through this and the coarse parts put back in the hopper to be pounded until it was fine enough to go through the sieve. When the corn was just beginning to harden in the fall a much more simple device was made for making meal, called a "grater." A piece of tin or sheet iron with many holes punched through it was put on a board and nailed by its edges to the board, forming a half circle. The corn was rubbed over the rough side of this grater, the meal going through the perforations and falling into a pan. There are many old people yet living who have had the backache from bending over one of these crude meal-making machines and the writer is one of them. A little later a small mill was made, which was called a hand mill, that was much superior to the two meal-making processes above described. The hand mill was made of two small round stones. The under one was stationary and the upper one was turned around. These stones placed in a hoop made for the purpose. At one edge a little spout was made for the meal to run out and a hole was made in the outside edge of the top stone and a staff fitted into it.

The upper end of the staff went into a hole made through a board that was fastened to some timbers over head. The hoop, the stones were in, was about the size of a dish pan. A little hopper was made around the center staff or post that the top stone ran around with holes made in it to let the corn through as fast as wanted. Two persons could hold the upright staff one on either side of the hoop, and keep the top stone turning around at a lively rate. There could be four bushels of corn ground on this small mill in a day. This was considered at that time to be quite an advance in the milling industry.

CHAPTER IX.

LAND CLAIMS AND TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS—INDIAN DEPREDATIONS—LETTERS OF INSTRUCTION AND ORDERS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE—BURNING OF AN INDIAN TOWN NEAR OWENSVILLE—DIVISION OF INDIANA TERRITORY—ELECTIONS—LAND OFFICES.

The uncertainty of the title of the lands held by the inhabitants of the territory, caused so much trouble that Congress in 1804 created a board of Commissioners who were empowered to inquire into the validity of the titles and decide on the title of each claim to which title there was any question. This decision was to be reported to Congress and in this way most of the uncertain titles were confirmed.

Many of the laws that had been adopted for the government of the Northwest Territory by Governor St. Clair and the judges, and a part of the statutes adopted and published by Governor Harrison were revised and re-enacted by the General Assembly of the Territory of Indiana and were published by Stout and Smoot at Vincennes, by authority of the Legislature. They were bound in a thin volume that contained the laws of the Northwest Territory and those of Indiana Territory which had not been repealed, as they were revised by the Honorable John Rice Jones and John Johnson. The latter laws passed by the Legislature referred to many things among which were the incorporation of the Vincennes Univeristy, Vincennes Library, the Borough of Vincennes and the town of Jeffersonville.

By an act of Congress approved the 11th of January, 1805, before the organization of the legislative council, Indiana

Territory was divided and the Territory of Michigan was established to take effect the last day of June, 1806. Michigan Territory was formed of that part of Indiana Territory which lies north of a line drawn east from a point on Lake Michigan ten miles north of its southern extremity until said line intersects Lake Erie, thence north through Lake Erie to the northern boundary of the United States. This division included the land office at Detroit.

The Legislature of 1807 passed some very drastic measures, among them being penalties for the crime of treason, murder, arson, and horse-stealing. All of them were punishable by death. The crime of man-slaughter was not such an important affair and was punishable under the code of common laws. The crime of burglary and robbery were punishable by whipping. Rioting was punishable by fine and .imprisonment. Hog stealing was punishable by whipping.

After Wayne's victory up to 1802 and 1803 there was quiet in all the section of country in Indiana Territory. The object lesson the Indians received there was so forcibly impressed on them that they were glad to be quiet for a while. This quiet gave an impetus to emigration to the new country, but in a short time the temptation was so great that small bands of Indians would roam over the country hunting for a chance to retaliate and murder the defenseless people. There were a number of boat fights on the Ohio and in some of them the unfortunate occupants were captured and murdered.

A family named McClure was floating down the Ohio, about ten miles west of the mouth of Lochry Creek in what is now Ohio county, Indiana. They were prevailed upon to land their boats by the cries and gestures of a white woman who besought them to take her on board, saying that she had escaped from the Indians. As soon as the boat touched shore it was captured by a band of Indians who were in concealment in a large crevice in the bank. All of the family except one grown daughter were killed. She was carried into captivity and sold to the British at Malden and was recaptured at the battle of the Thames. It was never known whether the white woman who decoyed the boat was a prisoner or was, like Simon Girty, a traitor to the white race, who became more fiendish and brutal toward the Americans than the most savage Indians.

At Diamond Island, Posey county, Indiana, in the summer of 1803 a boat containing six people from Virginia was captured, but before the capture was accomplished three Indians were dead and another had one of his ears and more than half his nose cut off. The boat had landed to take on a deer killed by young James Barnard who was a son of the owner of the boat. As the two men, father and son, were carrying the deer they saw eight or ten Indians rushing to the boat. The mother, with an ax, killed one of the Indians. The three small children in the party were unable to make any defense. The father had his gun with him but the son had only a corn knife, made of a brier-scythe, which he had carried out to cut a pole on which to hang the deer. The father, actuated by the first impulse, rushed to the boat, shot two Indians down at one shot and was himself immediately killed. The son, having no gun, attempted to get away by running. Two Indians followed him and as he dodged from tree to tree they both fired, but missed. One of the Indians was fleet of foot and followed on after the young man who was very fast in a foot race but he soon found that the Indians would overtake him. Coming to a very large tree he dodged behind it and as the Indian came up, dealt him such a blow with the corn knife that it cut off a large part of his nose. At the second blow he cut off his left ear which fell at his feet. The Indian uttered a loud yell and ran back the way he had come. Young Barnard picked up the ear and went into the forest where he hid and waited for night to come, when he wandered back to the river, hoping to find some trace of the family. He found the dead bodies of his mother and father, both scalped, but could see no trace of his brother and sisters. The young man, with his corn knife, in the stillness of the night, and in the wilderness of Posey county, dug out a shallow grave in which he placed the bodies of his parents and then he wandered through the woods. Coming to the Wabash, he swam it and found his way to

Vincennes where he enlisted in the army. The next year after this, an expedition was made by soldiers into the Illinois country after some horse-thief Indians who had stolen a number of horses which were grazing on the common pasture near Post Vincennes, and young Barnard was one of the company. Late in the evening of the second day out, more than thirty miles to the southwest of Vincennes, they came to a lone wigwam near a large spring of water. On coming up to it they found an Indian who was dressed in skins and had covering over his face except places made in the covering that he could see out of. This strangely dressed creature did not offer any opposition to the soldiers. One of the soldiers understood the Kickapoo language and told the Indian that they did not intend to do him any harm but that he must take that covering off of his head. At this he became frantic and said he would die first. They caught him and held him and removed the buckskin from over his head when they beheld an awfully mutilated face that looked as though it had been in that condition some time. His nose was nearly all gone, one of his eyes was out and one ear cut off. Barnard looked at the Indian and told the interpreter what he had done at Diamond Island and that he had the ear in his tent at camp. This was told the Indian, whereupon he became a raging fury and tried to break loose to get at Barnard. When he found that he could not throw off the two stalwart soldiers who held him, he commenced to insult and abuse Barnard by saying that he had killed his father and that after he got back to the boat he killed his mother. When this was translated to him Barnard mashed his head with a club.

The Indians are very superstitious and when any of them is mutilated or disfigured as the one referred to above, he goes into seclusion and no one is ever allowed to see his face again.

After the treaties of 1804 were made which ceded all the country on the Wabash and Ohio rivers, south of the old Vincennes and Clarksville trace up to the Ohio Falls, to the United States from the Indians, many emigrants moved into that section. Many of them before that had been in Kentucky near the Ohio river, waiting for the government to acquire that territory. Notwithstanding the number of men who came into the territory, there was much trouble with the Indians, growing out of the influence of the Prophet. Along in 1805 and up to the last of 1806 the Indians in all their stations in Indiana Territory were loud in their declaration that the Ohio river should be the boundary line between them and the whites. Bands of young hunters were continually roving through the country all along the territory between the Ohio and White rivers. The only posts the whites had for protection at that time were Vincennes, the station at White Oak Springs on the old trace and a good fort in Lawrenceburg in Dearborn county; also a good fort at Clarksville. There is no doubt that many people were captured and destroyed while attempting to move into that section whom no one ever heard of.

In the early spring of 1807 a band of Delaware Indians on the Vincennes and Clarksville trace, west of the Mudholes (near where Otwell, Pike county, Indiana, is located) captured a family named Larkins who were moving to a section near Vincennes. Night having overtaken them they had made a camp a little way from the trace and during the night were captured by ten Indians. They killed Larkins and carried Mrs. Larkins and five children into captivity. A large boy who was coming with the family, in the confusion, made his escape and the next day met two of General Harrison's scouts near White river. He related the terrible occurence to them and together they went back to the place where he had been encamped the night before and where they found the body of Larkins which they buried the best they could. One of the scouts then hurried into Vincennes to notify the authorities of the depredation. A troop of cavalry was sent to the scene but failed to find any trace of the captured family, but during the time they were scouting they came upon a band of Indians who were loaded down with provision and ammunition and headed for the south. These Indians no doubt were preparing for a raid on some of the outlying settlements hoping to capture unprotected emigrants.

In the running fight with the cavalry two of the Indians were killed and the rest of the band lost their heavy packs and some of them their guns in getting back across White river. This fortunate meeting of these marauders no doubt saved some boat crew or some settlement from being murdered.

Mrs. Larkins was the daughter of Colonel Greenup, of Kentucky; the boy who was with the band, named Joel Davis, was a relative of the colonel's and he hurried back to Kentucky with the sad news of the destruction of the family.

There was so much trouble in different parts of the territory, especially in the southern part, that Governor Harrison determined to organize several detachments of scouts and rangers hoping in that way to check the numerous raids of the Indians. There were already fifteen or twenty regular scouts constantly on duty, who reported at headquarters at Vincennes. There were also a number of friendly Indians belonging to the Piankashaws, Weas and Delawares who were used as messengers.

It was decided to organize the rangers of the Territory of Indiana into three divisions. The first division patrolled the territory from the Wabash river to some place near the French Lick Springs; the second from that point to the Falls of the Ohio river, the main camp of these two divisions was to be on or near the Clarksville trace. The third division was to patrol the section of the country from the Ohio Falls to the neighborhood of Lawrenceburg with their main camp near Armstrong Station. These three divisions went on duty some time in the early spring of 1807. This information was obtained from a small memorandum book kept by Captain William Hargrove who was the commander of the first division. Who the other commanders were is not known to the author. The only reference to their names was on a small scrap of paper found in Col. Hargrove's desk on which a receipt was written out in these words:—

> "Received from Captain Hargrove, sixteen pounds of powder, twenty pounds of lead at stockade near Blue river, October 16, 1807.
>
> JOHN TIPTON, Com. Sec. div. of Rangers."

Governor William Henry Harrison's letters of instruction and orders by the Secretary of Indiana Territory, General John Gibson to Captain William Hargrove commanding a detachment of Rangers in 1807.

Colonel William Hargrove was born in South Carolina in 1775. When a young man he moved to Kentucky where he married and then moved to the neighborhood of Princeton, Indiana in 1803. While living in Kentucky he was three years in the Indian service and proved to be a brave, skillful soldier, making a dangerous foe for the red man. After coming to Indiana Territory he was twice in the Ranger service, first in 1807 and again in 1812. He was promoted through all the intermediate grades from captain to the rank of colonel. In 1811 he was the first man in Indiana Territory to raise a company for service in the Tippecanoe Campaign. Colonel Hargrove and family were so closely identified with the settling of the southern part of the state and with its history since that in future chapters they may be referred to often. In connection with the colonel's service with the Rangers in 1807 and 1812 are published here orders and letters of instruction to him by William Henry Harrison and signed by General John Gibson Secretary of Indiana Territory. These papers have never been in print before as they were in the colonel's desk with many other papers all in neat bundles, tied with buckskin strings. After the colonel's death in 1843 they were taken care of by his son, Jacob W. Hargrove, who permitted the author to copy them in 1852 when he first determined to write this Pioneer History.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
April 16, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE:

"This will be handed to you by Ell Ernest, one of our scouts. Since you were here on last Friday the 10th inst., two of our scouts are in and report that last Sunday night, the 12th inst., a band of roving Indians captured a white family on the old Indian road from this place to Clarksville this side of the mudhole (near where Otwell, Indiana, now stands) killed the the man and took into captivity the woman and her five children. Governor Harrison and Adjutant General John Small are both away. The Governor before starting instructed me to write you that if it was possible without taking too many men out of your settlement, that you enlist at least twenty men for Ranger service giving a preference at all times to men who have been on Indian campaigns, but not to leave any family without some able-bodied man to protect them, unless they are in block-houses. This should be done at once so that the men can be on duty in five days. Send in two days from the time you receive this by the same hand an answer. I will then send you instructions as to your duties.

By the order of the Governor.

JOHN GIBSON,
Sec'y. Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
April 20, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE:

"Your report by the hand of scout Ernest has been received. The Governor is very much pleased at your promptness. The supplies for the families of those who will serve as Rangers will be sent as often as needed.

"I have ordered sent you today, one sack of salt, ten bags of meal, for you to distribute before you leave home. Also twenty-five pounds of powder, twenty-five pounds of lead, two hundred gunflints, one bundle of tow. You will divide your force and form a squad of six men under a reliable man who will act as Sergeant to patrol the main travelled way from your settlement south to the Ohio river, at Red Banks. Instruct the Sergeant to make two trips each way every ten days. I will send a scout who will come with the men and carts that bring the supplies. He will go on duty with the squad patrolling to the south. The other thirteen men will be with you; also one scout and two friendly Indians. You are to patrol the old Indian trace that leads from this place to Clarksville on the Ohio river, from a point where this old road crosses White river and going as far as thirty-five miles east of the mudhole. The two Indians to be directly under the orders of the scout who will keep you informed of the orders he gives them. Once every week send a report of your work to this office. It has been ordered that movers coming over the old trace shall be held on the other end until a number of them are together. Then they will travel with the rangers as they are coming west on the trace. Any coming into your territory will be sent to a point out of danger by you, if coming to the older settlements. If they intend to form a new settlement, they must build a fort and stay in it until the season for raids has past. They can prepare houses where they intend to locate but they must remain in the blockhouses at night. If there should be extra men with the movers who have had experience as hunters or in Indian fighting enlist them if you can. I hope that your experience in Indian warfare will help you protect your men. The roving bands of Indians prowling over this unprotected country in the warm season aim to murder helpless people for their scalps and the capturing of prisoners for what they can realize from the sale of them for servants to the British posts on the lakes. They are not hunting for armed soldiers. A careful and vigilant scouting service will in a great measure do away with these prowling bands of Indians.

By order of the Governor,
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
April 29, 1807.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, in the Ranger Service of Indiana Territory:—

"Your report by the half-breed Twenney came to hand this evening. The Governor wishes to say that he is well pleased with your work and fully agrees with you that the route from the forks of White river, south to the Yellow Banks on the Ohio river (now Rockport, Indiana) should be patrolled at least once each week. The three men you have recruited can take the place of some of your best men that you are acquainted with. You will send them over the route in company with one of the scouts. The Governor suggests that you send scout FuQuay with them, as he is familiar with the country south of you on the Ohio river. In your next report fully describe what was found on the Yellow Bank route and if any Indian sign has been seen near the Ohio river.

"It is utterly impossible at this time to furnish anything like a company of men to assist the father of Mrs. Larkins in releasing her from captivity. The Governor directs that you say to Colonel Greenup that if he can bring the aid from Kentucky that he thinks he can, that scouts and guides will be furnished them from this post and that he is truly sorry that he has not the men to furnish all the help needed.

JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory.
By order WM. H. HARRISON,
Governor, Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
May 10, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE,
In the Indian Ranger Service.

"Your report with enclosures have been received. The Governor feels very sorry that Colonel Greenup feels as he expresses himself. He ought to know and if reasonable would understand that to govern this wild territory and furnish half protection to the scattered settlers in this wilderness, that we have all we can do with the limited number of men that is at our command. It would be a very pleasing thing to aid your old soldier mate and recapture Mrs. Larkins and her children. It is but natural that her father should feel very anxious about her release but he could do nothing with the few men we could send him on such an expedition. After leaving the old Indian road that you are on there is no settlement north and it would take an army to invade the country north of White river. You will please convey to him the Governor's compliments and inform him of the contents of this letter. As soon as it is possible, we will give him all the aid we can, but it would do him no good to make the attempt with a few men as they would all be destroyed.

"The report of the three men on the trace south to the Yellow Banks is noted. There is most likely but little travel on that route. The one family which your men escorted to safety is a sufficient answer as to the usefulness of the patrol. They will be continued at least until the warm weather is over. WILLIAM H. HARRISON,

Governor of Indiana Territory.

By JOHN GIBSON,

Secretary of Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
May 22, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding a detachment of Rangers:

"Ell Ernest is in with your report. Will send you a Cree Indian for the one you say is too lazy to hunt. This Indian has been here for a long time and has the reputation of being a great hunter. He can keep your Rangers in meat. I have had an interview with him and he is delighted with the prospect of going as a scout. Ernest is acquainted with him and can make him understand what is to be done. Ernest said that he saw a number of Indians in bathing on the south bank of the White river and a number of them were fishing. They did not see him. As they were near here a platoon of cavalry has been sent with several scouts to look after them. These troops before they return may report to you and will inform you what these Indians were up to. There are always some contrary people in all walks of life who are hard to manage. The ones you report are not all who have been troublesome. There is no deviating from the rule. Anyone who refuses to stay in the fort when ordered, arrest them and send them to this post, under guard. When the Government does all that it can to protect its people they must and shall obey the rules. This territory is under no law that can force obedience but the Military and all of its subjects must obey the governing rule or be sent out of it.

By the order of the Governor.

By JOHN GIBSON,

Secretary of Indiana Territory.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
June 7, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, In the Ranger Service.

"The requisition for provision has been filled and forwarded under escort. One of our scouts reports that Indians were seen passing to the west on the south side of White river a little way west of the place where the Indian trace to Louisville crosses that river. Whether they are a roving band of friendly Indians or hostile ones has not been found out at these headquarters. There was a runner sent to David Robb's notifying him about the Indians. When you receive this you had better return to this end of your route and leave one-half of your men under your ranking non commissioned officer. With the rest you had better examine the country to the west on the south side of the river as far as two or three miles west of David Robb's place and see if you can find the cause of these Indians prowling over that section. If the fort at White Oak Springs is too small to hold the new comers, have them build another block house near it and have them both enclosed inside the same stockade with only two gates for the two forts. If you can enlist of the new arrivals as many as twenty-five men for service at this post, your effort will be duly appreciated. The time of enlistment of quite a number of our troops expires next month and at least twenty-five Kentuckians will not re-enlist.

By the Direction of WM. H. HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y of Indiana Territory."

"Headquarters, Post Vincennes,
Indiana Territory, June 20, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding a Detachment of Rangers, Indiana Territory.

"Your report by the hand of Ranger Hogue shows that it is best to be determined and firm in dealing with our friends as well as foes. You will not have to arrest any more for refusing to obey the orders for their own protection. Ernest can remain two months longer. The service that he was wanted for was in a section where he had done scouting service some years ago. Mr. David Robb visited the Governor last Saturday the 13th inst. and remained over until Sunday. He says that everything is quiet in your home neighborhood. If you can make the exchange without weakening your force it would be well. Men of families are more liable to yearn for home than single ones. Do not make the exchange until the young men are at the post of duty. Under no circumstances weaken your force, as you have a very important district to guard. Computation for rations are paid for as the regular wages of the soldier, but not when they are in active service and living from supplies furnished by the hunters or by the comissaries. Computation for rations is intended for those who are on detached duty and paying for their provision. The laws of the United States govern land warrants or land script and each man who serves the required time is entitled to it and can claim any land that is surveyed and not allotted on his warrant. You are correct when you say that in these troublesome times that soldiers who are serving to protect their homes and country are much better troops than those who are serving with the hope of securing large pay. This country must depend on its soldiers and must pay them but the loyalty and patriotism of those enlisted should be well looked after. In giving these certificates whose time of enlistment is up, be sure to note on their discharge, the amount they have been paid and whether they prefer all in land or part in land and part in Treasury notes.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y of Indiana Territory."

"Headquarters Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, July 6, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE,
Commanding a Detachment of Rangers.

"Last Saturday, the 4th inst. a number of friendly Indians were in to see the celebration of Independence Day. A half-breed Delaware Indian named "Swimming Otter" reported that there was likely to be a raid made by young Indian hunters on boats loaded with people and their plunder coming to this section by the Wabash or going down the Ohio river. He said that the band would be led by an Indian who lost his father in a battle with a boat crew near the Red Banks (now Henderson, Ky.) The scouts thoroughly interrogated the Indian and he has promised to let them know the time they are to start and the route they will follow. The raiders will not get started, so the half-breed says, in less than ten days and that he will be here two or three days before they go. You will then be informed by a runner so that you can thwart their designs if they attempt to cross your territory. It is reported here by friendly Indians that a band of Miami Indians captured a boat on the Ohio river some forty miles below Clarksville and captured the crew, killing two men and carrying two women and four children into captivity. You can do no better than you have. Thoroughly patrol the three traveled ways. You could not do any good by roaming over the wilderness unless it was to make a short cut to reach a point on one of the other routes. The white people coming to this section are on the three traces or down the Ohio and up the Wabash river.

For the Governor.

By JOHN GIBSON,
Secretary of the Indiana Territory."

"Headquarters Post Vincennes,
July 12th, Sunday, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, Indian Territory Ranger Service:

This will be handed you by a Piankashaw Indian who is thoroughly reliable. He will remain with you until you send your next report. The half-breed, Swimming Otter, came in this noon and reported there were twelve in the band of Indians hunters and they will start Tuesday night, aiming to cross White river above White Oak Springs (now Petersburg, Indiana) and go in a direction that will place them on the Ohio at the mouth of Green river. It is hard to determine where they will cross the old Indian road that you are on, but some place between the mudhole and the White Oak Springs fort. The people at that Fort must be advised. You have the authority to secure as many men for temporary service from the White Oak Spring fort as they can spare. You must have the section all along for fifteen miles to the east thoroughly patrolled. There will be thirty mounted men from this Post sent to the south of you who will patrol along and near to the Patoka river with scouts at the different fords on that river. With all this vigilance I feel sure that the Indian band will be destroyed or turned back.

By the direct order of Wm. H. Harrison,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
John Gibson, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory.

"Post Script:

"Have the scouts with the Indians on duty near White river send the Piankashaw Indian to a point near the forks of White river to report to you every morning. He is thoroughly acquainted with that section. By the Governor."

"Headquarters Post Vincennes,
July 17, 1807.

"Captain Wm. H. Hargrove, Commanding a Detachment of Rangers:

"Your report by the Piankashaw Indian is to hand. The service rendered by your scouts is of such value to the country that the nation should substantially reward you and your commands. The Piankashaw Indian is well acquainted with the White river for many miles east of the fork. The chastisement given this band of robbers and cutthroats will have a good effect on them and others who would have followed them if they had been successful. The Indian only learns as it is shot into him. There will be no more raids from that direction this season but it is only safe when we are prepared to meet them, if they should attempt to come again. Say to young Hogue that the Governor will write him a personal letter complimenting him for the good shot he proved to be.

By order of Wm. H. Harrison,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
John Gibson, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory, July 23, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, in the Ranger Service:

"Your report is to hand. The salt, meal and other supplies were sent by cart two days ago. The receipt paper I enclose to you. Also fifty pounds of lead, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred gun-flints, one bail of tow sent to White Oak Springs Fort in care of Woolsey Pride. The ten men you enlisted for extra service should have a certificate something like the following:

" 'James Blank served ten days on extra military duty with the Rangers under Captain William Hargrove, commanding, dated and signed.'

"The rangers on the traveled way to the south need not make more than one trip each way every ten days. The danger does not exist on that route that did some months ago but they will patrol to the east, south of the Patoka river a distance of forty miles as the river runs, to a trace that crosses that river coming north from the Yellow Banks. There is no regular traveled way. John Severn will guide them over a blind trace which runs on a line on which formerly there was a chain of small Indian towns running many miles to the east. They can go over this route as often as once each ten days until further orders. Mr. Severns has been seen and will go as soon as you can make the necessary arrangements. You will want good axemen to mark the traces plain by making blazes on the sides of the trees near the road so that it can be easily followed without a guide.

By order of the Governor.

JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Headquarters Indiana Territory,
August 13, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, Commanding Rangers:

"Scout FuQuay with your report is here. This office is well pleased to learn that everything is so quiet in your district. It often happens that the lull in Indian warfare is only temporary and that they are preparing to make a much larger raid at a point where you don't expect them. Indian warfare as I have learned, after thirty years of experience is like no other campaigning. Their approach is so sly and stealthy that you can never tell where or when they will come. They are the slyest and most treacherous enemy that any civilized troops ever had to contend with and the only security on the border is continual vigilance. The camp of white people that Scout FuQuay found east of the trace to the Yellow Bank are no doubt a part of the misguided people who have scattered over the country as fugitives from justice that had assembled at an island up the Ohio river as followers of that arch traitor and murder, Aaron Burr. The Governor has closely interrogated FuQuay and this is his opinion. The people are guilty of no more wrong than that of being duped by one of the smartest villain in the country. They only acted as was dictated to them by those who held and had held high positions in the Government. It is broadly hinted that a man high in military command in the American army was strongly tinctured with Burr's chimerical conspiracy that saved himself from disgrace by turning a traitor to Burr. The thing to do is for you to have these four misguided men with their wives and helpless children, prepare a fort some place where you think best in your military territory so that you can give them your protection. Your good judgment is depended upon to keep this matter close and so instruct the refugees. FuQuay has been obligated to secrecy. These people are no doubt worthy and will grow up among the other pioneers and be useful to our country. You will find out from them if they know of any other bands in hiding. This territory needs more people and these misguided, duped men and women will make as good citizens as any. Your requisition for provision and ammunition has been sent to you at White Oak Springs in care of Woolsey Pride who was at this Post yesterday.

By the authority of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory, August 20, 1807.
"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding scouts and Rangers:

"Your report by the Crea Indian. He was detained here to carry you this letter of instruction. The four young men you sent with him have enlisted and look like good material to make soldiers. The Governor is well pleased with your success in having the four families located in your district. The young men you sent were interrogated separately. They all agree in their statements that there are several other bands scattered over the territory some distance north of the Ohio river from ten to fifteen miles east of the yellow bank trace to something like the same distance west of the same trace. They claim that there is one band of these refugees west of the Yellow Bank trace about ten miles. They were camped near a large creek. It is thought best for you to send FuQuay with two other men to find these people and have them locate in a place that they can be given protection and that they can aid in giving protection to others. Young Bailey, one of the men you sent in some time ago has orders to report to you to go with FuQuay. He is acquainted with the people and has been at their camp. He says that there are six men, three women and five children in the band. Instruct FuQuay to inform the refugees that they must move near some of the settled sections and build ablock house for their protection and there will be no questions asked. That as soon as the dangerous season for Indian raids has passed, they can go to work preparing homes. If you can enlist the men without families, do so. If you don't need them send them to his Post. If these people should refuse to settle as has been suggested, after you have plainly informed them it must be done, then you send such a number of men as will be required to arrest and bring them and their belongings to this Post. The wounded old soldier and his wife you can put in charge of one of your stockade camps. The man to look well for Indians that may be prowling around, the woman to oversee the culinary affairs of the camp.

"John Severns was here today and had an interview with the Governor about opening a trace from the one that runs south from your neighborhood to the Red Banks, to commence fifteen miles north of the Ohio river on that trace, running thence east parallel with the river from forty to fifty miles. If it should become necessary to reinforce the Rangers on either of the traces running to the south or the main one running to the east, it would be almost impossible to do it as the country between the traces is one vast unbroken wilderness. Severns says that many large creeks will have to be crossed that empty their waters into the Ohio. The trace just south of the Patoka river opened some time ago, will be extended from the Yellow Banks trace, thirty or forty miles east. You had better have the same men go over this route as soon as Severns is through with the new survey farther south. Mr. Severns says that in going near the Patoka river many abrupt banks and deep gorges are met with. Inform him that it is not necessary to make a straight line but to so blaze and mark it that it can be easily traced. It is not intended for wheeled vehicles or sleds to pass over but for foot soldiers mostly. The logs need not be moved but the brush had better be cut seven or eight feet wide.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
September 1, 1807.

"WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding first division of Rangers, east of the Wabash river:

"There has been a trace cut from the Clarksville and Vincennes road that leaves that route at a point about forty miles east of the Mudhole and running to the south, coming to the Ohio river at the west end of a large bend about three miles west of the mouth of Blue river. There is a traveled way that comes to the south bank of the Ohio opposite this point that runs to the south and far into Kentucky and people coming to this and other sections of Indiana Territory are crossing the river at that point and following Blue river to the old Indian road before mentioned. The two traces to the east which are now being opened should go into this Blue river trace. You are instructed to have a patrol of three men go over the new route nearest the Ohio river to the east as often as once, both ways, each week. Also a patrol of two men, one scout, to go over the trace to the east just south of the Patoka river as often as both ways once each week. If you do not have men enough and cannot enlist them, they will be furnished from this Post. It will be the best to send men who have seen service over these new routes and keep the newly enlisted men with you.

By order WM. H. HARRISON,
Gov. Indiana Territory.

JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y."

"Headquarters Indiana Territory.
Vincennes, Sept. 12, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, Commanding Rangers east of the Wabash river:

"There has long been an old traveled way from this Post that crosses the White river near David Robb's place and the Patoka river at John Severns', thence in a southwest direction to the Wabash river near the point where the Little Wabash empties into the main river, thence across the main Wabash at that place which can only be crossed by canoes or check boats. This route is known by some as the Salt Route. Salt has become so scarce and high priced that a number of settlers south of White river have petitioned the Governor for an escort of soldiers to protect them whilst on the trail and at the salt works west of the Wabash river. This petition has been under consideration for several days. The Governor sent for Mr. Robb about this matter and it has been arranged that a meeting with the petitioners and other citizens would be held at Mr. Kimbles who lives on the site of the old Delaware Indian town eignteen or twenty miles southwest of Mr. Severns', on Thursday the seventeenth day of September, 1807. You will tempororarily place your command in the hands of your Ranking Sergeant and attend that meeting, taking two men and one scout with you. After due deliberation and consultation with the people present, if you think it best you can place two men on duty on the trail west of the river but their main camp must be on the east side of the Wabash when there are no parties to guard at the salt works. The scouts will remain with the two soldiers doing regular scouting duties. Instruct him to go for miles on every side of the salt works and learn the lay of the country and at night to be near the works or with the soldiers at their camp east of the river. The salt makers are to be instructed to have certain days to make salt and that they must go to the works in a body of not less than fifteen men, one-half of that number to be at all time ready for military duty, subject to the orders of the Sergeant which you place in command, to protect the others while the work is in progress. That from this relief the camp guards must be furnished day and night. The two soldiers are to remain on duty as long as you shall think it will be necessary to have a guard. After the first of December there is but little danger of Indian raids. This side of the Wabash is considered sufficiently safe for so large a number of cautious men to travel at any time. After the meeting you will send a report of the proceeding to this office.

By directions of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Post Vincennes, Sept. 27, 1807.
"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, Ranger Service:

"Your report of the 19th inst. by your hunter, the Cree Indian, came in two days ago. He was retained to carry messages to parties on the old Salt trace. That information was wanted from us before this was sent so you. David Robb, John Severns, Sr. and Isaac Montgomery were here last night. The matter of a guard at the salt works was gone over carefully. They all agree with your report that there is no need of guards on the east side of the Wabash and if it were not for a lot of foolhardy, careless people who would insist on going there in small parties, there would be no need of guards on the west side of the river. The two men and the scout which you have there will remain on duty. The most probable trouble, if any comes, will be from south of the Ohio river. You can have your scout informed of this and have him keep a close lookout in that direction. Young Bailey returned several days ago with your report about the refugees. Retain the three young men which you enlisted if you need them. If the three families will come to a point within two miles of the Yellow Banks road it will do. If they prefer, they can move on to the new road that is being located to the east not far from where they are now camped. It is thought best for you to have Bailey look after this matter. These people must be near one of these routes and must prepare themselves a strong blockhouse with a stockade around it.

By order W. H. HARRISONN.
Gov. of Indiana Territory.
JOHN GIBSON, Secretary."

"Headquarters, Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, Sunday, October 4, 1807.

CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, in command of Rangers:

The Governor wishes to assure you of his appreciation of your successful work in gathering so many of the unfortunate refugees at points near the Yellow Banks and other traces and the large colony which you have gathered on the new trace crossing the Yellow Banks road. This is a very desirable place to have a strong fort. In making the building be sure that it is strongly put together, made out of large logs and that a stockade ten feet high be built that will enclose one acre of ground. In this enclosure can be erected a number of strong buildings that will safely protect fifty people. This will be a rallying point for all who may come later to that section. The times are very unsettled. The Indians are continually grumbling because the white people are in this country and threatening that unless their lands are restored they will drive them back across the Ohio river. North of the White river they could easily concentrate in such numbers that should they find our people unprepared could overrun the most of your territory. It is hard to tell anything about what an Indian will do when he has the advantage. They are the most treacherous, cunning rascals on earth and the most brutal as well. The only safe way is to keep the advantage on our side and put the Indians on the defense. When they know that your position makes one white man equal to ten Indians there is no danger of an attack. The two men coming into your lines east of the Mud-hole have certainly repented of all the wrong which they have done by following after Traitor Burr. It is best for you to see all these people who are connected with that unfortunate affair and instruct them under no circumstances to let any one know that they were in the Burr conspiracy. If they do in after years they will be accused of being traitors by people not half so worthy as they are.

By WILLIAM H. HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
Per JOHN GIBSON, Secretary.

Headquarters, Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, Oct. 12, 1807.

WILLIAM HARGROVE,
Captain Commanding in Ranger Service:

Your report and the man you sent in under guard, are here. You did the right thing in arresting this man. All such suspicious cases as this should be investigated. What this man is has not yet been found out and it is doubtful if it ever is. If this country were at war with a white race it would evidently be determined that he was a spy locating the military strength and positions of our army. It may be that he is doing that work for the British. He evidently is not what he claims to be. A prisoner for two years among the Indians would not have such clean underwear beneath his buckskin suit. Then his hair has been recently cut by a barber. He will be retained for the present. This is Sunday and the cart drivers are all at a gathering down the river someway. Will forward the supplies tomorrow.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sect. of Indiana Territory.

Headquarters, Indiana Territory,
Sunday, Oct. 18, 1807.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE,
Commanding Rangers:

Your report by FuQuay is received. The flints were of a new lot. Since your statement has come they have been examined and found to be of shelly material and are of no value. Others will be sent you as soon as possible. Have your men save the old ones until the others come.

The statement of the Delaware Indian that he has seen the prisoner whom we are holding as a spy at Clarksville, two moons ago, is noted.

The old trace that runs near the Ohio river crossing the Wabash and on the saline regions of the Illinois has been a regular pass way for Indians from time when none know. The Shawnees under chief Setteedown have, as you know, a straggling settlement along this trail and extending to about ten miles off the Yellow Banks trace that you patrolled. Our scouts from this place have often been over the route and visited some white people located on the north bank of the Ohio. Major John Sprinkles, who lives on the north bank some six miles up the river from the mouth of Green river was to see the Governor yesterday and informed him that detached bands of Indians had been passing east for eight or ten days and appeared to be carrying their luggage with them. Bailey Anderson, who lives in the neighborhood of a few of the Shawnee wigwams, informed Mr. Sprinkles that some of these visiting Indians were preparing a camp not more than one mile from his cabin. This may be nothing but hunting parties from over the Wabash. Any unusual gathering of Indians on the Ohio river at this time of the year is looked on with suspicion. They may intend to remain during the winter and if a chance comes, attempt to capture boats and movers descending the river as soon as the water is in sufficient stage. You will temporarily leave your command in charge of Sergeant Hogue, taking two reliable men with you and at your settlement secure mounts for your parties. Then go south along the Red Banks route and up to Major Sprinkles' cabin, who is aware of your coming.

Bailey Anderson will fall in with your party as you go east from the Major's. You are to make an official visit to chief Setteedown. Bailey Anderson understands their language and will act as interpreter. Before leaving the old Chief invite him to bring some of his young men and visit Governor Harrison at this Post. Have him set the day as early as he will. You will then proceed east on the trace until you come to where it crosses the road running to the north that comes to the Ohio river just west of the mouth of Blue river. Thoroughly familiarize yourself with the route. In returning, note well the topography of the country. Return the two men to their station and you report in person to this post.

By the direction of WM. H. HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
JOHN GIBSON, Secretary."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
October 20, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding the Western Division of Rangers east of the Wabash river:

"Last Sunday night the 18th inst. two of our scouts returning from a long trip found themselves at White Oak Spring fort a little after seven o'clock in the evening. On going to the gate asked permission to stay over night in the stockade, which was denied them. They were informed that when the gates were closed for the night that they would not be opened for anyone. The scouts showed their passes signed by Governor Harrison, yet they were refused admittance saying that Governor Harrison nor any of his men could get in after night. The Governor directs that you investigate this matter. Scout Ell Ernest, the bearer of this order, will be permitted to be present while the investigation is being made as he was one of the scouts who was refused permission to stay in the stockade. Go fully into the details. The Military authorities are doing everything possible with the few men at their command to protect the settlers who are scattered on the southern borders of this Territory and cheerfully do this hard service, imperilling the lives of the best men of the country, trying to give protection to those who are exposed to danger; but when it comes to such actions as is above related of men who were being guarded, insulting and denying the common courtesies to those guarding them that is so fully extended by all decent pioneer settlers to all who come to their cabins. Some parties at that fort are guilty of indignities that will not be silently passed over. Find, if you can if the owner of that fort was at home that night. Secure the names of the men who were there and if possible the one who was spokesman. When you have made this investigation send the report to this office by Ell Ernest.

Ordered by W. H. HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory.
By JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of I. T."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
Oct. 23, 1807.

"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE:

"The Governor directs me to send his compliments and inform you that he appreciates the prompt and thorough manner in which you made the investigation wanted. Woolsey Pride is here and is fully exonerated and commended for so summarily punishing the parties who were guilty of the petty meanness.

"Your obedient servant,
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y of I. T."

"Headquarters, Indiana Territory,
October 28, 1807.

"WM. HARGROVE, Captain Commanding Rangers:

"Chief Settedown and his young men have returned to their homes. He assured the Governor that the Indians gathering in his neigborhood were very peaeably inclined toward the white people and gave as a reason for their being there that game was more plentiful than across the Wabash and that they intended to stay only a short while. In answering the inquiry why he did not want to keep all the game for himself and people, said, that there was much more than he wanted. Finally said that in less than one moon they would all go back over the Wabash. It is hoped that this will be true, but the only security with the Indians is to be always prepared and watch them. FuQuay is better acquainted with that section than any one else we have in the service. He and Ben Page have orders to report to you at your east stockade camp, on the Clarksville trace and will hand you this letter. It is thought best for you to go with the two scouts to the Yellow Banks and have them make such disposition of their time during the next thirty days as will secure the best information of the movements of the strange Indians. This suggestion is made for your consideration in this matter. You are on the ground and will understand the situation better than can be understood at this distance. The two scouts have each a new ax besides their rifles and ammunition. This is the equipment that most of the newcomers bring to the Territory. Have them go into the section a few miles east of Bailey Anderson's and build a small cabin and put in their time hunting and roving over as large a territory around their cabin as they can. In doing this they will have a pretty good idea of what the Indians are doing around them. If there is any design other than friendship by the newcomers, the Shawnees know it. Of all this you are in the best position to find out the truth. The two scouts will send or bring you a report as often as you think best to require it. You are safe in giving FuQuay your confidence as he is one of the most trusted men that is in the employ of these head-quarters.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Secretary of Indiana Territory."

"Post Vincennes, November 4, 1807.
"CAPTAIN WM. HARGROVE, Commanding a Detachment of Rangers:

"The location for the refugees is no doubt a good one. Plenty of water is very desirable. The Governor is favorable to your suggestion. It certainly would be to the advantage of the new emigrants for them to prepare a little cabin inside of the stockades and to remain in it during the winter. If they prefer to go to some other place in the spring they can do so. The advantage of being with a number of people during the cold season in hunting and the social advantages is recompense enough for all the trouble they would be at to erect the little cabin.

"Your opinion of FuQuay is correct. He has been closely indentified with the work in this part of the Territory since 1801. The Governor would gladly comply with your request but his services as scout is of such importance that it is not thought best to take him out of that position. Sergeant Hogue would fill the place you wanted FuQuay for with a little training.

"The supposed spy has been sent to Fort Washington with a statement of the evidence and the affidavit against him. There will be no further need of hunting evidence in that case. Without a doubt he is a spy for the British and will be held as such for an indefinite time unless direct evidence of his guilt should be secured. Then he will be summarily dealt with.

"You now have four roads or traces running to the east that can be easily found and traveled over, dividing your territory into sections between the Ohio and White rivers. Also you have four roads or traces running north and south dividing your territory in that direction from near the Wabash on the west to Blue river on the east, thus enabling you to give much better protection to settlers now there and to the emigrants coming into your territory. This condition makes that section of this territory very desirable for settlers. The most important thing that you can do is to see that the blockhouses are so located that they will be accessible to those in the surrounding country if danger should come. There is no certainty that we will have a continuation of the quiet that now exists. The English on the north are doing all that they can to cause trouble between the Indians and the pioneers, using the treaties which have been made as a pretext, claiming that it was fraudently obtained.

"It is thought best that you make a personal inspection of all the blockhouses that are now built and the several that are being constructed at the different stations in your territory and see that they are securely built and good, strong, durable stockades surrounding them that will have sufficient room for the construction of from six to ten small cabins. Some one who is most competent in each fort must be placed in command and it must be understood that he is to be obeyed by all of those who will use that fort as a place of refuge.

"Have them select by lot the man they want, but advise those interested that the most efficient men they have should be chosen. You will make a careful inspection of their arms and ammunition and should you find them deficient in either you can make a requisition on the ordinance office at this place through these head-quarters for the needed supplies. That needed for the eastern forts will be forwarded to you at White Oak Springs fort. That for the western division will be sent to David Robb's fort. You will have the proper parties meet you at a stated period at these places and give out the guns and ammunition to them taking their receipts for the same. This will simplify the work and as soon as you can have a sufficient number of forts so that they will be reasonably accessible in all the Territory, which you command, the need of the Rangers continually marching over the traces will be done away with. Carefully read this letter of suggestions and when you send in your next report any suggestions you may have to make will receive careful consideration.

By direction of W. H. HARRISON.
Gov. of Indiana Territory.
JOHN GIBSON, Secretary."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
November 12, 1807.

"Capt. WM. HARGROVE, Commanding first division of Rangers, east of the Wabash river:

"Your report enclosing a letter from FuQuay. The contents of that letter were fully considered by the Governor. That there would be some excuse made for the Indians to remain during the winter months has been suspect. The fact that they are building such secure tepees warrants that suspicion, but their attempt to be adopted into the tribe of the Shawnees was unlooked for. The Governor directs that you have a vigilant watch kept on their actions until about the 26th inst. the time Chief Setteedown set for their return will then be up. Better have Bailey Anderson interview the old Chief and in their talk remind him of his promise to the Governor that they would be gone in one moon. FuQuay and Anderson it seems found out that the Illinois Indians on the visit are Kickapoos and that they have one of their subchiefs in command of them. This looks suspicious. You can do nothing as yet, only have FuQuay and Ben Page keep a vigilant watch on the Indians and instruct them to send one of your runners, who you will keep near them, to you with any information that they may secure. If you should learn any new dangerous developments, send immediately to this head-quarters a report of it. If it should become necessary, one hundred men can be sent from this Post to any point which you may think best to place them. The Governor thinks it best to make a camp on the Yellow Banks trace at the point where the large fort is located (formerly called Taylorsville, now Selvin, Warrick county, Ind.) If the stockade is not as large as is needed, it can be enlarged and in a short time the soldiers can put up such barracks as will make them comfortable for the short time that they will likely stay.

"The Piankashaw Indian, named Yellow Bird, has just returned from a visit to Indian friends on the west fork of White river. He said to one of our friendly Indians that the Indians on White river were grumbling about the treaties and threatening to drive the Americans back over the Ohio. That there is a great unrest among the Indians is not doubted by those whose business it is to know what is going on outside of the settlements. What it may terminate in is uncertain. It is best for our people to be well on their guard and be ready in the event war should come.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

"Post Script: The Governor directs that you ascertain how many able-bodied men you have in your district that would be able to bear arms. This duty can be done by some of your active young men.

For the Governor.

John Gibson, Secretary.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
November 18, 1807.

"Captain Wm. Hargrove, in the Ranger Service:

"The men will be sent in two hours from the time your runner arrives if they will be needed. If you think that fifty men will be sufficient, that number will be sent. It is best to have all that will be needed.

"At a point some miles below the mouth of White river, there has been some trouble between the settlers and the Indians who had a few wigwams some distance to the east of the Wabash river. Two Piankashaw Indians are here today. They say that their people were driven away across the Wabash river and their tepees, skins and plunder burned.

"It is directed that you go and investigate this matter and see what can be done about obtaining a satisfactory adjustment with the Indians. Everything has been done here to allay the ill feelings of the two Indians. The Governor ordered some tents, blankets and kettles to be sent to those who lost their property. If you can find out who the white people were you will remind them that such conduct as this must not occur again. This Territory is in no shape for a race war with the Indians, which they would be only too glad for an excuse to engage in. It might be best that you take David Robb and some other of your best informed citizens with you when you make the investigation. The Indians who were driven away are with another band of Piankashaw Indians west of the Wabash several miles below the mouth of the White river.

By order of Wm. Henry Harrison,
Governor of Indiana Territory.

John Gibson, Secretary."

"Headquarters Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, Nov. 23, 1807.

CAPTAIN HARGROVE, Commanding Rangers:

You will personally invite Bailey Anderson to visit these Headquarters. The Governor wishes to properly recognize his services in persuading old Chief Setteedown to force the Kickapoo Indians back to their homes west of the Wabash. There will be no further trouble in that direction. Your estimate of the number of men in your Territory able to bear arms shows a very gratifying condition. A little more work in locating forts and stockades at two or three exposed places, will place you in good condition to repel any attack that may be made on the settlements.

By order of the Governor.
JOHN GIBSON, Secretary."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory.
November 27, 1807.

"WILLIAM HARGROVE, Commanding the Western Division of Rangers east of the Wabash river:

"The Governor directs that you discharge the men who are on patrol duty except those who are on duty on the trace east of White Oak Springs Fort. The patrol over that route need not go over that trace but once in every eight days. The scout and the two friendly Indians will patrol the section of White river from the forks up to as far as twenty-five miles east of the Mudholes. There is more danger arising from stray bands of Indians attempting to come into the settlement for the purpose of stealing horses than there is of an attack on the settlers.

"In discharging the men, any whom you find who wish to remain in the service, you will enlist for regular soldiers and order them to report to these head-quarters with a copy of their enlistment papers. When you have finished this work, have scouts, FuQuay and Page remain with you and with them visit every portion of your Territory and notify the people at the blockhouses and the settlements that they must keep a vigilant lookout,

> as the Rangers will be withdrawn. After having visited all the stations, return to White Oak Springs and discharge all but two of the men and Sergeant Hogue who you will place in command with instructions to carefully watch the section east of the Mudholes on his patrol; and for him to report by the hand of one of the friendly Indians to these head-quarters once every two weeks. When you have finished this work you will report to this Post, bringing FuQuay and Ben Page with you.
>
> By order of the Governor.
>
> JOHN GIBSON, Sec'y. of Indiana Territory."

THE BURNING OF AN INDIAN TOWN NEAR OWENSVILLE.

The last village inhabited by the Indians in the southwestern part of Gibson county was located in the northeast corner of section 9, township 3, range 12 and in section 4, township 3, range 12, two miles west of Owensville.

It was a straggling village extending westward from the northeast corner of section 9, for about a mile, composed of wigwams and built along the springs coming out of the foot of the sand hills.

The Indians were driven away late in the summer or early in the fall of 1807, and the wigwams burned all except a few which were still there in 1809. The village was destroyed by Captain Jacob Warrick and others. If there was any fighting done or Indians killed it was never known except by those engaged in it. There were very good reasons for their silence as the Government did not allow such acts when at peace with the Indians.

Captain Warrick settled on the northwest quarter of section 11, east of the village. Purty Old Tom Montgomery, Capt. Warrick's father-in-law, settled on the southwest quarter of section 12, Robert Anderson and sons settled northeast of Owensville and others living in the vicinity of Owensville ten years before the town was laid out. The men who assisted Captain Warrick in driving the Indians away and destroying their town were men who had settled west and southwest of Anderson's creek, now Marsh creek, in the neighborhood of Owensville and probably others from the neighborhood of Princeton, seven years before Princeton was laid out. The village belonged to the Piankashaws, and the Indians who got away crossed the Wabash river in to southern Illinois, which was then Indiana Territory.

The destruction of the village made the Indians hostile and it came near bringing on war and no doubt would had it not been for the second raid across the Wabash river.

After the destruction of the village, the settlers found the Indians were coming back and prowling around in the neighborhood of nights. They also found that they were going back along the old Indian trace from the bluff to the island their crossing.

The settlers becoming very uneasy for fear they would be attacked and massacred, hastily organized a company about the 1st of October, 1807 all well mounted and armed. They took the old Indian trace early one morning for Coffee Island ford on the Wabash river. They rode across the ford to the west bank of the river and there held a council and laid plans for advancing. Captain Warrick was to follow the Indian trace and the others to deploy on each side of him within hearing distance. The old Indian fighters were placed on the extreme right and left flanks. Robert Anderson and his son, Watt, were on the right and Purty Old Tom Montgomery was on the left of the line and the younger men were between Montgomery and Warrick and Anderson and Warrick. The orders were for Warrick to ride down the trace slowly and cautiously. Young Sam Anderson with Warrick was carrying a large cow's horn instead of a bugle. The signal to retreat if too many Indians were found, was to be two long blasts on the horn and a shot from a rifle. The objective point was the Piankashaw Indian village located on a small stream running in a westerly direction into Bumpas.

They followed the trace to the east end of a small prairie. Captain Warrick and others rode into the edge of the prairie and discovered fifty or sixty Indian warriors advancing east to meet them but out of reach of their guns. They rode back into the timber. Captain Warrick ordered Anderson to give the retreat signal on the horn, and they retreated to the ford as rapidly as possible, all reaching there about the same time except Purty Old Tom Montgomery. Captain Warrick ordered them to cross the ford in haste but four or five old Indian fighters,—Old Bob Anderson, his son, Watt, and a few others stayed with Warrick to wait for Montgomery. They waited long as they dared and then crossed the river to the rest of the company. They hadn't been across long when twenty-five or thirty Indians came upon the other side of the river, then Bob Anderson said to Captain Warrick—"Tom's gone this time," but he was wrong; a man who had fought Indians over half of old Virgina, all of Kentucky and southern Indiana could not be captured by Piankashaw Indians. In advancing Montgomery had got too far to the left and away in advance of the line. When he heard the signal to retreat he turned his horse and rode into the south edge of the prairie when he saw that the Indians were going into the forest from the east end of the prairie and that he was cut off from the others. He rode back into the timber and rode for the river as fast as his horse would carry him. When he reached the river he swam his horse to the Indiana side and rode up on the bank where he could see over the brush at the point where he crossed the river, knowing the Indians would come on the trail of his horse.

Eight or ten Indians had followed him to the edge of the water, and he shot at them across the river. When the company at the Island heard the shot, old Robert Anderson said —"Boys, that's Tom's gun" and they answered him from the Island. They did not have to wait long until Purty Old Tom came riding up to the company as unconcernedly as if he had been on a deer hunt.

The little creek that the Piankashaw village was on, drained a low, wet prairie, that since that time was named Village creek and the prairie named Compton Prairie.

The Montgomery referred to in this story was the first of the family to locate in southwestern Indiana. From him has decended the large influential family of Montgomerys and their descendants in southwestern Indiana and Illinois.

DIVISON OF INDIANA TERRITORY.

There was a strong party in the Indiana Territory during the period from 1806, '07 and '08 that was continually petitioning Congress for a division of the Territory. The reason mostly assigned were the vast extent of the Territory and the small population that was in any portion of it, except that bordering on the Wabash, Mississippi, and Ohio rivers. The Illinois country at that time only had settlements bordering on the Mississippi river and very distant from the headquarters of the Territory. It was almost impossible at certain seasons of the year to reach these remote sections and at all times dangerous from the attacks of the Indians. The subject was disposed of by Congress on the 3d of February, 1809. The said act declared that after the 1st day of March, 1809, all that part of Indiana Territory lying west of the Wabash river in a direct line drawn from the said Wabash river and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, should constitute a separate Territory and be called Illinois. This reduced Indiana to its present limits.

The Territorial Legislature of 1808 elected their Speaker of the House of Representatives, Jesse B. Thomas to the office of delegate in Congress in place of Benjamin Park, who was appointed to the Supreme Bench in the Territorial Court.

There was much difficulty about the organization of the first legislature after the division of Indiana Territory. In 1809 a petition for the General Assembly of the Territory was laid before Congress. This petition contained the statement—"In the year 1805 there was a legislature organized under a law dividing the Territory northwest of the River Ohio; that on the 26th day of October, 1808, the Governor dissolved the said legislatnre. On the 3d day of February, 1809, the law of Congress passed dividing the Indiana Territory and on the 4th of April, 1809, the Governor of this Territory issued his proclamation for the election of the additional members of the House of Representatives. Also on the 27th of February, 1809, the law passed extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of Indiana, declaring how the legislature shall be formed. After the passage of said law the General Assembly should apportion the members of the House of Representatives to consist of not less than nine nor more than twelve. This law was predicated on the principle that there was a legislature at the time of its passage or that the legislature might convene by the authority of the Governor, but the truth was, the old legislature was dissolved by the Governor, as before stated and at the division of the Territory lessened the number of members by three in the House of Representatives and two in the council. The fact was, there was no legislature in existence. The principal thing that existed in the minds of the petitioners were how the old legislature could be brought into life so that it could organize a new legislature, in accordance with the acts of Congress. On the first Monday in April, 1809, the Governor, by proclamation, directed that an election be held for members of the House of Representatives. At this election there were four members elected; two from Knox county, one from Dearborn and one from Clark. On the 4th of April, 1809, (six days before the above laws of Congress arrived here) the Governor issued a proclamation for election to be held on the 22d of May, for five councilmen and four more representatives; one for Knox county, one for Dearbonr, one for Clark and one for Harrison.

"Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the proceedings, the governor issued a proclamation convening the Legislative Council above elected and the members of the House of Representatives to meet on the 16th of June, 1809. The representatives of the Legislative Council convened and the Legislature, doubting the legality of its actions, agreed to postpone any action of a Legislative capacity, except apportioning one other member to make up the nine, agreeable to the act of Congress, extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of this Territory."

On the 21st of October, 1809, at the request of the two Houses, the Legislature was dissolved by Governor Harrison.

The members of the Legislative Council thus disolved were Solomon Manwaring, of Dearborn county; Thomas Down, of Clark county; Harvey Heath, of Harrison county; William Prince and Luke Decker, of Knox county. The members of the House of Representatives were Richard Rue, Ephriam Overman, Dearborn county, James Beggs and John Work, of Clark county; Moses Hoggit, of Harrison county; General W. Johnson, John Johnson and John Hadden, of Knox county.

On the 22d of May, 1809, an election for delegates to Congress was held in the Territory of Indiana. At this time the only counties were Knox, Dearborn, Clark and Harrison. At this election Johnathan Jennings received four hundred and twenty-eight votes; Thomas Randolph received four hundred and two votes; John Johnson received eighty-one votes; Jennings received a pluraity and was declared elected.

During the year of 1810 a great many settlers came into the Territory. The militia throughout the Territory was organized, properly officered and thoroughly drilled. On account of the continued disturbance raised by Tecumseh and the Prophet and a large band of discontented Indians they had gathered about them, it was feared there would be an outbreak as it was continually asserted by Indians, who were known to be in constant communication with the British, that the Americans would be driven south of the Ohio river; Winamac, a Pottawattamie chief, told two of Harrison's friendly Indians, that in less than twenty moons there would be no Long Knives this side of the great River Ohio and that they intended to maintain that line as a division between the two races or leave their bodies on the northern shore.

The land offices, by an act of Congress in 1804 were opened for the sale of lands in Indiana Territory at Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and in 1807 there was a land office opened at Jeffersonville. The one at Vincennes did more business than the one at Jeffersonville, for several years. The land situated in Clark's grant was located and set off by a commission appointed for that purpose. In this country there was but little money, as most of the emigrants coming here had passed through the scourge of the Revolution and the only means of getting money at that time was by hunting and trapping. Venison hams, and the skins of fur bearing animals were all that the early settlers of this country could realize money for and those at very low prices. It was considered a good price if one got twenty-five cents a pair for venison hams, and fifteen to twenty cents for large deer skin; coon skins fifteen and twenty cents and other skins at about the same proportion Notwithstanding the difficulty of securing money at these low prices, many thousands of acres of the rich lands of Indiana were purchased by the money secured in this way.

These early settlers had made but few improvements as they had but little time for any work outside of the chase. On this, their very existence depended. The small fields that were planted in corn were very hard to protect from the depredations of the wild animals so numerous in the country at that time. When the corn was in the milk, there was nothing except honey that the bears so dearly loved, and it has been known that ten acres of corn were ruined in a very few nights by a number of bears congregating there and riding the corn down to secure the milk from the ears. The coons were another great cause of destruction of corn. Squirrels were as plentiful then as birds and when the corn was suitable for "roasting ears" the squirrels would destroy acres of it. Many kinds of birds in that day were very destructive to corn fields and it was impossible to raise hogs as the bears and panthers would destroy them.

At the time that Harrison was having so much trouble to keep the Indians in subjection and planning for the defense of the territory, there were those who were continually finding fault with his administration, claiming that his persistency in securing land concessions was the cause of the Indians' continual grumbling and threatening to drive the Americans away. This was, as it always has been, the outgrowth of political venom and envy. No doubt the continued loud mouthing of the disgruntled aspirants was understood by the Indians who had spies, pretended friendly Indians, all the time at Post Vincennes. A chief, Waytheah or Long Shark, said to Captain Wilson at one time when he was among the Shawnees, that the Indians did not need to fight the Americans; if let alone they (the Americans) would fight and destroy each other; that Governor Harrison was more determinedly hated by half of his own people than he was by the Indians. With this continual opposition from his own people and the threatening attitude of Tecumseh and the Prophet, Harrison was perplexed how best to manage to steer clear of the political caldron at home and keep the Indians in subjection.

Fortunately the Congress of the United States made no mistake when it elected William Henry Harrison Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Indiana Territory, for he was wise, patient, and far-seeing and had good grit all the way through. When it became evident that the Indians on the Wabash had to be chastised, he soon put himself in position to be thoroughly prepared for the fray. He selected some of the most outspoken of those who so bitterly opposed him as members of his staff and gave them important positions requiring skill and accomplishment; he even surrounded his person with two of the most bitter ones as his personal aids and in this way stopped their mutterings and made them efficient and loyal supporters of the government. One of these men was mortally wounded in the battle of Tippecanoe and breathed his last in Harrison's arms.

CHAPTER X.

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE—IMPORTANCE OF THE VICTORY CAUSE OF BATTLE—THE PRINCIPAL CONTESTANTS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—COLLECTING ARMY AT VINCENNES—MOVEMENT OF ARMY FROM VINCENNES—FORT HARRISON ESTABLISHED—ADVANCE ON PROPHET'S TOWN—ENCAMPMENT—THE BATTLE—GOVERNOR HARRISON'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—ROLL OF THE ARMY THAT FOUGHT AT TIPPECANOE.

In this chapter commences a history of the trouble between Harrison and the two great Indian leaders, Tecumseh and the Prophet.

There has been so much recrimination and controversy about the battle of Tippecanoe, the action of General Harrison in that battle and so many statements of political opponents that were at variance with the truth that it is thought best as an introduction to this chapter to give a full explanation of the cause of that battle being fought on the morning of the 7th of November, when the evening before the Indian Chiefs had so solemnly arranged for a treaty of peace to be held on the morning the battle was fought. After this a short sketch of the birth and nativity of Harrison and the two Indian chiefs will be given.

The battle of Tippecanoe was the only battle fought on Indiana soil in which the militia of Indiana in any great number took part and they acquitted themselves so creditably in that engagement that it is a great pleasure to note their heroism.

It is not too much to say with only the fringe of settlements that was on the southern borders of Indiana in 1811, that had General Harrison been defeated at that battle, most terrible and distressing results would have followed. The Indians who had been held in subjection and who were apparently friendly would nearly all have joined Tecumseh and the Prophet's confederation and turned against the defeated whites; just as the pretended friendly Indians on the northern borders of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio did, when Hull so cowardly surrendered the army at Detroit in 1812. The permanent settlement of this country would have been retarded for several years and the military career of one of the most useful men of this nation would have come to an end and instead of the War of 1812, commencing on the northern borders of the Northwest Territory, as it did, it would have commenced on or near the Ohio river, with results that are hard to guess at owing to the incompetency that was shown by so many of the leaders in that war.

In the make-up of an army there are some who are always ready to run unnecessary risks if they are not held in subjection. This was the case at Tippecanoe when the army arrived at the Prophet's town in the afternoon of the sixth of November, 1811. Some of the subordinate commanders who were panting for a chance to distinguish themselves and to receive military renown, were very loud in their declaration that Governor Harrison should attack the Indians at once. Long years after the battle was fought many military critics were severe in their denunciation of the want of military tact shown by the Governor, but this was all uncalled for and came from those who would not have been able to command properly a corporal's guard.

Governor Harrison's orders, from Secretary of War was to break up the confederation of Indians and to have those that belonged to other tribes, go back to their homes; to have the Prophet make proper restitution for the annuity salt that he had taken from a boat that was being conveyed to other Indians; to restore a lot of stolen horses and to deliver up a number of murderers who were being harbored in his town.

To accomplish this, he was directed to use peaceful means.

The Indians met him with overtures of peace and the arrangements were made to have the meeting the next morning. The army went into camp and arranged themselves as comfortably as men could who were situated as they were. No one in camp expected a battle that night, though every precaution was taken to prepare the army for battle if it should come. Those who have studied the history of that battle nearly all agree that on the evening of the sixth of November, when Harrison and the chiefs were making arrangements for a camp and for the conference to be held the next morning, the Indians had no intention of bringing on the battle that night.

Tradition has it that White Loon, one of the three chiefs in the immediate command of the Indians in the battle, said to a party of white prisoners who had been in the battle of Tippecanoe and were afterward captured at Hull's surrender at Detroit, that the Prophet and the chiefs in town had no thought of bringing on the battle, but during the first part of the night, Winnamac, a Pottawattamie chief, arrived in town and as soon as he learned the condition of things, went to the Prophet and told him that it was now or never; that if he would have the forces organized and ready for battle by the early hours of the morning, they would slip up on the Americans and murder them in their camp. A council was convened and after a long conference at which most of the chiefs were assembled, it was found that a large majority of them opposed the attack. At this, Winnamac, who was a fearless dare-devil, called them cowards and said that if they were going to submit like whipped dogs to the Americans he would take his people (who formed one-third of the town) and go back to his nation. This had the desired effect and it was agreed that the attack should be made. The night was spent in organizing the forces (something less, White Loon claimed, than nine hundred and fifty warriors). Several Indians were sent to locate particularly the position of the troops. Stone Eater, White Loon and Winnamac were put in immediate command of the Indians.

The Prophet, after it was agreed to bring on the fight, made a speech that roused the Indians to a high pitch. He made them believe that they would have as easy a victory as the Indians did over Braddock and St. Clair and that all the whites would be driven back across the Ohio river. He assured them that the bullets of the Americans would not hurt them.

GOVERNOR WM. H. HARRISON, TECUMSEH AND THE PROPHET.

In the state of Ohio, near where the city of Springfield now stands, Tecumseh, his brother, the Prophet, and another brother were all born at one birth. If tradition is right this was in 1769. Tecumseh, at Taladega, September 1811, in a speech before an assembly of Creek Indians and their great chief Rutherford, in part said—"I have seen twice twenty and two springs come and go again, and during all that time, the want of confederation has brought disaster and ruin to many Indian tribes." Their father was a Shawnee warrior of prominence. Their mother was a Creek woman named Methataska, who had been captured by the Shawnees. The name "Tecumseh" stood for wild cat springing on its prey; the Prophet's name "Elkswatawa," for "loud voice." There is no historical or traditional record of the third brother except his name which was "Kamskaka."

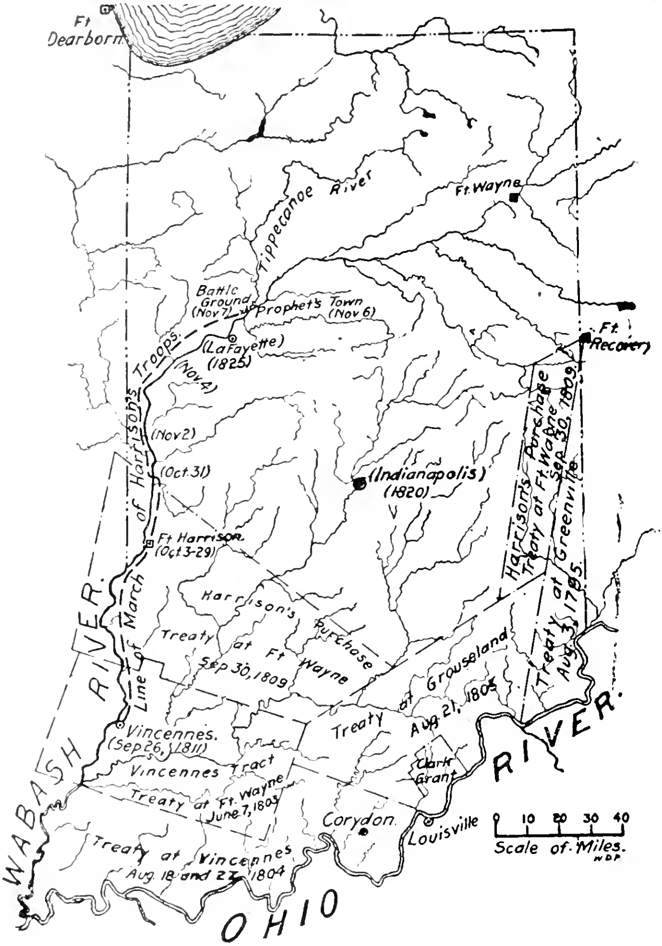
William Henry Harrison was born in Charles county, Virginia, February 9, 1773. His father, Benjmian Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Young Harrison, on coming to manhood, joined the regular army with the rank of an Ensign, and was soon promoted to a Lieutenant. He served with General Anthony Wayne in his campaign against the Indians in 1794 and was with him in the battle of Maumee. Tradition has it that Tecumseh was a very active partisan in the campaign that terminated in the defeat of the Confederate bands of Indians at the battle of Maumee. William Henry Harrison was in 1797 promoted to the rank of Captain. Soon thereafter he resigned and was appointed Secretary of the North-west Territory.

The two Indians, Tecumseh and the Prophet, were so directly linked with the name of William Henry Harrison in the history of the Northwest and Indiana Territory and its records, that in writing of the events that become history from 1808 to 1811, they must appear in all the records.

In 1800 the Indiana Territory was formed, then including the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi river, leaving the state of Ohio out as it was then preparing to form a state government. That same year William Henry Harrison was made Governor and General John Gibson was made Secretary of the Territory, while the seat of government was moved to Vincennes. Governor Harrison was very active. Through his influence various treaties were made, namely: that of August 18th and 24th, 1804, by which all the territory of southern Indiana, south of the old Vincennes and Clarksville trace was ceded to the United States; the treaty of Grousland, August 21st, 1805; the treaty of Ft. Wayne, June 7, 1803, and the treaty of Ft. Wayne, September 30th, 1809; and the treaty of Vincennes, September 26th, 1811. These various treaties together with the small strip acquired by the treaty at Greenville, August 3rd, 1795, covered a little more than one third of the State of Indiana.

For many centuries before the coming of the white man, the great Miami nation of Indians owned and controlled all the territory that is now the State of Indiana and a large territory on the east and west of it. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Miami confederation was composed of four tribes—the Twightwees, who were the Miamis proper, the Weas, the Shockeys, and the Piankashaws. These Indians were all of the Algonquin nation. It is claimed that at Ft. Wayne, near where the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers formed the Maumee river, these Indians had their national capital. This powerful nation owned the largest and best hunting grounds of any Indians who ever inhabited the United States. The Piankashaws were located in southern Indiana on the Wabash and in southern Illinois. The Weas were located in Central Indiana on the Wabash river to the

INDIANA IN 1811.


Ft Dearborn
Tippecanoe River
Ft. Wayne
Battle Ground (Nov 7)
Prophet's Town (Nov 6)
Ft. Recovery
(LaFayette) (1825)
(Nov.4)
Line of March of Harrison's Troops.
Harrison's Purchase Treaty at Ft. Wayne Sep. 30, 1809.
Treaty at Greenville Aug. 3, 1795.
(Nov 2)
(Oct 31)
(Indianapolis) (1820)
Ft Harrison. (Oct 3-29)
Harrison's Purchase
Treaty at Ft Wayne Sep 30, 1809
Treaty at Grouseland Aug. 21, 1805
Vincennes. (Sep 26, 1811)
Vincennes Tract
Treaty at Ft. Wayne June 7, 1803
Clark Grant
Corydon.
Louisville
Treaty at Vincennes Aug. 18 and 27, 1804
WABASH RIVER.
OHIO RIVER.
0 10 20 30 40
Scale of Miles.
WDP

north and on its many tributaries and on the Illinois river. The Miamis proper were in the central, northern and northeastern Indiana and on the Scioto river in the state of Ohio. The Shockeys were scattered over southeastern Indiana and along the Miami river, far into Ohio. Other Indian tribes asked the Miamis for permission to settle in this vast territory. This privilege was given to the Pottawattamies, Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos. These tribes left their former homes and made many settlements and towns over the territory that is now Indiana. The Delawares made their settlements on the waters of the White rivers and their tributaries and the Pottawattamies in the northern and northwestern Indiana. The Shawnees were located in many places in southern and western Indiana and near the Ohio river in the state of Ohio. The Kickapoos were located at many points and were neighbors to all the other tribes who had been granted concessions. These Indians were at peace with each other for a long period. The tribes that had been permitted to have homes in the favored land had prospered and multiplied and after a generation or two had passed, they felt as if they were the owners of the land they lived on and were ever ready to object to anything the real owners did that would in any way affect them.

In 1804 the Delawares ceded all the territory south of the old Vincennes and Clarksville trace on the Ohio river to the United States. This immense territory was very desirable but Governor Harrison knew that they were not the owners so he got the Piankashaw chiefs who were the real owners, to ratify that treaty. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were not born to an official station but Tecumseh soon arose to the most influential position by his great talents. These two brothers lived for a time among the Delaware Indians on the waters of the White river in what is now Delaware county, Indiana.

Along about 1806 they moved to Greenville, Ohio. There Elksawatawa took on the role of Prophet, claiming that a gift from the Great Spirit had been bestowed upon him so that he could tell things which would come to pass. He was a very smart one-eyed rascal. The other eye was put out while shooting with a bow, the arrow splitting on the bow string. The Prophet was not an ordinary medicine man but a moral reformer, making prophecies on many subjects, being his strongest point. He had many disciples who believed in him but there were also many "Doubting Thomases." He met with a band of surveyors at Greenville and one of them in an argument attempted to belittle his pretensions by asking him if he had any foreknowledge of the great coming eclipse which was to take place at a certain time, giving the day and hour. The Prophet told him that of course he did but refused to talk further with the surveyor. After the surveyor had gone he sent his messenger to the Indians in all the surrounding country and invited them to come and see him at the time when the eclipse of the sun was due. When the time came there was an immense concourse of Indians to hear the wily savage tell about the heavenly visions which he had seen and the revelation of things which were to be. He kept up the harangue until just before the time the eclipse was to come when he said there were some who were unbelievers in his teaching and he had called them together to convince them that he had Divine power to reveal things that were unknown to them. He said that he intended to ask the Great Father to put his hand before the sun and make the earth dark. When the eclipse commenced to come on the Prophet went into a trance and called on the Great Father saying there was those who refused to believe his teachings and to convince them that he was not an impostor, he asked the Great Father to put his hand over the sun. When it began to get dark there was great excitement among the Indians and when the eclipse became total they became wild and implored the Great Father to take his hand from over the sun and restore them to his favor. The Prophet called aloud asking that brightness might be restored. Tecumseh and the Prophet made all that was possible out of this incident. It was told far and near that the Prophet was the greatest of all Medicine men—that he could heal the sick, destroy witches and have the Great Father darken the sun.

Sometime in 1808 the Prophet located a town at the junction of the Tippecanoe river with the Wabash, about one hundred and fifty miles up stream from Vincennes. This town contained several hundred of the Prophet's followers who claimed to be tillers of the soil and total abstainers from the use of whiskey.

Tecumseh in every way was far above his brother. He was a brave, far-seeing, eloquent man and rose to a high position equal to Pontiac in the northwestern United States. The policy of the United States government had for some years been to extinguish by treaties the claim the Indians had to land lying in Indiana Territory. Those made by the long and tedious negoiations brought the Indians a great variety of articles that were of great value to them.

In conformity with instructions of the President, James Madison, Governor Harrison at Ft. Wayne, September 30, 1809, concluded a treaty with the head men and chiefs of the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel River, Kickapoos and Wea Indians, by which in consideration of eight thousand and two hundred dollars paid down and annuities amounting in aggregate to two thousand, three hundred and fifty dollars, he obtained the cession of nearly three million acres of land extending up the Wabash beyond Terre Haute, below the mouth of Raccoon creek, including the middle waters of the White rivers.

Neither Tecumseh, the Prophet nor any of the other Indians who had gathered around their standard, owned or had any claim to the land which had been ceded to the United States, yet they denounced the Indians, who owned the land, for selling it, threatened them with death and did kill several of the parties to the treaty, declaring that the treaty was void unless all the tribes should agree to it, and that the land did not belong to any one tribe but to all of them jointly. Tecumseh used this argument in his attempts to form a confederation of all the Indians (which, without doubt was intended to become a great military organization.) In this he was encouraged by the British at Malden who were then preparing a way to have all the Indians for allies in the coming war which was certain to occur between Great Britain and the United States. Tecumseh knew that if the land which had been ceded was open for settlement, by the whites, the game would be destroyed and the Indians compelled to move to more distant hunting grounds. Tecumseh's determined and threatening opposition to the treaties brought all the trouble on between Harrison and the Indians.

In obedience to the conditions of the Ft. Wayne treaty, made September 30, 1809, the annuity was to be paid annually. In the spring of 1810, the Indians in the Prophet's town refused to receive the annuity salt sent them in compliance with that treaty, insulting the men who had brought the salt, calling them "American dogs." This, with many other hostile demonstrations, caused Governor Harrison to send several messages to Tecumseh and the Prophet. The Governor understood that there was danger of an outbreak and made every effort to thwart it. Tecumseh sent word by one of the Governor's messengers that he intended to visit him and in August arrived in the vicinity of Vincennes with four hundred warriors fully armed. They went into camp near the town and there was much uneasiness felt at so many Indians being in such close proximity. The Governor managed the affairs so as to prevent a collision between the two races but soon after the close of this conference a small detachment of United States troops under the command of Captain Cross was ordered from Newport, Kentucky, to Vincennes. These troops, together with three companies of Indiana Militia Infantry and a company of Dragoons constituted such a force that those living in the neighborhood of Vincennes would not be in any danger from an Indian outbreak. The Prophet and his adherents were holding secret conferences with the British from their stations on Lake Erie and at Malden.

During the winter of 1810-11, there were no serious outbreaks but there were many small raids by the Indians and counter-raids by the white settlers. General William Clark, writing to the war department from St. Louis, on July 3, 1811, made the following report—"All information received from the Indian country confirms the rooted enmity of the Prophet to the United States and his determination to commence hostilities as soon as he thinks himself sufficiently strong. His party is increasing and from the insolence he and his party have lately manifested and the violence which has lately been committed by his neighbors, the Pottawattamies on our frontiers, I am inclined to believe that the crisis is fast approaching."

Governor Harrison sent a half-breed Piankashaw Indian, whom he regarded as thoroughly reliable to the Prophet's town, where he (the Indian) had a brother. On his return he reported that the Prophet was very bitter toward the Americans and said that they had to abandon the Wabash lands ceded by the Ft. Wayne treaty or they would kill them or drive them out of the country. This spy reported that Winamac, a Pottawattamie Chief, was the right hand man of the Prophet and that he was very bitter in his denunciations of the white people. From another source the Governor learned that all the Wabash Indians were on a visit to the Indian agent at Malden; that this agent had given all the Indians presents and that he had never known of one-fourth of as many presents being given at any one time before. The same informant examined the share of one warrior and found that he had a fine rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three strouds of cloth, ten shirts, and many other articles. From another source he learned that every Indian had been given a good rifle and an abundance of ammunition.

In July, 1811, Governor Harrison wrote the war department that the best means of preventing war would be to move a considerable force up the Wabash and disperse the bandits the Prophet had collected around him. During the summer of 1811, the war department received many letters from all over the settled portions of the Northwest Territory, telling of the operations of the British in urging the Indians on to hostilities. In June 1811, Governor Harrison sent Captain Walter Wilson to the Prophet's town with the following letter, addressed to Tecumseh and the Prophet:—

"Brothers, listen to me. I speak to you about matters of importance, both to the white people and to yourselves. Open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I say. Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in the country have been alarmed at your proceedings. You threaten us with war; you invite all tribes to the north and west of you to join against us. Brothers—your warriors who have lately been here deny this but I have received information that you intend to murder me and then commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech you sent to the Pottawattamies and others, to join you for that purpose, but if I had no other evidence of your hostility to us your seizing the salt I recently sent up the Wabash, is sufficient. Brothers—our citizens are alarmed and my warriors are preparing themselves, not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us as you expect to do. You are about to undertake a very rash act. As a friend, I advise you to consider well of it. A little reflection may save a great deal of trouble and prevent much mischief. It is not yet too late. Brothers—what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise when there is so little probability of success? Do you really think the handful of men you have about you are able to contend with the seventeen fires or even that (the whole of) all the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky fire alone? Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire. As soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of hunting shirt men as numerous as the mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers—take care of their stings.

Brothers—it is not our wish to hurt you. If it were we certainly have the power to do it. Look at the number of our warriors—to the east of you, above and below the great Miami; to the south, on both sides of the Ohio and below you also. You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude? We wish you to live in peace and happiness.

Brothers—the citizens of this country are alarmed. They must be satisfied that you have no de-

> sign to do them mischief or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the Government by seizing the salt that was intended for other tribes. Satisfaction must be given for this also. Brothers—you talk of coming to see me attended by all your young men. This must not be. If your intentions are good you have no need to bring more than a few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you. I will not suffer you to come into our settlement with such a force.
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> Brothers—if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice I have given you before, that is, that one or both of you should visit the President of the United States and lay your grievance before him. He will treat you well, listen to what you say and if you can show him that you have been injured you will receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect it will convince the citizens of this country and myself that you have no design to attack them.
>
> Brothers—with respect to the land which was purchased last fall, I can enter into no negotiation with you on that subject, the affair is in the hands of the President. If you wish to go and see him I will supply you with the means. Brothers—the person who delivers you this is one of my war officers. He is a man in whom I have entire confidence. What he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me. My friend, Tecumseh—the bearer, is a good and a brave warrior. I hope you will treat him well. You are yourself a warrior and all such should have an esteem for each other."

Captain Wilson, who bore this message to the Prophet's town, was received in a friendly manner at that place and was treated with particular friendship by Tecumseh, who sent by him the following reply to the letter by tne Governor—"Brother, I give you a few words until I will be with you myself, Tecumseh. Brother at Vincennes, I wish you to listen to me while I send you a few words and I hope they will ease your heart. I know you look on your young men and your young women and children with pity to see them so much alarmed. Brother, I wish you to examine what you have from me. I hope it will be a satisfaction to you if your intentions are like mine, to wash away all these bad stories that have been circulated. I will be with you myself in eighteen days from this day. Brother, we cannot say what will become of us, as the Great Spirit has the management of us at his will. I may be there before the time and may not be there until the day. I hope that when we come together all these bad tales will be settled. By this, I hope your young men, women and children will be easy. I wish you, Brother, to let them know when I come to Vincennes and see you all will be settled in peace and happiness. Brother, these are only a few words to let you know that I will be with you myself and when I am with you, I can inform you better, Brother, if I find I can be with you in less time than eighteen days, I will send one of my young men before me to let you know what time I will be with you."

On the twenty-seventh of July, 1811, Tecumseh arrived at Vincennes. The number of his attendants was about three hundred, of whom twenty or thirty were women and children. When he was met about twenty miles from Vincennes by Captain Wilson, who delivered a message from the Governor, expressing disapprobation of the large number of Indians approaching the town, Tecumseh, after some hesitation, said he had with him but twenty-four men, and the rest had come of their own accord; but that everything should be settled to the satisfaction of the Governor on his arrival at Vincennes. The approach of this large force of Indians created considerable alarm among the inhabitants of Vincennes and on the day of the arrival of Tecumseh, Governor Harrison, in adopting various precautionary measures, reviewed the militia of the county, composed of about seven hundred and fifty men, who were well armed and he stationed two companies of militia infantry and a detachment of dragoons on the borders of the town. In the course of the interview which took place at this time between the Governor and Tecumseh, the latter declared that it was not his intention to make war against the United States; that he would send messengers among the Indians to prevent murders and depredations on the white settlers; that the Indians as well as the whites, who had committed murder, ought to be forgiven; that he had set the whites an example of forgiveness which they ought to follow; that it was his wish to establish a anion among all the Indian tribes; that the Northern tribes were united; that he was going to visit the southern Indians and that he would return to the Prophet's town. He said that he would on his return from the south, the next spring, visit the President of the United States and settle all causes of difficulty between the Indians and himself. He said further that he hoped that no attempt would be made to make settlement on the lands which had been sold to the United States at the treaty of Ft. Wayne because the Indians wanted to keep those lands for hunting gronnds. Soon after the conference with Governor Harrison had closed, Tecumseh, attended by twenty Indians, suddenly took his departure from Vincennes, down the Wabash river on his way to the Southern Indians for the purpose of disseminating his views for a great Indian confederation among the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and Choctaw Indians.

After Tecumseh departed, the remainder of his followers returned to the Prophets's town deeply impressed with the martial display of military strength of Harrison's command. It cannot be told with a certainty of its correctness, what could have induced Tecumseh to go so far from home for so long a time. He certainly had more faith in Governor Harrison's pacific intentions than Harrison was warranted in having in him or the Prophet or he would not have made such a fatal mistake.

The Prophet kept up his incantations, charms and jugglery, thus increasing his importance and his influence with his deluded followers. There was a constant increase in his numbers. It was said by spies of friendly Indians, which the whites had that by the first of September, 1811, the Prophet's town had more than twenty-five hundred Indians in it.

The restless young men among his bands, bent on plunder, crossed into the white settlement in many places, killing the settlers or running off their stock. This became so frequent that the whole territory was in a constant state of excitement.

On the thirty-first of July, 1811, a public meeting of citizens was held at Vincennes for the purpose of declaring by resolution the danger to which the white inhabitants of the Territory of Indiana were exposed on account of the hostilities of the Indians at the Prophet's town and for requesting the President of the United States to issue orders for the forcible dispersion of the hostile Indians settled at that place. By resolution the following committee was selected to make this request Samuel T. Scott, Alexander Devin, Luke Decker, Ephriam Jordon, Daniel McClure, Walter Wilson and Francis Vigo.

In a letter dated August third, 1811, addressed to the President of the United States, this committee, after making the request above referred to, said:

> "In this part of the country, we have not as yet lost any of our fellow citizens by the Indians, but depredations upon the property of those who live upon the frontiers and insults to the families that are left unprotected, almost daily occur."

The President as early as the seventeenth day of July had instructed the Secretary of War to authorize Governor Harrison to call out the militia of the Territory and to attack the Prophet and his followers in case circumstances should occur which might render such a course necessary or expedient. The Governor was further authorized at his discretion, to call into his services the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, under the command of Colonel John P. Boyd.

The official instructions which were sent from the Secretary of War to Governor Harrison at this period were strongly in favor of preserving pacific relations with the Northwestern Indian tribes by the use of all means consistent with the protection of the citizens of the Territory and the maintenance of the rights of the general government of the United States.

Governor Harrison, having determined to erect a new fort on the Wabash river, and to break up the assemblage of hostile Indians at the Prophet's town, ordered Colonel Boyd's regiment of infantry to move from the falls of the Ohio to Vincennes, at which place the regiment of regulars was to be re-inforced by the militia of the Territory.

Upon receiving from the Secretary of War the instructions which have been mentioned, the governor sent by special messengers, written speeches, addressed to the several Indian tribes of the Indiana Territory, requesting these tribes to fulfill the conditions of their treaties with the United States, to avoid all acts of hostility toward the white settlers and to make an absolute disavowal of union or connection with the Shawnee Prophet.

About the twenty-fifth of September, 1811, when the military expedition that had been organized by Governor Harrison was nearly ready to move on its way toward the Prophet's town, a deputation of Indians from that town arrived at Vincennes. These deputies made strong professions of peace and declared that the Indians would comply with the demands of the Governor. A few days after these messengers arrived at Vincennes, six horses were stolen from white people by small bands of Indians. Three men following the trail of the horses to an Indian camp reported that after they had obtained possession of the horses they were pursued by the Indians, fired upon and compelled to abandon their horses and run for their lives.

MILITARY ORDERS.

"Headquarters of the Army of
Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, Sept. 16, 1811.

"The governor of Indiana Territory and commander-in chief of the militia, being charged by the President of the United States with a military expedition, takes command to the troops assigned, viz: The detachment of regular troops under the command of Col. John P. Boyd, consisting of the Fourth U. S. Regiment of Infantry and a company of the Rifle Regiment, the present garrison at Ft. Knox and the various detachments of Militia, Infantry and Dragoons which have been ordered for the service. As the present garrison of Ft. Knox is to form a part of Colonel Boyd's command, the officers commanding that post will receive the Colonel's orders. Capt. Piatt of the Second U. S. Regiment has been appointed Quartermaster for all the troops on the expedition and is to be obeyed and respected as such. Captain Robert Buntin has been appointed quartermaster for the militia and is to be respected and obeyed accordingly. Henry Hurst, Esq. and the Honorable Waller Taylor, Esq. have been appointed aide-de-camps to the Commander in Chief, having the rank of Majors and are announced as such. All orders coming from them in his name, whether in writing or verbally, are to be respected and obeyed as if delivered by the Commander in Chief in person. Captain Piatt is to have the superintendency of persons appertaining to the quartermasters or military agents department and the direction of all stores for the use of the expedition."

"Headquarters, Vincennes, September 22, 1811.

"All of the infantry regulars and militia are to be considered as one brigade under the command of Col. John P. Boyd, acting Brigadier General. Lieutenant Colonel Miller will command the first line, composed of the regular troops; Lieutenant Colonel Barthalemew the second line, composed of Militia Infantry. These two officers will report to and receive their orders from Acting General John P. Boyd. The Cavalry will be under the command of Major Joseph H. Davis, who will report to and receive orders from the Commander in Chief. Captain Spire Spencer's company of mounted volunteers will act as a detached corps and report to and receive orders from the Commander in Chief. The whole army will parade tomorrow at one o'clock. The troops of infantry in two columns. The regular troops will form the leading battalion of each column; the militia infantry the rear column. Major Davis will place his largest troop of dragoons in squadron at open order, one hundred and fifty yards in rear of the columns. The third troop will be placed in a single line on the right flank at one hundred and fifty yards from the Infantry and parallel thereto. Captain Spire Spencer's company will be formed on the left flank in single rank and in line parallel to the Infantry at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the column. The army thus formed will be in marching order. The columns will take care to keep their distances and their head dressed. When in the woods the movements will be regulated by signal from the drums. When in open they will be governed by sight. This is to be the order in the line of march."

"Headquarters, Vincennes,
September 22, 1811.

"AFTER ORDERS:

"The army being formed in the order of march prescribed by general order of this date, if an attack should be made on the right flank, the whole will face to the right and it will then be in two lines parallel to the line of march, the right column forming the front line and the left the rear. Should the attack be made on the left flank, the reverse to what is here directed will take place; the whole army will face to the left, the left column acting as a front line, the right column as a rear line. If an attack is made on both flanks at the same time, both columns will face outward. To resist an attack in the rear, the same maneuver will be performed as is directed for an attack in front with this difference only, that the leading grand division of each battalion will form by the filing up of each man in succession and the second grand division by doubling around its front guide and displaying to the left. To resist an attack in front and rear, the two leading battalions will perform the maneuvre directed for the front attack and the two others that which has been last described.

"In all cases where there is an attack, other than a front one, the dragoons and riflemen will consider themselves as front, rear, or flank guards according to the situation they may be placed in relative to the rest of the army and will perform the duties which those situations respectively require as heretofore directed."

THE ARMY STARTS FOR THE PROPHET'S TOWN.

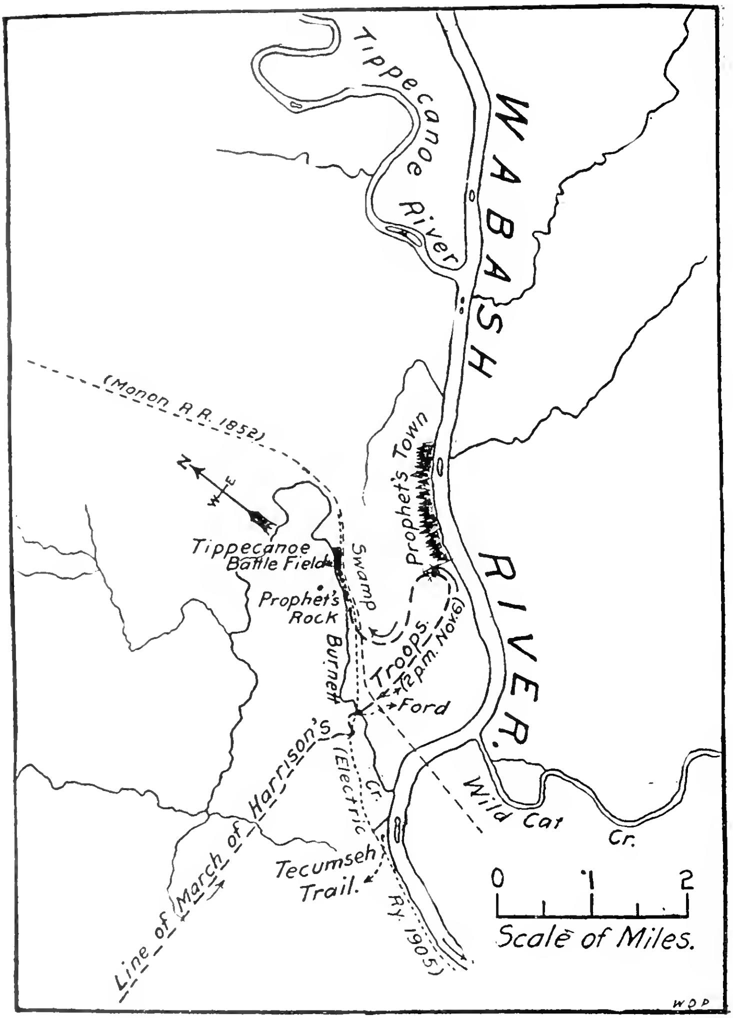
The army under the command of Governor Harrison moved from Vincennes on the 26th of September, 1811 and on the third of October, without having encountered any material difficulties on its march, encamped at a point where they erected Ft. Harrison. This place of encampment was on the eastern bank of the Wabash river, about two miles above an old Wea Indian village which stood about two miles above where the city of Terre Haute now stands. According to Indian tradition a desperate battle was fought at that place a long time ago, between three hundred Illinois warriors and an equal number of a tribe belonging to the Iroquois Confederacy.

While the army was engaged in building the fort, Governor Harrison received from friendly Indians of the Delaware and Miami tribes, several accounts of the increasing hostility of the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates. Four Delawares attended by Mr. Conner as interpreter, visited the Governor and reported that a war speech had been sent from the Prophet to some of the Delaware chiefs who were on their way to meet Governor Harrison, in compliance with a request which they had received from one of his messengers. In this speech, according to reports of the Delaware chiefs, the Prophet declared that his tomahawk was up against the whites and nothing should induce him to take it down unless the wrongs of the Indians were redressed—the Delawares might do as they pleased, Some of the Delaware chiefs visited the Prophet to endeavor to dissuade him from adopting such measures of active hostility against the people of the United States.

On the night of October the tenth, a few Indians fired on the Sentinels and wounded one. The army was drawn up in line of battle and detachments were sent out in all directions but the darkness of the night enabled the Indians to to get away. The new fort was finished on the twenty-eighth of October and by unanimous petition of the officers it was named Ft. Harrison. The fort was garrisoned with a small number of men under the command of Lieutenant Colonel James Miller, who afterward at the battle of Niagara, won great renown. (The British artillery had taken a position on a commanding eminence at the head of Lundy's Lane, supported by a line of Infantry out of reach of the American batteries. This was the key to the whole position and thence they poured a most deadly fire on the American ranks. It became necessary either to leave the ground or to carry this position and seize the height. The latter desperate task was assigned to Colonel Miller. On receiving the order from General Brown he calmly surveyed the position and answered—"I will try, Sir." He did try and captured the battery and position and his expression "I will try, Sir" afterward became the motto of his Regiment.)

Everything being in readiness, Governor Harrison's army moved from the new fort on October the twenty-ninth, toward the Prophet's town. On the thirty-first of October, soon after passing Big Raccoon creek, the army crossed the Wabash river at a point near the place where the town of Montezuma in Park county, now stands. At this time the force of the expedition amounted to nine hundred men, composed of two hundred and fifty regular troops, about one hundred volunteers from Kentucky and six hundred citizens of the Indiana Territory. The troops on horse back consisted of light dragoons, amounting to two hundred and seventy-five men; but few of the men had ever been in battle.

On the second of November the army was encamped at a point about two miles below the mouth of the Big Vermilion river. A block house twenty-five feet square was built on the western bank of the Wabash on a small prairie. A Sergeant and eight men were stationed in the block house to protect the boats, which up to this point had been used in the transportation of supplies for the expedition. The Delaware chiefs which Harrison had sent to the Prophet's town came into this camp and reported that they were badly treated and insulted and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon them and the white people. The party that fired on the sentinels arrived at the Prophet's town while the


Tippecanoe River
WABASH RIVER.
(Monon R.R. 1852)
N
E
W
Tippecanoe Battle Field
Prophet's Rock
Swamp
Prophet's Town
Troops. (2 p.m. Nov. 6)
Burnett Cr.
Ford
Line of March of Harrison's
(Electric Ry. 1905)
Tecumseh Trail.
Wild Cat Cr.
0 1 2
Scale of Miles.
W D P

Map of Vicinity of Tippecanoe Battle Field Showing Line of March on November 6, 1811.

Delaware chiefs were there—they were Shawnees and the Prophet's nearest friends.

On the third of November the army resumed its march and keeping its course through the prairie at some distance from the Wabash river it came in view of the Prophet's town on the afternoon of the sixth of November. During the march all this day small parties of Indians were seen hovering about the army and the interpreters made several unsuccessful attempts to have a conference with them. On reaching a point about one mile and a half from the town, the army halted. Governor Harrison directed Captain Dubois of the spies to go forward with an interpreter and request a conference with the Prophet.

As Captain Dubois proceeded to execute his orders, he met several Indians to whom he spoke in a friendly manner. They refused to speak to him but by motion urged him to go forward and seemed to be endeavoring to cut him off from the main army.

On being informed of this apparently hostile manifestation on the part of the Indians, Governor Harrison dispatched a messenger to recall Captain Dubois. Soon after the return of that officer the whole army in order of battle began to move toward the town, the interpreters having been placed in front with orders to invite a conference with the Indians. The following particulars concerning the actions of the Indians as the army was approaching the Prophet's town are taken from a letter Governor Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War, November 18, 1811:

> "We had not advanced more than four hundred yards when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advance guards and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found upon their arrival that one of them was a man in great estimation with the Prophet. He informed me that the chiefs were much surprised at my advance upon them so rapidly; that they were given to understand by the Delawares and Miamis, whom I had sent to them a few days before that I would not advance to their town until I had received an ans-

wer to my demands made through them; that this answer had been dispatched by the Pottawattamie chief, Winamac, who had accompanied the Miamis and Delawares on their return; that they had left the Prophet's town two days before with a design to meet me but unfortunately they had taken the road on the southeastern side of the Wabash.

"I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered they would not comply with the demands which I had made; that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his chiefs and explain to them the determination of the President and that in the meantime no hostilities should be committed. He seemed much pleased with this and promised that it should be observed on their part. I then resumed my march.

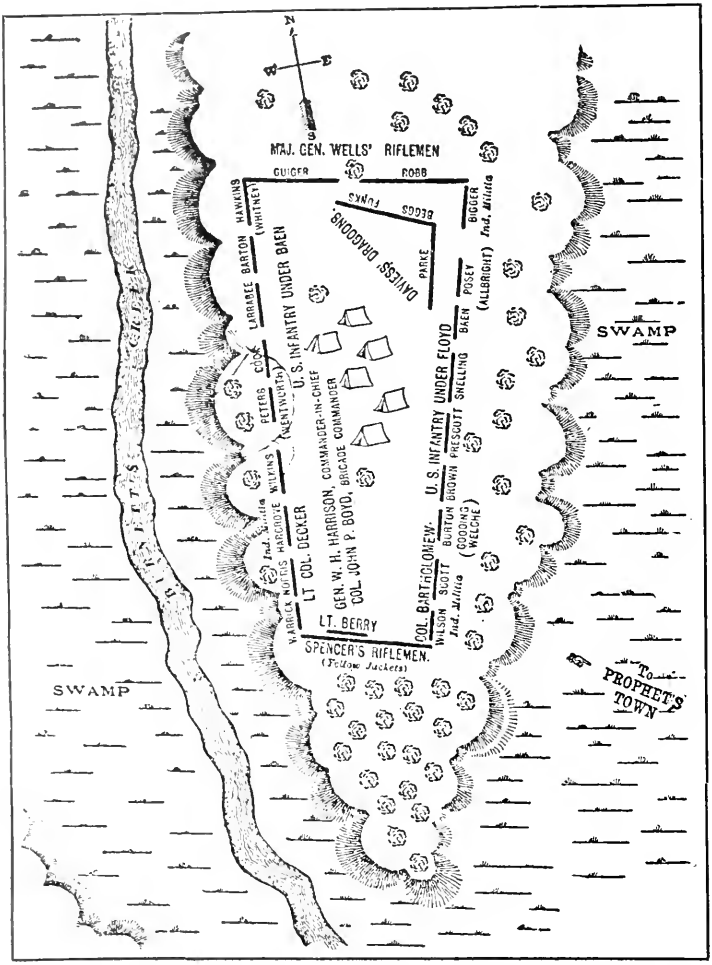
"We struck the cultivated grounds about five hundred yards above the town but as this extended to the bank of the Wabash there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both water and wood. My guides and interpreters being still with the advance guard and taking the directions of the town, the army followed and had advanced within about one hundred and fifty yards, when fifty or sixty Indians sallied out and with loud exclamations, called to the cavalry and to the militia Infantry which were on the right flank, to halt.

"I immediately advanced to the front, caused the army to halt and directed an interpreter to request some of the chiefs to come to me. In a few moments the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to camp on, where we could get wood and water. He informed me that there was a creek to the northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately dispatched two officers, Major Maston G. Clark and Major Waller Taylor to examine it. They reported the situation as excellent. I then took leave of the chief and mutual promises were again made for the suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day.

> "I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it. It was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars but it afforded a great facility to the approach of Savages. It was a piece of dry oak-land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front toward the Prophet's town and nearly twice that high above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream, clothed with willows and other brushwood. Toward the left flank this bench of land widened considerably but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction and at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank terminated in an abrupt point."
>
> "Owing to the conditions surrounding this encampment it was possibly not as suitable as desired but in all the regions surrounding it there was no other place so good. The nights at that season of the year were cold and only the Regulars had tents. Large fires had to be made to procure any degree of comfort. These fires were built in front of the line occupied by each portion of the command, as it lay in camp. The light of the fires, at the outbreak of the battle, caused some loss among the soldiers but this risk had to be taken for without the fires there would have been much suffering. They were extinguished at the first onset."

Some military writers want to criticize Governor Harrison for not having breast-works. He meets this charge by the statement that he had all the axes it was possible to get in the Territory, and then had less than enough for the men to prepare wood for the fires that evening. The army encamped in order of battle. The men were instructed to sleep with their clothes and accoutrements on, with their fire arms loaded and bayonets fixed and each company that formed the interior line of the encampment was ordered, in case of an attack, to hold its own ground until relieved.

Two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of the encampment ground, at the distance of about one hun-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MAJ. GEN. WELLS' RIFLEMEN
GUIGER
ROBB
FUNKS
BEGGS
DAVIESS' DRAGOONS.
PARKE
BIGGER
Ind. Militia
POSEY
(ALLBRIGHT)
BAEN
U.S. INFANTRY UNDER FLOYD
SNELLING
PRESCOTT
BROWN
BURTUN
(GOODING)
(WELCHE)
COL. BARTHOLOMEW.
SCOTT
WILSON
Ind. Militia
HAWKINS
(WHITNEY)
BARTON
LARRABEE
U.S. INFANTRY UNDER BAEN
COOK
PETERS
(WENTWORTH)
WILKINS
HARGROVE
Ind. Militia
NORRIS
WARRICK
LT COL. DECKER
GEN. W. H. HARRISON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
COL. JOHN P. BOYD, BRIGADE COMMANDER
LT. BERRY
SPENCER'S RIFLEMEN.
(Yellow Jackets)
SWAMP
SWAMP
BURNETT'S CREEK
To PROPHET'S TOWN

Map of Tippecanoe Battle Field Showing Harrison's Camp on Evening of November 6.
(From Beard's "Battle of Tippecanoe.")

dred and fifty yards from each other on the left flank and something more than half that distance on the right flank. The left flank was filled up with two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men under the command of Major General Wells of the Kentucky Militia. The right flank was filled up by Captain Spire Spencer's company of mounted riflemen consisting of about eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of U. S. Infantry under the command of Major Floyd flanked on the right by two companies of Militia and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States troops under the command of Captain Bean, acting as Major and four companies of Militia Infantry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Decker.

The regular troops on the rear line joined the mounted riflemen under General Wells on the left flank and Colonel Decker's Battalion formed an angle with Captain Spire Spencer's company on the right flank. Two troops of dragoons amounting to about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank and Captain Park's troop of dragoons, which was larger than the other two, was encamped in rear of the front line. The Dragoons were directed, in case of an attack, to parade dismounted with their pistols in their belts and act as a corps-de-reserve.

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.

Governor Harrison was perfectly convined of the hostility of the Prophet. He believed that the Indians intended to attack him by treachery after first lulling his suspicions by a pretended treaty, which had indeed been the original intention. No one anticipated an attack that night, yet every precaution was taken to resist one if made. All the guards that could be used in such a situation and such precautions as was used by General Wayne were employed on this occasion; that is, camp guards furnishing a chain of sentinels around the whole camp, were placed at such distances as to give notice of the approach of an enemy in time for the troops to take their position and yet not far enough away to prevent the sentinels from retreating to the main body if overpowered. The usual mode of civilized warfare of stationing picket guards at a considerable distance in advance of the army, would be useless in Indian warfare as they did not require roads to march upon and such guards would always have been cut off. Orders were given in the event of an attack for each corps to maintain its position at all hazards until relieved or further orders were given to it. The whole army was kept during the night lying on their arms." "The regular troops lay in their tents with their accoutrements and their arms by their side. The militia had no tents but slept with their clothes and pouches on and their guns under them to keep them dry.

The order of the encampment was the order of battle for a night attack and as every man slept opposite his post in the line there was nothing for the troops to do in case of an assault, but rise and take position a few steps in rear of the line of fire, around which they had reposed. The guards of the night consisted of two Captain's commands of forty-two men and four non-commissioned officers each and two subaltern guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers each; the whole, amounting to about one hundred and thirty men under the command of a field officer of the day.

The night was dark and cloudy and after midnight there was a drizzling rain. At four o'clock in the morning of the seventh, Governor Harrison, according to practice had risen preparatory to the calling up of the troops and was engaged, while drawing on his boots by the fire, in conversation with General Wells, Col. Owen and Majors Taylor and Hurst. The orderly drummer had been roused for the purpose of giving the signal for the troops to turn out, when the attack of the Indians suddenly commenced upon the left flank of the camp. The whole army was instantly on its feet and the camp fires extinguished. The Governor mounted his horse and proceeded to the point of attack. Several of the companies had taken their places in line within forty seconds from the report of the first gun and the entire army was prepared for action in less than two minutes, a fact as creditable to their own activity and bravery as to the skill and energy of their officers. The battle soon became general and was maintained on both sides with bravery and even desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by the aid of a rattling noise made with dried deer hoofs and preserved in their treacherous attack an apparent determination to conquer or die upon the spot. The battle raged with unabating fury and mutual slaughter until daylight when a gallant and successful charge of the troops drove the Indians into the swamp and put an end to the conflict.

"Governor Harrison says in his official report—

> "In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank and the rear line.
>
> Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen and the right of Warrick's company which was posted on the right of the rear line it was excessively severe. Captain Spire Spencer and his first and second Lieutenants were killed and Captain Warrick mortally wounded. These companies, however, bravely maintained their post, but Spencer having suffered so severely and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Captain Robb's company of riflemen which had been ordered by mistake from their position in the left flank and filled the vacancy which had been occupied by Robb, with Prescott's company of the Fourth U. S. Regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire to prevent the enemy from breaking into camp until daylight should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's (under Lieut. Albright) and Scott's companies and from the rear line Wilson's companies and drew them upon the left flank. At the same time I ordered Cook and Bean's companies, the former from the rear line and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank, foresee-

ing that at this point the enemy would make their last stand.

Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions had taken command of these companies and charged the enemy before I had formed the body of Dragoons with which I meant to support the Infantry. A small detachment of these were ready, however, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the Infantry at the point of the bayonet and the Dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh where they could not follow. Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larrabee had, agreeable to my orders, marched their companies by the right flank and formed them under the fire of the enemy and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to precipitate flight.

All of the Infantry formed a small brigade under the immediate orders of Colonel Boyd. The Colonel throughout the action, manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders; in keeping the men to their post and exhorting them to fight with valor. His Brigade Major, Clark and his aide-de-camp George Croghan were also very serviceably employed.

Colonel Joseph Bartholomew a very valuable officer, commanded under Colonel Boyd, the Militia Infantry. He was wounded early in the action and his service was lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd the senior officer of the Fourth U. S. Regiment, commanded immediately the battalion of the regiment which was in the front line. His conduct during the action was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieutenant Colonel Decker, who commanded the battalion of Militia on the right of the rear line, preserved his command in good order. I have before mentioned to you that Major General Wells of the fourth division of Kentucky Militia, acted under my command as Major at the head of two companies of mounted volunteers. The General maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign and in almost every battle which had been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky.

Of the several corps, the Fourth U. S. Regiment and the two small companies attached to it, were very conspicuous for undaunted valor.

The companies commanded by Captains Cook, Snelling and Barton, Lieutenants Larrabee, Peters and Hawkins were placed in situations where they could render eminent service and encounter great danger and these officers greatly distinguished themselves.

Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty entirely to my satisfaction as did Posey's company of the Seventh Regiment headed by Lieutenant Albright. In short, Sir, they supported the fame of the American soldier and I have never found that a single individual was out of the line of duty. Several of the Militia companies were in no way inferior to the Regulars. Spencer's, Guiger's, and Warrick's maintained their post amidst a monstrous carnage as also did Robb's which was posted on the left flank, and had seventeen men killed and wounded. Wilson's and Scott's companies charged with the regular troops and proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris' company also behaved well. Hargrove's and Wilkins' companies were placed in a situation where they had no opportunities of distinguishing themselves or I am satisfied they would have done so. This was also the case of the squadron of Dragoons.

After Major J. H. Davis had received his wound, knowing it to be fatal, I promoted to the Majority, Captain Park, than whom there is no better officer.

My aide-de-camps, Majors Hurst and Taylor, with Lieutenant Adams of the Fourth Regiment, and the Adjutant of the troops afforded me the most essential aid as well in action as throughout the campaign. The arrangements of Captain Piatt, in the Quartermaster's department were highly judicious and his exertions on all occasions, particularly in bringing off the wounded, deserves my warmest thanks.

But in giving praise to the living, let me not forget the gallant dead. Colonel Abraham Owens joined me a few days before the action as a private in Captain Guiger's company. He accepted the appointment of volunteer aide-de-camp to me. He

> fell early in the action. The representatives of his state will inform you that she possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man.
>
> Major Joseph H. Davis was well known as an able lawyer and a great orator. He joined me as a private volunteer, and on the recommendations of the officers of that corps, was appointed to command the three troops of Dragoons. His conduct in that capacity justified their choice. Never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duties with propriety and never one who would encounter more danger to purchase military fame.
>
> Captain Bean of the Fourth U. S. Regiment was killed early in the action—he was unquestionably a good officer and a valiant soldier.
>
> Captains Spencer and Warrick and Lieutenants McMahan and Berry were all my particular friends. I have always had the utmost confidence in their valor and was not deceived. Captain Spencer was wounded in the head. He exhorted his men to fight valiantly. He was shot through both thighs and fell still continuing to encourage them. He was raised up and received a ball through his body which put an immediate end to his existence. Captain Warrick was shot immediately through the body and taken to the surgery to be dressed. As soon as it was over, being a man of great bodily vigor and able to walk, he insisted on going back to the head of his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live."

The loss of the army under Governor Harrison was thirty-seven killed in action and one hundred and fifty-one wounded. Twenty-five of this number died afterward of their wounds. The loss of the Indians was serious but as they carried all their wounded from the field during the battle and their women and old men were burying their dead during the battle it was hard to ascertain. According to one report they left thirty-eight dead on the field and six more dead were found when their town was burned the next day. Major General Wells of Kentucky who took such a leading part in that fight, said to a friend that after the battle he counted forty-five new graves near the town and that there were fifty-four dead Indians left on the ground. An Indian woman captured said that one hundred and ninety-seven Indians were missing. From the reckless exposure of their persons during the battle, they must have met with a heavy loss.

The Indians were under the immediate command of three daring chiefs—White Loon, Stone Eater, and Winamac, a Pottawattamie who was killed the next November by Logan the Shawnee scout.

The Prophet had given assurance to his deluded followers that the bullets of the Americans would fall to the ground, that their powder would turn to sand. Taking his position as Commander in Chief on an eminence, some distance away, (perhaps not willing to risk his own person to the protection of his prophecies against the real American bullets,) he commenced the performance of mystic rites at the same time singing in his clear, loud voice a war song. During the battle the Indians told him their people were being killed. He urged them to fight on saying it would soon be over and no more would be hurt.

After the battle, the fleeing Indians upbraided him for his duplicity. He, as of old, laid it on the women, saying that his wife must have touched his charms.

It has never been definitely known how many Indians there were in the battle but after gathering from all sources the best information that could be secured, it was thought the two armies had about the same number of men on the field. The Prophet's forces were gathered from the Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes and Sacs. Immediately after their defeat the surviving Indians went back to their various tribes, denouncing the Prophet. His town which contained a large amount of corn, was found and this with other provisions was destroyed. Evidence of the British duplicity was also found. Several rifles which had been sent from Malden were found that had not been unwrapped.

Governor Harrison, on the eighth buried his dead and burned log heaps over their graves, but the Indians afterward dug them up hunting for trinkets and stripped them of their clothing.

On the ninth of November the army moved from their encampment over the route they had marched to the Prophet's town. The wounded were hauled in wagons, drawn by oxen. The officers' camp chests, tents, and everything that could be spared will burned so that room could be made for them. There was much suffering until they arrived at the blockhouse below the Vermilion river. The wounded were then put on boats and conveyed to Vincennes. Leaving Captain Snelling with his company of regulars at Ft. Harrison, the army continued its march toward Vincennes where it arrived on the eighteenth of November, 1811. The troops from Kentucky and those from the south-eastern part of Indiana Territory were discharged on the nineteenth of November.

Governor Harrison was continually exposed during the action but escaped without injury. A bullet passed through his stock or cravat and grazed his neck. The enemies of Harrison afterward charged that Colonel Abraham Owens was killed through Harrison's fault. They claimed that at the beginning of the action, Owens, on a large white horse, rode with Harrison to the point of attack and soon afterward was killed and they charged that he changed horses with Owens. The fact was the Governor took a dark colored horse, the first one he could lay his hands on after his own white horse had broken loose and run away and the horse that Colonel Owens rode on was brought from Kentucky with him.

Another charge was that the Governor was responsible for the death of Colonel Joseph H. Davis, it being claimed that he had ordered him into the charge before his men were in shape to make it. This was not true in any sense. Colonel Davis was a very resolute man and when he obtained permission he rushed forward leading his men without having a sufficient force to protect his flanks. The Indians attacked him on the flank and Colonel Davis was killed, being a very conspicuous mark as he wore a white wool overcoat. Another very foolish charge against the Governor was that the Indians selected his camp for him. The truth was that the camp he occupied was the only place suitable for an encampment of his forces for several miles around. Fortunately these charges were only believed by a few.

The Territorial Legislature was in session when the army returned to Vincennes. There was great rejoicing among the citizens that the Indians had been defeated and that the Prophet's town and provisions had been burned and destroyed. His confederated bands of Indians, having lost faith in the Prophet's fallacies, went back to their different tribes. The Prophet, a fugitive, took up his residence among the Hurons.

The Territorial Legislature adopted the following preamble and resolutions on the eighteenth of November:

> "Whereas, The services of His Excellency, Governor Harrison, in conducting the army, the gallant defense made by the heroes under his immediate command and the fortunate result of the battle fought with the Confederacy of the Shawnee Prophet near Tippecanoe on the morning of the seventh of November, highly deserves the congratulations of every true friend to the interest of this Territory and the cause of humanity—
>
> "Resolved Therefore, that the members of Legislative Council and House of Representatives will wait upon His Excellency the Governor, as he returns to Vincennes, and in their own name and of those of their constituents, welcome him home.
>
> "And that General W. Johnson be, and is herepy appointed a committee to make the same known to the Governor, at the head of the army, should not unforeseen causes prevent."

At this period there were a few members of the Territorial Legislature and quite a number of the citizens who were inclined to award Colonel Boyd and his small regiment of regular troops the honor of saving the army from defeat and destruction at the battle of Tippecanoe. Among this class of citizens were some who were known as the avowed enemies of Governor Harrison and who steadily opposed his administration of Territorial government, especially his policy in making Indian treaties. Colonel Boyd could not help but feel indignant that malice and envy would lead people to such lengths in their opposition to successful rivals. The action of these people dwarfed the great achievements that had been accomplished by the small heroic army. His regiment did its full duty and was ably seconded by three times its number of militia of Indiana and Kentucky. He knew that there were no shirks—that every man of that army acquitted himself honorably. The Legislature, in its attempt to ignore the militia and give the regular troops the praise for the victory, belittled themselves and placed a cloud over the regular troops by attempting to award them an unmerited compliment.

The following joint address of the two Houses of the Territorial Legislature was delivered to Governor Harrison on the fifth of December, 1811. This address which was prepared by the Legislative Council was adopted in the House of Representatives by a vote of four to three.

> To His Excellency, William Henry Harrison,
>
> Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the
>
> Indiana Territory.
>
> When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a nation to unsheath the sword in defense of any portion of its citizen and any individual of society becomes intrusted with the important charge of leading the army of his country into the field, to scourge the assailants of its rights and it is proved by the success of their arms that the individual possesses superior capacity accompanied by integrity and other qualities of the mind which adorn the human character in a superlative degree; it has the tendency to draw out the affections of the people in a way that must be grateful to the soldier and the man.
>
> Such is the light, Sir, in which you have the honor to be viewed by your country and one which the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of this Territory think you are justly entitled to. And, Sir, in duly appreciating your service,

> we are perfectly sensible of the great benefit and important service rendered by the officers and soldiers of the United States Infantry under your command and it is with pleasure we learn that the officers and Militia men of our country acted with a heroism more than could be reasonably calculated upon from men such as they were, undisciplined and unaccustomed to war."

On the ninth of December, Governor Harrison transmitted the following reply to the foregoing address:

> TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
>
> Fellow Citizens:
>
> "The joint address of the two houses which was delivered to me on the fifteenth inst. by your committee, was received with feelings which are more easy for you to conceive than for me to describe. Be pleased to accept my sincerest thanks for the favorable sentiment you have been pleased to express of my conduct as Commander-in-Chief of the expedition and be assured that the good opinion of the people of Indiana and their representatives will ever constitute no small portion of my nappiness. If anything could add to my gratitude to you, Gentlemen, it is the interest you take in the welfare of those brave fellows who fought under my command. Your memorial in their favor to the Congress of the United States does equal honor to the heads and hearts of those in whose name it was sent and is worthy of the Legislature of the Indiana Territory."

On the twenty-fifth of November the Territorial House of Representatives passed some joint resolutions which, on account of the strong, special and somewhat exclusive praise, which they bestowed on Colonel Boyd and his regiment, were disagreed upon in the Legislative Council on the twenty-seventh of the same month. The same resolutions were, however, adopted by the House of Representatives on the fourth of December.

> "RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory that the thanks of this house be given Colonel John P. Boyd the second in command. to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, comprising the Fourth U. S. Regiment of Infantry together with all the United States troops under his command, for the distinguished regularity, discipline, coolness and undaunted valor so eminently displayed by them in the late brilliant and glorious battle fought with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by the army under the command of His Excellency, William Henry Harrison.
>
> "RESOLVED, that the said Colonel John P. Boyd be requested to communicate the foregoing to the officers and non-commissioned officers and private belonging to the said Fourth Regiment and that a copy of these resolutions signed by the speaker of this house be presented to the said Colonel Boyd by a committee of this house.
>
> "RESOLVED by the House of Representatives, of the Indiana Territory that the thanks of this house be presented to Col. Luke Decker and Colonel Joseph Barthelomew, the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the militia corps under their command, together with the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers composing the volunteer militia corps from the State of Kentucky, for the distinguished valor, heroism and bravery displayed by them in the brilliant battle fought with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by the army under the command of His Excellency, William Henry Harrison."

The following reply to these resolutious was sent to the House of Representatives by Colonel Boyd:

"United States Troops Main Quarters.
Vincennes, December 4, 1811.

"To the Honorable House of Representatives, Indiana Territory.

Gentlemen:

"I have the honor for myself, the officers, and soldiers comprising the fourth regiment, the rifle company attached, and the small detachment of Posey's company, to return you thanks for the distinguished notice you have been pleased to take of our conduct in the battle with the Shawnee Prophet and his confederates on the morning of the seventh of November, 1811, by your resolution of this day. If our efforts in the discharge of our duties shall have resulted in advancing the public good we are gratified and to believe that we have merited this tribute of applause from the assembled representatives of this very respectable portion of our country, renders it peculiarly flattering to our honor and our pride."

Five days after the passage of the resolutions to which Colonel Boyd made the foregoing reply, Governor Harrison sent the following message to the House of Representatives.

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

"Your speaker has transmitted to me two resolutions of your house, expressive of your thanks to Colonel John P. Loyd and the officers and soldiers of the Fourth U. S. Regiment, to Colonels Bartholomew and Decker and the officers and privates of the militia under their command; also the Kentucky volunteers for their bravery and good conduct in the action of the seventh of November at the battle of Tippecanoe.

"It has excited my astonishment and deep regret to find that the mounted riflemen of the Territory, who so eminently distinguished themselves and the squadron of Dragoons whose conduct was also so highly meritorious have, on this occasion, been totally neglected.

"I cannot for a moment suppose gentlemen, that you have any other wish than that of rendering impartial justice to all the corps. I cannot believe that you have the smallest tincture of that disposition which certainly elsewhere prevails to disparage the conduct of the militia and to deprive them of their share of the laurels which have been so dearly purchased by the blood of some of our best and bravest citizens.

"No! I can never suppose that it was your intention to insult the shades of Spencer, McMahan, and Berry by treating with contempt the corps which their deaths have contributed to immortalize, nor will I believe that a Davis, a White, a Randolph and a McMahan have been so soon forgotten, nor that the corps to which they belonged and which faithfully performed its duty was deemed unworthy of your notice.

"The omission was certainly occasioned by a mistake but it was a mistake by which, if it is not rectified, the feelings of a whole county and part of another, now abounding with widows and orphans the unhappy consequece of the late action, will be wounded and insulted.

"The victory of the seventh of November, Gentlemen, was not gained by any one corps but by the efforts of all. Some of them indeed, more particularly distinguished themselves and of this number was the U. S. Regiment. In my official report to the Secretary of War I have mentioned them in such terms of approbation that if stronger are to be found in the English language, I am unacquainted with them, but I have not given them all the honors of victory. To have done so I should have been guilty of a violence of truth, of injustice and of a species of treason against our Republic itself whose peculiar and appropriate force is its militia.

"With equal pride and pleasure, then do I pronounce that, notwithstanding the regular troops behaved as well as men ever did, many of the militia companies were in no wise inferior to them. Of this number were the mounted riflemen, commanded by Captain Spencer. To them was committed the charge of defending the right flank of the army. That it could not have been committed to better hands, their keeping their grounds, (indeed gaining upon the enemy) for an hour and a half with unequalled arms, against superior numbers, and amid a carnage that might have made veterans tremble, is sufficient evidence. Nor can I say that Captain Robb's company after it was placed by the side of Spencer's was at all inferior to it. It is certain that they kept their post and their great loss shows that it was a post of danger. The dragoons also did everything that could have been expected from them in the situation in which they were placed. Before they were mounted, they certainly kept the enemy for a considerable time from penetrating the camp by the left flank and when mounted, they remained firm at their post although exposed to the fire of the enemy at a time when they were necessarily inactive and consequently placed in a position most trying to troops.

"The failure of the charge made by Major Davis was owing to his having emyloyed too small a number, but even with these, it is more than probable that he would have been successful if he had not unfortunately mistaken the direction in which the principal part of the enemy lay. A successful charge was made, by a detachment of the dragoons at the close of the action and the enemy was driven into a swamp into which they could not be followed.

"You may perhaps, Gentlemen, suppose that I ought to have given you the information necerssary to your forming a correct opinion of the merits of each corps. Military etiquette however and the custom of our country forbade this. It is to the Government of the United States alone that a detailed account of an action is made. In this communication I have given you such information only as was necessary to enable you to correct mistakes which, I am sure, were unintentional on your part.

"My sense of the merits of the other corps of the army will be known when my official account is published."

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
Governor of Indiana Territory.

In the Terriorial House of Representatives the committee to whom the forgoing message was referred reported the following answer to the Governor which was adopted by the House on the seventeenth day of December, 1811.

"His Excellency, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Indiana Territory.

Sir:

"When this house addressed that portion of the troops to which you refer in your communication of the ninth inst. it was not the intention of this body to cast a shade over any portion of the troops which were under the command of Your Excellency in the late engagement nor to take from the Commander-inChief, any of that honor which he so nobly acquired in the late victory.

In the joint addres of both houses to you theit notice of the militia in general terms was thought sufficient as it was out of their power to notice every man who distinguished himself therefore it was considered that any evidence of respect paid to the Commander-in-Chief was an evidence of approbation to all. It is not to be supposed that those gentlemen to whom particular respect has been paid, have done any more than their duty, or that they distinguished themselves any more than many private soldiers. Those gentlemen who fell, some of them did well and some others had not the opportunity, being killed to early in the battle, but there is not an individual in this body but acknowledges that it was a well fought battle and that praises are due; but they generally agree that the laurels won principally, ought to be the property of the Commander-in-Chief.

ROLL OF THE ARMY THAT FOUGHT THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE, NOV. 7, 1811.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

GENERAL STAFF.

William McFarland, Lieut. Col. and Adjutand General.
Abraham Owen, Col. and Aide-de-camp, (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Henry Hurst, Major and Aide-de-camp.
Waller Taylor, Major and Aide-de-camp.
Marston G. Clark, Major and Aide-de-camp.
Thomas Randolph, Acting Aide-de-camp- (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Captain Piatt, Second U. S. Infantry Chief Quartermaster.
Captain Robert Buntin, Indiana Militia, Quartermaster of the Militia.
Dr. Josiah D. Foster, Chief Surgeon.
Dr. Hosea Blood, Surgeon's Mate.
Sec. Lieut. Robert Bunting jr., Indiana Militia Foragemaster.

THE TROOPS.

Colonel John Park Boyd, Fourth U. S. Infantry, Commander of the Brigade with rank of Brigadier General.
George Croghan, of Kentucky Volunteers, Aide-de-camp.
Nathan F. Adams, Lieut, and Adjutant.

A ROLL OF A DETACHMENT OF FIELD AND STAFF OF INDIANA MILITIA.

From September 11, to November 24, 1811.

Joseph Bartholomue, Lieut. Col. (Wounded in action Nov. 7, 1811.)

Regin Redman, Major and Aide-de-camp.
Andrew P. Hayes, Surgeon's Mate.
Joseph Brown, Adjutant.
Joseph Clark, Quartermaster, Appointed Surgeon's Mate Oct. 29, 1811.
Chapman Dunslow, Sergeant Major.
James Curry, Quartermaster Sergeant.

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF OF INDIANA INFANTRY MILITIA.

From September 18, to November 19, 1811.

Commanded by Lieut. Col. Luke Decker.
Noah Purcell, Major.
Daniel Sullivan, Lieut. and Adjutant.
Benjamin S. V. Becker, Lieut. and Quartermaster.
Edward Scull, Assistant Quartermaster.
James Smith, Quartermaster, Appointed Captain of Warrick's Company Nov. 9, 1811.
William Gamble, Quartermaster Sergeant.
William Ready, Sergeant Major.

ROLL OF FIELD AND STAFF OF DRAGOONS OF INDIANA MILITIA.

From September 21, to November 19, 1811.

Major Joseph H. Davis, commanding (killed in action Nov. 7, 1811.)
Benjamin Park, Major, promoted Nov. 7, 1811.
James Floyd, Lieutenant and Adjutant.
Charles Smith, Sieutenant and Quartermaster.
General W. Johnson, Lieutenant and Quartermaster (promoted from ranks.)
William Prince, Sergeant Major.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN SPIER SPENCER'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED RIFLEMEN OF THE INDIANA MILITIA.

This company was directly under the Commander-in-chief reported to and received orders from his headquarters.

Spier Spencer, Captain (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Richard McMahan, First Lieut. (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Thomas Berry, Second Lieut., (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Samuel Flanagan, Second Lieut. Promoted from Ensign, Oct. 21, 1811.
John Tipton, Captain (Promoted from private to Ensign, Oct. 21, 1811, to Captain Nov. 7, 1811.
Jacob Zenor, Second Lieut. Promoted from Private Nov. 7, 1811.
Phillip Bell, Ensign, Promoted from Private Nov. 7, 1811.
Pearse Chamberlain, Sergeant.
Henry Bateman, Sergeant.
Elijah Hurst, Sergeant.
Benjamin Beard, Sergeant.
Robert Biggs, Corporal (Severely wounded Nov. 7, 1811.)
John Taylor. Corporal.
Benjamin Shields, Corporal.
William Bennington, Corporal.
Daniel Cline, Musician.
Isham Stroud, Musician.

PRIVATES

John Arick
Ignitus Able
Enos Best
Alpheus Branham
Gadow Branham
Daniel Bell
James Brown
Jesse Butler
Mason Carter
John Cline
Marshall Duncan (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
William Davis (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)

PRIVATES

James Heubbound
Robert Jones
James Kelley
Thomas McColley
Noah Mathena
William Nance
Thomas Owen
Samuel Pfriner
Edward Ransdell
Sanford Ransdell
James Spencer
Christover Shucks

Thomas Davidson
James Dyce
Henry Enlow
William Hurst, jr.
William Hurst, Sr.
Beverly Hurst
James Harberson
James Watts
Isham Vest
George Zenor

Joshua Shield, severely wounded
Samuel Sand, (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
George Spencer
Jacob Snider
John Right
James Wilson
John Wheeler
P. McMickle
Levi Dunn
William Fowler

Roll of Spies and Guides of the Indiana Militia.

From September 18, to November 12.

This organization reported direct to the Commander-in-chief, Toussant Dubois, Captain Commanding.

PRIVATES

Silas McCulloch
G. R. C. Sullivan
William Polk
William Bruce
Piere Andre
Ephriam Jordan
William Show
David Miles
Booker Childers

PRIVATES

William Hogue (disc. Oct. 11, 1811.)
David Wilkins
John Hollingsworth
Thomas Learneus
Joseph Arpin
Abraham Decker
Samuel James
Stewart Cunningham
Thomas Jordon

Roll of a Company of Infantry of Indiana Militia.

From September 16, to November 19, 1811.

Captain Jacob Warrick, Commanding killed Nov. 7, 1811.

Captain James Smith, Promoted from Quartermaster Nov. 9, 1811.
William Calton, Lieut. Discharged September 27, 1811.
Thomas Montgomery, jr. Promoted to Lieutenant Sept. 30, 1811.
James Duckworth, Ensign.
Robert Montgomery, Sergeant
Robert McGarry, Sergeant.
James Piercall, Sergeant.
Isaac Woods, Sergeant.
Benjamin Venables, Corporal
Thomas Black, Corporal.
Robert Denney, Corporal.

PRIVATES

James Alsop
James Stewart
Jesse Key
Bennet Key
James Withers
Jesse Brewer
Richard Davis
Asa Music
Smith Mounts
James Stapleton
Lewis Sealy
James Bohannon
Daniel Duff
William Todd
John Gwins
Burton Litton
Peter Whetstone
Timothy Dower
Benjamin Stoker
Miles Armstrong
William Young
Maxwell Jolley

PRIVATES

Fielding Lucas
John McGarry
Thomas Montgomery (65 years old)
John Montgomery
Ephriam Murphy
Langsdon Drew
William Gwins
William Black
Joshua Capps
Andrew McFaddon
Squire McFaddon
Wilson Jones
Jeremiah Robinson
Hugh Todd
Martin Laughon
George Lynxwiler
William Stevens
John Coyler
Thomas Almon
William Almon
Thomas Duckworth
John Robb

John Neel
William Black
Randolph Clark

Roll of Company of Mounted Riflemen of the Indiana Militia.

From October 25, to November 19, 1811.

David Robb, Captain Commanding.
Joseph Montgomery, Lieutenant.
John Waller, Ensign.
Elsbery Armstrong, Sergeant.
William Maxidon, Sergeant.
Ezkial Kite, Corporal.
George Anthees, Corporal.
Bryant Harper, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES

Amb. Decker
James Tweedle
William Peters
Frances Hall
William Tweedle
John Severns jr.
Thomas Sullivan
Daniel Fisher (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Joseph Garress
Edwark Buttner (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
Thomas Shouse
William Selby
James Robb, severely wounded
Isaac Rogers
James Bass
David Mills
John Black

PRIVATES

John Za Orton
Amstead Bennett
Stewart Cunningham
Booker Shields
John Slaven
James Langsdown
Jesse Music (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
William Alsop
Thomas C. Vines
Samuel James
Frederick Rell
John Black
Jonah Robinson
John Rogers
George Leech jr.
Thomas Givins
William Carson

George Litton
William Downing
James Blanckes
James Minor
Peter Cartright
Thomas Garress
David Tobin
John Riggs
Thadeus Davis
Thomas P. Vampit
John Crawford
William Askins
Alex Maken, badly wounded
Moses Sandridge
John Dragoo
Robert Tenneson
Joseph Right
Thomas West
David Knight
Thomas Jordon, Trans. to Dubois Company.
William Bass
Hugh Shaw
David Lilley
James Ashbury, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Robert Wilson
John Christ
Kader Powell, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Thomas Dunn
Jacob Kertner
Johnathan Humphrey
William Witherhold
David Edwards
Samuel Hamilton
Richard Potts
George Robinson, severely wounded

ROLL OF A COMPANY OF THE INDIANA MILITIA.

From September 11, to November 24, 1811.

Captain John Norris, Commanding, wounded in action Nov. 7, 1811.
John Harrod, Lieutenant.
Joseph Carr, Ensign.
John Drummond, Sergeant.
William Combs, Sergeant.
Brazil Prather, Sergeant.
David Smith, Sergeant.
Henry Ward, Corporal.
John Harmon, Corporal.
Joel Combs, Corporal.

Robert Combs, Corporal.
David Kelley, Corporal Sept. 30, 1811.
Elisha Carr, Drummer.
Joseph Perry, Fifer.

PRIVATES

Robert McNight
Gasper Lootes
Edward Norris
Henry Cussamore
C. Fipps
John Gray
Jacob Daily
Thomas Clendenen, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Abram Kelley, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Henry Jones, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
James Smith
Jevis Fordyce
Cornelius Kelley
E. Wayman
John Newland
Micaja Peyton
Adam Peck
Benjamin Thompson
William Eakin
John D. Jacobs
Robert Tiffin
John McClintick
William Aston
Josiah Taylor
Daniel McCoy
Thomas Highfill
Henry Hooke
James Taylor
James Duncan

PRIVATES

William Stacey
Samuel Duke
James Chipman
Peter Sherwood
George Distler
John Kelley
David Cross
Robert Cunningham
James Curry
Samuel McClung, Quartermaster Sergt.
John Berry
Benoni Wood
Amos Goodwin
William Harman
John Tilfero
Lloyd Prather
Samuel McClintic
John Weathers
Evain Arnold
Hugh Epsy
Townly Ruby
William Rayson
Ruben Slead
George Hooke
Jacob Pearsoll
Samuel Neal
Robert McClellen
Joseph Warnock

Roll of a Company of Infantry of the Indiana Militia.

From September 19, to November 19, 1811.

Captain William Hargrove, Commanding.
Isaac Montgomery, Lieutenant.
Cary Ashley, Ensign, Resigned Oct. 27, 1811.
Henry Hopkins, Ensign, promoted from Sergeant October 27, 1811.
David Brumfield, Lieutenant, promoted from Corporal Oct. 1811.
Bolden Conner, Sergeant.
James Evans, Sergeant.
David Miller, Sergeant, promoted from Corporal October 27, 1811.
William Scales, Sergeant, promoted from private October 27, 1811.
David Johnson, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Samuel Anderson
Jer. Harrison
Joseph Ladd
Thomas Archer
James Lemm
Joshua Day
William Pierson
Robert Milborn
John Lout
James Young
Auther Meeks
Reuben Fitzgerald, slightly wounded
Jacob Skelton
William Gordon
Reding Putnam
Johnson Fitsgerald
James Skelton
Samuel Wheeler

PRIVATES

John Braselton jr.
John Flener
Pinkney Anderson
William Archer
Charles Collins
Charles Penelton
John Mills
John Cockrum
Nathan Woodrough
John Tucker
John Conner
Zachary Skelton
Benjamin Scales
Laban Putnam
John May
Thomas Arnett
Elias Barker
Robert Wheeler

William Mangrum
James McClure
Benjamin Conner
William Skelton
Randolph Owen
James Crow
George Cunningham
Joseph Mixon
Edward Whitacer
Robert Skelton, severly wounded
Joseph English, Dis. Sept. 19, 1811.
Cabreen Merry, Dis. Sept. 19, 1811.

Conrod LeMasters
Haz Putnam
Joshua Stapleton
William Harrington
Isaac Tweedle
Richard M. Kirk
James Skidmore
Samuel Gaston
Chas. Meeks
David Larrence, Dis. Sept. 19, 1811.
Robert Montgomery, Dis. Sept. 19, 1811.

ROLL OF A COMPANY OF INFANTRY OF THE INDIANA MILITIA.

From September 18, to November 19, 1811.

Captain Thomas Scott Commanding.
John Purcell, Lieutenant.
John Scott, Ensign.
Joshua Duncan, Ensign.
John Welton, Ensign.
Frances Mallet. Ensign.
Lanta Johnson, Ensign.
Samuel Roquest, Ensign.
John Moore Corporal.
Abraham Westfall, Corporal.
Elick C. Dushane, Corporal.
Charles Bono, Corporal.

PRIVATES

Jesse Willis
John Hornback
John McCoy
Andrew Westfall
Walter Weil

PRIVATES

James McDonald
Alpheus Pickard
Zebulan Hogue
William Watson
William A. Clark

William Welton
Abram Woods killed Nov. 7, 1811
William Williams
William Collins
Robert Johnson
William Penny
William Jones
William Bailey
Richard Westrope
Joseph Ridley
Joseph Alton
Antonia Gerome
Charles Dudware
Joseph Bushby
Austin Lature
Charles Souderiette
Frances Berno
Senro Bolonga died of wounds Nov. 18, 1811.
Frances Boryean
Pierre Delura, sr.
Joseph Besam
Dominic Pashy
Antonnie Ravellett
Jack Obiah killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Joseph Reno
Nicholas Valmare
Francis Arph
Mandin Cardinal
Henry Lain
John Collins
Samuel Risley
Charles Fisher
Absolom Thorne
William Young
John Collin, jr.
Charles Mail
Thomas McClain
Henry O'Neil
Baptist Topale
Mitchel Rusherville
John Baptist Bono
Henry Merceam
Louis A. Bair
Ambrose Dashney
Frances Bonah killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Louis Lovlett
John Mominny dis. Oct. 1811.
Pierre Delura, jr.
Louis Boyeam
Antonio Cornia
John Baptist Cardinal
Tossaint Deno
Ustice Seranne
Joseph Sansusee
Antoine Shennett
Louis Lowya

Roll of a Company of Indiana Militia

From September 18 to November 18, 1811.

Captain Walter Wilson, Commanding.

Benjamin Beckes, Lieutenant.
Joseph Nacomb, Ensign.
Thomas J. Withers, Sergeant.
John Decker, Sergeant.
Thomas White, Sergeant.
Isaac Minor, Sergeant.
Daniel Risley, Corporal.
William Shuck, Corporal.
John Gray, Corporal.
Peter Brenton, Corporal.

PRIVATES

William Gamble
Batost Chavalar
Joseph Harbour
James Jardon
John Anthis
Louis Reel died Oct. 13, 1811.
Richard Greentree
Jacob Anthis
Nathan Baker
Sinelkey Almy
Moses Decker
Woolsey Pride
Abraham Pea
William Pride
Jacob Harboson
Joab Chappell
John Risley
Isaac Walker
James Purcell

PRIVATES

William Brenton
Thomas Chamers
Adam Harness
John Chambers
Louis Frederick
Asa Thorne
Samuel Clutter
James Walker
John Bargor
Peter Bargor
Joseph Woodry
Robert Brenton
Thomas Milbourn
Benjamin Walker
Sutten Coleman
Robert McClure
John Walker
David Knight

Roll of a Company of Infantry of the Indiana Militia.

From September 18, to November 19, 1811.

Andrew Wilkins, Captain commanding.
Adam Lishman, Lieutenant.
Samuel McClure, Ensign.

John Hadden, Sergeant.
Thomas Black, Sergeant.
Samuel Leman, Sergeant.
Charles Booth, Sergeant.
Daniel Carlin, Corporal.
John Edwards, Corporal.
Richard Engle, Corporal.
Abraham Bogard, Corporal.

PRIVATES

John Johnston
Abraham Johnston
Robert Murphy
William Ashby
Edward Wilkes
Thomas Anderson
James Calleway
Isaac Luzader
Asa McCord
Robert Lilley
William Hollingsworth
Obadiah F. Patrick
John Murphy
James Harrel
John Davis
Robert Elsey
Robert Britton
John Rodarmel
Joseph Hobbs
Thomas Harrel
William Hill
Henry Collins
Thomas Johnston
William Black
John Hardin
Robert Polk
George Gill
Joseph McRennels

PRIVATES

John Mills
Ames Mitchell
Jesse Cox
Londerick Earnest
Rubin Moore
Samuel Middleton
James Tims
Samuel Carruthers
Nathan Adams
John Eliott
William Francis
Aaron Quick
Ebenezer Blackstone
Samuel Culbertson
Christopher Coleman
Henry Matney
William Filnt
John Culbertson
Albert Davis
Joseph Edwards
John Engle
John Meeks
Madison Collins
Luke Matson
Edward Bowls
Charles Ellison
James Graham
John Purcell

George Bright
William Arnet
Samuel Leggerwood
Peter Lishman
Martin Palmore

Roll of a Company of Riflemen of Indiana Militia.

From September 11, to November 24, 1811.

John Bigger, Captain commanding.
John Chunn, Lieutenant.
Joseph Stillwell, Ensign.
John Drummons, Sergeant.
Isaac Mailory, Sergeant.
Rice G. McCoy, Sergeant.
Thomas Nicholas, Sergeant, (Dis. Oct. 16, 1811.)
Josiah Thomas, (Promoted Sergeant Oct. 16, 1811.)
James B. McCollough, Corporal.
Johnathan Hartley, Corporal.
Thomas Chappell, Corporal.
David Bigger, Corporal.
John Owens, Drummer.
Jacob L. Stillwell, Fifer.

PRIVATES

James Robertson
John Hutcherson
Daniel Williams
Heekiah Robertson
John Denney
John Gibson
John Walker
John Carr
Vineyard Pond
John Heartley
Samuel Stockwell
Robert Robertson, jr.
Thomas Gibson, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.

PRIVATES

Joseph Warrick killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Daniel Peyton
James Garner
Joseph Daniel
James King
Amos Little
John Pettitt
William Nailor
Andrew Holland
Daniel Kimberlain
David Owens, jr.
Absalom Carr
James Robertson, jr.

James Anderson
William Hutto
Charles Matthews
William Wright
John Martin
John Kelley
David Copple
James Elliot
Moses Stark
George Reed
James McDonald
Alexander Montgomery
Leonard Houston, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Tobias Miller
John Gibson, jr.

William Tisler, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Thomas Burnett
John Covert
John Finley
Isaac Stark
Wilson Sergeant
William G. Guberick
John Agins
John Reed
Benjamin Pool
Isaac D. Hoffman
William Hooker
James Mooney
Lucius Kibby

A Roll of a Detachment of Mounted Riflemen of the Indiana Militia.

From September 12, to November 23, 1811.

Commanded by Thomas Berry, Lieutenant, killed Nov. 7, 1811.

Zachariah Linley, Sergeant, severely wounded November 7, 1811.

PRIVATES

John Brier
Frederick Carnes
Thomas Elliot
Joseph Edwards
David Hedrick
Caleb Harrison
William Lee

PRIVATES

John Beck
John Dougherty
Griffin Edwards
Peter Hanks, mortally wound- Nov. 7, 1811.
Henry Hickey, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Anthony Taylor
Jacob Lutes

Daniel McMickle, killed Nov. 7. 1811.
Peter McMickle, severely wounded
Fredrick Wyman

Henry Moore
George Mahon
Samuel Lockheart

Roll of a Company of Light Dragoons of Indiana Militia.

From September 18, to November 19, 1811.

Benjamin Park, Captain Commanding. Promoted to Major.
Thomas Emmerson, Lieutenant.
John Bathis, Cornet.
George Wallace, Junior Lieutenant.
Chirstian Grater, Sergeant.
William Harper, Sergeant.
Henry Rubby, Sergeant.
John McClure, Sergeant.
William H. Dunnica, Corporal.
Levi Elliot, Corporal.
Charles Allen, Corporal.
Reubon Sallinger, Corporal.
John Braden, Saddler.

PRIVATES

Charles Smith
Joshua Bond
William Prince
Toussant Dubois, jr.
John McDonald
John Elliott
Henry Dubois
William Berry
John Crosby
William Meham killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Samuel Emerson
Nathan Harness
John Seton
John Flint

PRIVATES

Peter Jones
Permena Beck
Jesse Slawson
Thomas Randolph
Miles Dolahan
Mathias Rose, jr.
Jesse Lucas
William Purcell
Leonard Crosby
Samuel Drake
Samuel Alton
Daniel Decker
Hawson Seton
John D. Hay

Hiriam Decker
John I. Neely
Pierre Laptante
Andrew Purcell
Albert Badolett
Thomas Coulter
Charles McClure
Thomas McClure
Thomas Palmer
William A. McClure
James McClure
James Neal
Charles Scott
Isaac White, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Henry I. Mills
James Mud
Abner Hynes
John O'Fallon
William Luckett
Reuben Buntin, jr.
Robert Sturgen

Ebenezer Hilton
John McBain, Trumpeter
John Pea
James Steen
Josiah L. Homes
William W. Homes
Jacque Andre
John Bruce
G. W. Johnston
Clanton Steen
Archibald McClure
John Wyant
James S. Petty
John McClure

Robert M. Evans
George Croghlin
Benjamin Saunders
James Nabb
Landon Carter
John I. Smith
James Harper

Roll of a Company of Light Dragoons of the Indiana Militia.

From September 11, to November 23, 1811.

Charles Beggs, Captain Commanding.
John Thompson, Lieutenant.
Henry Bottorf, Lieutenant.
Mordicia Sweeny, Cornet, Promoted to Lieut., Sept. 18.
Davis Floyd, Promoted to Adjutant September 1811.
John Carr, Sergeant.
James Sage, Sergeant.
John Fisler, Sergeant.
Abraham Miller, Sergeant.
George Rider, Corporal.
Simon Prather, Corporal.

Hugh Ross, Corporal.
Samuel Battorf, Corporal.
John Deats, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES

Jacob Cresmore

William Lewis
Timothy R. Rayment
John Gibbons
Edward Perry
Jmaes Hay
George Twilley
Maston G. Clark, Prom. Brigade Major.
Joseph McCormick
John Ferris

PRIVATES

William Kelley killed Nov. 7, 1811.
James Ellison
John Cowan
William Perry
John Goodwin
John Newland
Milo Davis
Samuel Carr

Richard Ward
Charles F. Ross

Roll of Field and Staff of a Battalion of Kentucky Light Dragoon.

Battle of Tippecanoe, October 16 to November 24, 1811.

Samuel Wells, Major Commanding.
James Hunter, Adjutant.

A Company Commanded by Peter Funk, Captain..

Lewis Hite, Lieutenant.
Samuel Kelley, Cornet.
James Martin, Sergeant.
Adam Mills, Sergeant.
Henry Conning, Sergeant.
Lee White, Sergeant.
Elliot Wilson, Corporal.
William Cooper, Trumpeter.
Samuel Frederick, Farrier.

PRIVATES

William Dubberly

PRIVATES

John Edlin

William Ferguson
James Hite
Joseph Kenison
John Murphy
Enos Mackey
Thomas Stafford
John Smith
M. Williamson

Benjamin W. Gath
I. Hollingsworth
William M. Luckett
James Muckleroy
Thomas F. Mayors
William Shaw
William T. Tulley
Samuel Willis

ROLL OF COMPANY OF KENTUCKY MOUNTED RIFLEMEN.

Frederick Geiger, Captain Commanding.
Presley Ross, Lieutenant.
William Edward, Ensign.
Daniel McClellen, Sergeant.
Robert McIntire, Sergeant.
Robert Edwards, Sergeant.
John Jackson, Sergeant.
Steven Mars, Corporal, (killed Nov. 7, 1811.)
John Hicks, Corporal.
John Nash, Corporal.
Henry Walts, Corporal.
Joseph Paxton, Trumpeter.

PRIVATES

Phillip Allen
William Brown
Charles L. Byrne
Adam Berket
Charles Barkshire
Temple C. Byrne
Thomas Galliway
John Dunbar
Richard Finley
Joseph Funk, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Isaac Gawthmey
James Hanks

PRIVATES

Thomas Beeler
James Ballard
Joseph Barkshire
John Buskirk, wounded
Robert Barnaba
George Beck
William Cline
James M. Edwards
Nicholas Fleener
John Grimes
Henry Hawkins
Zachariah Ingram

Joshua Jest
Elijah Lane
John Lock
Hudson Martin
John Maxwell, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Josh Maxwell
Daniel Minor
John Ousley
Michiel Plaster
Samuel Pond
Johnathan Pond
Peter Priest
Patrick Shields
Edmond Shipp
John W. Slaughter
Joseph Smith, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Augustus Springer, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Thomas Spunks
James Somerville, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Wilson Taylor
Thomas Trigg
William Trigg
Abraham Walk
George W. Wells
Samuel W. White
Greensbury Wright

The Roll of the Field and Staff of the Fourth Regular U. S. Infantry For November 1811.

John P. Boyd, Colonel.
James Miller, Lieutenant Colonel
Zebulon M. Pike, Lieutenant Colonel.
G. R. C. Floyd, Major.
Josiah D. Foster, Surgeon.
Hosea Blood, Surgeon's Mate.
John L. Eastman, Assistant Adjutant
Josiah Bacon, Quartermaster.
Nathan F. Adams, Paymaster.
Winthrop Ayre, Sergeant Major.
William Kelley, Quartermaster Sergeant.

Roll of a Company of Infantry Under the Command of Captain Josiah Snelling of the Fourth Infantry.

September 30, to November 30, 1811.

Josiah Snelling, Captain.
Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant.
John Smith, Second Lieutenant.
Richard Fillebrown, Sergeant.
Jacob B. Rand, Sergeant.
Daniel Baldwin, Sergeant.
Ephriam Churchill, Sergeant.
John Shay, Corporal.
Timothy Hartt, Corporal.
Samuel Horden, Corporal.
Benjamin Moores, Corporal.
Amos G. Corey, Musician.

PRIVATES

John Austin
James Bryce
Michael Burns
John Whitney
Cephas Chace
Jacob Collins
Gills Willcox
William Dale
John Davis
Daniel Haskell, deserted Sept. 25, 1811.
Samuel French
Allanson Hathaway
Henry Indewine
Abraham Larabee
Gideon Lincoln
Serfino Massi
Vincent Massi
Samuel Prichett
Samuel Porter
Joseph Pettingall
Samuel Pixley

PRIVATES

Cyrus J. Brown
Mark Whalin
John Brewer
George Blandin
John P. Webb
William Clough
Thomas Day
Thomas Black, died October 11, 1811.
Abner Dutcher
Phillip Eastman
Rufus Goodenough
William Healey
William Jackman
Asa Larabee
Edward Magary
Lugi Massi
James McDonald
James Theldon
James Palmer
William B. Perkins
Johnathan Robinson, died Oct. 6, 1811.

Greenleaf Sewey	Elias Soper
Wesley Stone	Seth Sergeant
John Trasher	Phillip Trasher
Joseph Tibbets, killed Nov. 7, 1811.	David Wier

Roll of a Company of Infantry Under the Command of George W. Prescott of the Fourth U. S. Regiment.

From October 3, to December 31, 1811.

George W. Prescott, Captain.
Ebenezer Way, First Lieutenant.
Benjamin Hill, First Lieutenant.
John Miller, Sergeant.
William Huggins, Sergeant.
Aaron Tucker, Sergeant.
Robert Sanborn, Corporal.
Ephriam Dockham, Corporal.
John Silver, Corporal.
Samuel Fowler, Corporal.
Moses Blanchard, Musician.
John Ross, Musician.

PRIVATES	PRIVATES
John Ashton	Ira Bailey
George Bailey	Able Brown
Benjamin Burnham	Enoch Carter
Almerine Clark	Stephen Clay
Nathan Colbey	Johnathan Colbey
John Corsen	William Corsen
James Cobby	Abraham Falson
John Forriest	Thomas Glines
Henry Godfrey	John Gorrell
Levi Griffin	Peter Griffin
John Green	Edmund Heard
Benjamin Hudson	Johnathan Herrick
Amos Ingulls	David Ingulls
William Kelley	William Knapp

Stephen Knight
Aaron Ladd
Johnson Levering
James Merrill
Ezra C. Peterson
John Sanborn, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Nathan Simpson
Willlam Sharpless
John Virgin
Silas Wells
Johnathan Wiley

Peter Ladd
Samuel Ladd
Moses Mason
John Norman
Lemuel Parker
Barnard Shields
Luther Stevenson
Israel Filton
Oliver Wakefield
Isaac Wescott.
James Williams

Roll of Captain Bean's Company in the Fourth U. S. Regiment.

From October 31, to December 31, 1811.

William C. Bean, Captain, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Charles Larabee, First Lieutenant.
Louis Beckham, Second Lieutenant.
James Tracey, First Sergeant.
Bernard A. T. Cormons, Second Sergeant.
William Stony, Third Sergeant.
Simon Crum, First Corporal.
Edward Allen, Second Corporal.
Amos G. Carey, Musician.
Zebulon Sanders, Musician.

PRIVATES

George Bentley, died Dec. 16, 1811.
Jeremiah Boner
John Dohahue
Daniel Delong
John Davis
Timothy Foster
Russell Freeman

PRIVATES

Darius Ballow
Ebenezer Collins
Sylvester Dean
Daniel Doyers
Dexter Earll, mortally wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Bryan Flanagan
Andrew Griffin

John Glover
Samuel Hawkins
John D. Hall
Titus Knapp
John T. Mohonnah
Nathan Mitchell
Smith Nanhrup
James Pinel
Daniel Rodman
Nathan Witherall
William Williams
August Ballow

Samuel Gunnison
Peter Harvey
John Jones
Weatherall Leonard
John Miller
Francis Nelson
Benjamin S. Peck
Isaac Rathborn
Benjamin Vandeford
James Whipple
Job Winslow
William Button

Roll of Captain Joel Cook's Company of Infantry in the Fourth U. S. Regiment.

From October 31, to December 31, 1811.

Joel Cook, Captain
Josiah Bacon, Second Lieutenant.
James A. Bennett, Sergeant.
Daniel Skelton, Sergeant.
Caleb Betts, Sergeant.
Henry Munn, Sergeant.
Nathaniel Heaton, Corporal.
John Anthony, Corporal.
David B. Kipley, Corporal.
Abigah Bradley, Musician.
Samuel Thompson, Musician.

PRIVATES

William Bird
Gorden Beckwith
William Barnett
Denison Crumby, mortally wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Robert Coles
William Foreman

PRIVATES

Alexander Brown
George Brasbridge
Alfred Cobourne
Eliakins Culver
Charles Coger, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Joseph Francis

Ezra Fox
Benjamin Holland
John Hutchenson
Abraham Johnson
George Kilborn
William Moore
James Pinkitt
Ansom Twitchell
John Williams
Johnathan Wallingford
John Pinckley
Nathan Snow, mortally wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Everett Shelton
Samuel Smith
Robert Thompson

Levi Gleason
Roswell Heminway
Michael Houck
David Kinchbacker
Daniel Lee, killed November 7, 1811.
William Nervill
Michael Pendegrass
Elisha Pearson
James Parker
Amos Royce, killed November 7, 1811.
Jesse Elam
Robert Riley
Daniel Spencer
William Sanderson
John St. Clair

ROLL OF CAPTAIN RETURN B. BROWN'S COMPANY OF INFANTRY FOURTH U. S. REGIMENT.

From October 31, to December 31, 1811.

Return B. Brown, Captain.
John Smith, Second Lieutenant.
Oliver C. Barton, First Lieutenant.
Ebenezer Moweer, Sergeant.
David Robinson, Sergeant.
Levi Jenison, Sergeant.
Daniel Reed, Sergeant.
Ephriam Sillaway, Corporal.
Joel Kimble, Corporal.
Samuel S. Bingham, Drummer.
Henry Hayden, Fifer.

PRIVATES

Lewis Bemmis
Elias Barrett

PRIVATES

Bazalul Bradford
Auston Bradford

Benjamin Bartlett
Henry Beck
Caleb Calton
Comadovas D. Cass
Joseph Flood
Ebenezer P. Field
Peter Greeney
Samuel Hillyard
Bliss Lovell
John Morgan
Obediah Morton
Jacob Prouty
Mahew Rollings
David Tuthill
David Wells
John Yeomans, killed Nov. 7, 1811.

Eli Boyd
Zalmon Blood
William W. McConnel
Rowland Edwards
Joseph Follet
Harvey Geer
Walter T. Hitt
Mood B. Lovell
William Morgeteroid
David H. Miller
Moses Pearce
James Roberts
Jered Smith
Peter R. Stites
Josiah Willard

Roll of Captain Robert C. Barton's Company of the Fourth U. S. Regiment.

For December and November, 1811.

Robert C. Barton, Captain.
Abraham Hawkins, Second Lieutenant.
Orange Pooler, Sergeant.
Marshall S. Durkee, Sergeant.
William Turner, Corporal, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Horace Humphrey, Corporal.
Daniel Kellog, Drummer.

PRIVATES

John Adrickson
Phillip Coats
William Foster, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
John D. Jones

PRIVATES

Jesse C. Clark
Robert Douglas, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Ichabald Farmer
David Kervus, killed Nov. 7, 1811.

Isaac Little
John McArthur
Silas Perry
Samuel Souther, wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
Lewis Taylor, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
George Wilson
Thomas Clark

Timothy McCoon
Joseph Polland
William Stevenson
Rowland Sparrowk
Leman E. Welch, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Henry Bates

ROLL OF COMPANY OF INFANTRY OF THE FOURTH U. S. REGIMENT.

October 31, to December 31, 1811.

Charles Fuller, First Lieutenant, Commanding.
Nathan F. Adams, First Lieutenant and Paymaster.
John L. Eastman, First Lieutenant.
George P. Peters, Second Lieutenant.
Isaac Ricker, Sergeant.
David H. Lewis, Sergeant.
James Pike, Sergeant.
Jedediah Wentworth, Corporal.
Henry Moore, Corporal.
Solomon Johnson, Corporal.
Henry Tucker, Corporal.
Nathan Brown, Musician.
Joel Durell, Musician.

PRIVATES

John Adams
William Brown
John Burns

Samuel Cook
Ivory Courson
Elisha Dyer
Johnathan Elkins
John S. Gordon

PRIVATES

William Andrews
William Bowles
Joseph Burditt, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Caleb Pritchett
Samuel Coffin
Jeremiah Emmerson
Noah Turnwald
William Gregs

Joseph Farrow
Solomon Herthford
Johnathan W. Ham
Steven Harris
Nathan Harris
James Heath
Amos Jones
Willliam King, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Asa Knight
William Layman
James McDuffy
Jerry Malthup
Henry Nutter
William Perkins
Curtis Pipps
John Rice
John M. Rowlins
Isaac Tutle
Ichabold Wentworth
Enoch Werthon
Silas Wood
Timothy Waldron
Phillip Allen
Robert Gordon
William Ham
Steven Hawkins
John Hurd
Joseph Hunt
David Heath
Samuel King
Jacob Keyser
Joseph Layman
Joseph Mears
Robert Macintosh
Isaac Nuts, killed Nov. 7, '11.
Richard Perry
Jacob Pearsey
John Rowell
Steven Ricker
Stanton Smiley
John S. Watson
Robert Whitehouse
John Welch
Charles Wait
Zadock Williams

Roll of a Company of Infantry Under the Command of Lieut. O. G. Burton of the Fourth U. S. Regiment.

From October 31, to December 3, 1811.

O. G. Burton, First Lieutenant.
George Gooding, Second Lieutenant.
Montgomery Orr, Sergeant.
Knewland Carrier, Sergeant.
Major Mantor, Sergeant.
James Mitchell, Corporal, (killed in action Nov. 7, 1811.)
David L. Thompson, Corporal.
Lucius Sallis, Corporal.

William Durnon, Corporal.
Ellas Printice, Musician.

PRIVATES

Leonard Arp
Amost Blanchard
Levi Carrey, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Zenas Clark
Issacher Green
William King
Joseph Russell
John Spergen
Samuel B. Spalding
Samuel Tibbets
Alexander Bowen

PRIVATES

Noyes Billings
Caleb Boston
Johnathan Crewell, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Daniel Gilman, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Thomas Harvey
William Pomeroy
James Stevenson, mortally wounded Nov. 7, 1811.
William Sergeant
Morton Thayer
John Vickery

ROLL OF A COMPANY OF RIFLEMEN OF THE RIFLE REGIMENT U. S. ARMY.

From October 31, to December 31, 1811.

A. Hawkins. Lieutenant, Commanding.
Peter Wright. Sergeant.
Reuben Newton. Sergent
Aaron W. Fashbush. Sergeant.
James Phillips. Sergeant.
Henry Baker, Corporal.
Aaron Melen, Corporal.
William Hunter. Corporal.
Henry Nurchstead, Ensign.
Adam Walker, Musician.

PRIVATES

Ebenezer T. Andrews
John Everin
Steven Brown

PRIVATES

Otis Andrews
William Brigham, died from wounds.
William Brown

Samuel Biggs
Robert Cutter
Joseph Datton
Reuben Durant
Francis Ellis
Thomas Hair
James Haskel, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Ephraim Hall
Samuel Johnson
Silas Kendle
Patrick Norton
Israel Newhall
Fredrick Roads
Marcus D. Ransdill
Thaddeus B. Russell
William Read
Francis Rittiere
Edward R. Seeck
Samuel Hing
Ira D. Trowbridge, killed Nov. 7, 1811.
Neham Wetherill
Ezra Wheelock .

The roll of General Harrison's army in the Tippecanoe campaign was copiyed from the muster rolls in Washington D. C. in 1866, at that time some of the names were hard to make out.

CHAPTER XI.

INDIANA'S TRIBUTE TO KENTUCKY.

Blood is thicker than water and in the veins of Indiana's children flows the blood of the brave Kentucky emigrants. Forgetful and thankless indeed would we be did we not keep the sacred fires of memory burning upon the alter of our appreciation—appreciation of those finer ties of kindship which have woven the experiences of these two magnificent states into a common history. Amid the busy, absorbing scenes of the present and the dawning visions of a still greater future, we need some fair muse of history to take us by the hand and lead us back for a season under the dark, dense, primeval forests, and sitting down with us on the fallen trunk of a great oak, point out and name the heroic figures which pass by with stealthy tread, and there tell us again of the birth and childhood of our States. "Great God of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget—lest we forget."

Kentucky, when thy brave children crossed the Ohio and pierced our tangled wilderness, here on the hills and in the valleys of Indiana many of thy sons poured out their life blood and many were burned at the stake. Thy fair daughters, too, were led as prisoners by the savage Indians and sold to the unprincipled British Officers of Canada—doomed to slavery and a life worse than death. A race less noble would have shrunk back at the awful sacrifice. Not so with thee, for thy offering was unceasing until from thy bosom thou didst send us such men as Boone, Clark, Hopkins, Scott, and Shelbey to lead the hosts of Kentucky's heroes in defense of Indiana's soil. Thy pure and noble Owen and thy gifted patriot, Davis, bled for our protection at Tippecanoe, when they, with a hundred others, led by Gen. Wells, dared to brave the terrible ordeals of that bloody battle. No one can lay the charge to thee that thou hast been miserly even with the choicest blood of thy chivalry.

We cannot forget that thou gavest the world its matchless Clay and unto us our Lincoln—gifts for which unending tribute shall be laid at thy feet.

Again in those days when the sons of Indiana were preparing to cross thy soil to save the Union, true it is, that for a moment thou didst halt and turn thy face to the Southland with a look of anxious solicitude but in the next moment thou didst face to the North, look upon the starry emblem of the Nation's greatness and invite the boys in blue to cross thy borders. Yea, when the smoke of battle had lifted and we walked among the pale faces upturned to the stars, Lo! among the dead in blue were thousands of thine own brave sons and none had fallen nearer the ramparts of the foe.

Yes, Kentucky, as green as the blue grass that tints thy everlasting hills, shall Indiana's tribute offering to thee be kept, and in her debt of gratitude shall she give thee first place for thy priceless gifts as yet unsung but not forgotten.

CHAPTER XII.

FURTHER HISTORY OF TECUMSEH AND THE PROPHET.

In the chapter entitled the battle of Tippecanoe an early history of the noted Indians, Tecumseh and the Prophet is given. That history is carried down to August the 5th, 1811, when Tecumseh started south to lay his plans of confederation before the southern Indians and induce them to join the northern Indian Confederation. Tecumseh's whole aim and ambition after the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne at the battle of the Maumee, was to bring all the Indians in America, west of the Alleghany Mountains into one great confederation. He contended that the Great Spirit had given the Indian race the hunting grounds to hold in common for the use of all and that no tribe or nation of Indians could make any cession or treaty of any of the lands without all the tribes in council would sanction the agreement.

But little is known of Tecumseh's visit south more than what has come through tradition. At Taledega in 1811 in the last visit Tecumseh made to the southern Indians, when he was making a speech before the vast numbers, Weatherford, the great Chief of the Creek Nation asked him why he did not bring all his young men from the north, east and west and concentrate them at points on the Ohio river and drive the Long Knives back, Tecumseh answered—"All the Indians must work in the same yoke. They must show the white man that they are in earnest, not for booty, not for scalps—No! No!—but for the country they were born in and the country the bones of their fathers lay in. There has already been too much partisan warfare. It must be made general and alone for the purpose stated. Then all just men will be our friends."

Tecumseh was probably the most noted Indian that was known to the white race. His great power by his unequalled oratory, combined with an intelligent and a farseeing mind was the reason for the influence by which he held such control of the different nations which surrounded him. Tradition holds that the Shawnee Nation of which he was a distinguished member had lived far to the south, that the game becoming scarce in the land where they lived, the Nation came up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers and settled in and around that section of southern Illinois where Shawneetown is located. From there they moved to the Wabash and to the waters of the White river. This tribe of Indians was always the most determined enemy the whtie man had and carried on a relentless warfare with them and were regarded as the bravest of all the Indians in battle. The Shawnee language was the most musical in its articulation of any spoken by the aboriginal race and the speeches made by Tecumseh, had an effect on its hearers that was wonderful. His oratory was so eloquent in sound and his gestures so forceful that any one hearing him, if he did not understand a word he said, would be spell bound. At one of the last visits that Tecumseh made to Vincennes to hold a conference with Governor Harrison he was invited by Harrison to take a seat with him in a chair which stood on a low platform where the Governor, the Interpreter and Secretary sat. Tecumseh hesitated but Harrison insisted saying that it was the wish of their Great Father, the President that he should do so. The Chief paused, raised his strong, commanding form to its greatest height and looking straight at the Governor, and pointing toward the skies with vehement gesture, said in a loud, musical voice —"The sun is my father—the earth is my mother and on her bosom I will recline." Then he and his warriors seated themselves on the earth. The speech and actions were electrical and every one present felt the greatness of this wonderful barbarian.

DeLome, who was a prisoner for many years and by the success of battle or by purchase was connected with many noted Indians, in his unpublished MSS gives an account of a visit by Tecumseh and Francis (The Prophet) to the Osage Indians in the west some time in the fall of 1809 or '10 for the purpose of urging them to join the great Indian confederation that they were working on. There was a very large gathering to hear the Shawnee Chief. The Council was convened and listened to his eloquent, fiery oratory for more than two hours and became intensely wrought up by it. In fact so great was the effect produced by the portrayal of the Indians' wrongs and the way, by cheating, designing and unfair means, the white man had gained possession of so much of the Indian country, that the head chief, for fear the Council would unanimously endorse Tecumseh and join his confederation, as soon as he had finished speaking, adjourned the Council and advised those present to go to their homes and think over what their strange brother had so eloquently portrayed to them. In the same connection DeLome says—"The occasion and subject were peculiarly adapted to call into action all the powers of genuine patriotism also the language, gestures, and feeling, contending for utterance, that were exhibited by this untutored native of the forest, in the central wilds of America. No audience either in ancient or modern times, ever before witnessed such an accasion." The Prophet the next day made a long speech and used nearly the same words Tecumseh had, but did not make the least impression on his audience. Some days after these events the Indians in Council decided to stand by their treaties with the Great Father and declined Tecumseh's invitation.

Before Tecumseh had left on his southern trip, he had a definite understanding with his brother, the Prophet, and the chiefs of the other tribes on the Wabash that nothing was to be done during his absence to bring on a collision with the white people. The great number of Indians assembled at the Prophet's town became impatient to test the assured promises of the Prophet. They committed many petty offenses against the border settlements, stealing their horses and killing their cattle and in some cases killing and scalping the unsuspecting people. This became so offensive that Harrison determined to put a stop to it and the battle of Tippecanoe was the result.

Tecumseh on his return from the south, learning what had happened was overcome with chagrin. disappointment and anger, accusing his brother of duplicity and cowardice. He spent some time in negotiating through runners with Governor Harrison to arrange for a visit for himself and a number of chiefs, to President Madison. Failing in this and other plans which he could not perfect, he went to Malden and joined the British army.

At the beginning of the war of 1812, Tecumseh was ready for the coming conflict. Soon after he went to Malden there was an assemblage of Indians at Brownstown who were in favor of standing aloof and letting the British and Americans fight it out. They sent a runner to Malden and invited Tecumseh to attend the gathering. He indignantly refused to have anything to do with the meeting, saying that he had taken sides with the king, his father, and would suffer his bones to bleach on that shore before he would recross the stream to take part in any council of neutrality. He was in the battle of Brownstown and commanded the Indians in an action near Maguaga where he was wounded. For bravery in that engagement he was made a Brigadier General in the British army and in the protracted siege of Ft. Meigs he acted with great bravery. After the telling defeat of General Procter at Fort Stephenson the British troops returned by water to Malden, while Tecumseh, with the Indians passed overland around the head of Lake Erie and rejoined the British at Malden. Tecumseh became discouraged for the want of success, having lost all confidence in General Procter's ability and seriously meditated the withdrawal of his Indians from the service. Commodore Perry's victory was witnessed by the Indians from a distant shore. On the day after the engagement Proctor said to Tecumseh—"My fleet has whipped the Americans but the vessels being much injured, have gone to Put-in-Bay to refit and will be here in a few days." This deception was not of long duration. Tecumseh soon saw indications of a retreat from Malden and promptly inquired into the matter. General Procter informed him that he was going to send his valuable stores up the Thames where they would be met with reinforcements and be safe. Tecumseh was not to be fooled by such a shallow device and remonstrated most earnestly against retreating. He finally demanded that the Indians in his command be heard by Procter and delivered to him as the representative of his Great Father, the king the following speech: "Father, listen to your children. You have them now before you. The war before this you gave the hatchet to your Red Children. Then our Great Chiefs were alive—now they are dead. In that war our Father was thrown on his back by the Americans and made a treaty with them of mutual friendship without consulting his Red Children and we are afraid that our Father will do so at this time. Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of the British Father, we were told not to be in a hurry—that he had not yet decided to fight the Americans. Listen! When war was declared our Father stood up and gave us the tomahawk and told us that he was then ready to fight and strike the Americans—that he wanted our assistance and that we would certainly get our land back that the Americans had taken from us. Listen! You told us at that time to bring forward our families and we did so and you promised to take care of them, that they should want for nothing while the men went to fight the enemy—that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrisons, that we knew nothing about them and that our Father would attend to that part of the business. Listen! You also told your Red Children that you would take good care of your garrison here which made our hearts glad. Listen! When we were last at the Rapids it is true that we gave you but little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like groundhogs. Father, Listen! Our fleet has gone out. We know they fought—we have heard the great guns but know nothing of what has happened to our Father with the one arm (Commodore Barclay). Our ships have gone one way and we are much astonished to see our Father tying up everything and preparing to run away the other way, without letting his Red Children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our land. It made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our Great Father, the King, is the head and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground but now Father, we see you are drawing back and we are sorry to see our Father do so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our Father's conduct to a fat dog that carries its tail on its back but when frightened drops it between its legs and runs away. Father, listen! The Americans have not defeated us yet by land neither are we sure that they have done so by water. We wish to remain here and fight our enemy should they make their appearance. If they defeat us we will retreat with our father. Listen! At the battle of the Rapids in the last war, the Americans certainly defeated us and when we retreated to our Great Father's fort, at that place, the gate was shut against us and we are afraid it would now be the same, but instead of that we now see our British Father preparing to march out of his garrison. Father, you have the arms and the amunition which our Great Father sent for his Red Children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us. You may go and welcome. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our land and if it be His will, we wish to leave our bones upon it."

When Tecumseh went into the battle of the Thames he had a strong presentiment that he would not survive that engagement. He had but little hope of victory but resolved to win or die. With this determination he took his stand among his men, raised the war-cry and boldly met the enemy. From the commencement of the attack on the Indian line his voice was distinctly heard by his followers animating them to deeds of valor. From the start he was in the thickest of the fight, doing everything he could to encourage his men to stem the tide of the encroaching Americans. When his voice was no longer heard the battle ended as the British had surrendered some time before. But a little way from the body of the great Tecumseh was found that of his friend and brother-in-law, Wasegoboah. These two heroic Indians on many battle fields had fought side by side. Now, in front of their men they closed their eventful lives at the battle of the Thames, October the 5th, 1813.

The Prophet, Elkswatawa, after the defeat of his misguided adherents at the battle of Tippecanoe, settled with a band of Wyandotte Indians some distance south of the Wabash river. Remaining there for a while he then took up his residence with a small band of Hurons farther north where he remained until 1812. He then went to Malden and was in the British service in many capacities. Probably the most that he did was to organize raiding parties to murder the inhabitants on our frontiers. For this ignominious service, the British Government felt so grateful that they gave him a pension from 1813 as long as he lived. After the war he lived in Canada for several years, then went back to the neighborhood of his old haunts. Here he remained for a short period and moved to the west of the Mississippi, where he spent his old age with a band of the once powerful Shawnee Indians, until 1834, when he died.

CHAPTER XIII.

PIONEER INDUSTRIES.

CRUDE FARMING IMPLEMENTS AND COOKING UTENSELS—MILLING—FLAX INDUSTRY—LOOM—WHIPSAW—SHOE MAKING—ROPE WALK—BEE HUNTING—WITCHCRAFT.

In the pioneer days there was no wagon or blacksmith shop in the country and the early settlers had to depend on their own resources for such farming tools as they needed. They made a very serviceable plow with a wooden moldboard. The plowshare, point and bar were of iron all in one piece. Three short bolts, two for the moldboard and one to fasten the handle to the heel of the bar, and one long bolt from the bottom of the share up through the plow sheath to the top of the beam, was all the iron about the plow, and that cost more than the best two horse plow would cost now.

The wooden moldboard was made of the best hard wood obtainable. White Oak was often used. Post oak was the hardest of any and when dried was the smoothest. After fashioning the moldboard it was dressed down to the proper size and shape and then placed in the chimney above the fire to season. The stock was made of the best hard wood and much after the fashion of today only not so smooth nor in any way finished as well, but it was strong and serviceable.

They had a very serviceable harrow made entirely of wood. They secured a slippery elm or iron-wood if they could find any large enough and cut four pieces the proper length for an A harrow, first sloping the two side pieces at one end and fitting them to the center or tongue piece, a hole having been bored through each of the three pieces, and securely pinning them together. A cross piece was then placed about the middle of the harrow and pinned to the center and the two side pieces. Two inch auger holes were then bored along the two side pieces about ten inches apart and filled with dried hickory pins that extended about eight inches below the side timbers, thus making a harrow that did good work and required a heavy pull to break in any way.

For single and double trees they made them much after the fashion of today, except that the clips, clevices and lap rings were made of hickory withes, which if properly made would last for a season. The horse collars were made mostly of corn shucks platted in large rope-like sections and sewed together hard and fast with leather thongs, to make the bulge or large part of the collar, short pieces of platted shucks were made and fastened as high up as needed. A roll made by sewing two platted parts together was securely fastened on the edge of the collar forming a groove for the hames to fit in. They also made collars of raw hide, cutting it in the proper shape and sewing the edges together, stuffing the inside with deer hair to make it hold its shape. Hoop ash timber was pounded up fine and when mixed with deer hair made a better material for the purpose than the manufactured excelsior of today.

The bridle was made of raw hide. For a bit they took a small hickory withe, made a securely fastened ring on both ends of it, leaving enough of the withe between the rings to go into the horse's mouth and wrapping that portion with raw hide to keep the horse from biting it in two. They then fastened the head stall and reins to the rings.

A bridle was made very quickly by securing a piece of raw hide long enough for the reins, then putting the leather in the horse's mouth and looping it around his lower jaw just back of his front teeth, with this a horse was guided better and with more ease than with the bridle bit.

Hames were made from the lower part of the tree, including a part of the root for the proper crook. After they were dressed and made the right shape and size, holes for the top hame string were bored through if they had an auger, if not, they were burned through with a small piece of iron. For the hame hook two small holes were made and a strong piece of leather was fitted into the holes and properly fastened. To this loop the tugs were fastened. The holes for the bottom hame strings were made in the same way, as the upper ones.

A wagon that was termed a truck was made by cutting four wheels from a large tree, usually a black gum. A four-inch hole was made in the middle of the wheels in which axles fitted. Then splitting a tough hickory or white oak pole three or four feet at the big end, spreading these split pieces apart about fifteen inches, and boring two holes through the front axle and the two ends of the tongue, they then fitted a piece called a sand board over the ends of the tongue with holes in it to correspond with those in the axle. Having pinned it all securely together, they fastened the end to the front end of the wagon. A coupling pole was fitted into the center of the two axles and pinned there. Heavy bolsters were put on over the axles and on them a board bed was made. Oxen were the usual teams that were hitched to these crude but serviceable wagons. A heavy wooden yoke went on the oxen's neck. Two hickory bows enclosed the neck and up through the top of the yoke, thus fastening the two oxen together. There was a hole made in the middle of the yoke and a strong hickory withe was fastened into it with a loop for the end of the tongue. A better ring was made for the tongue and fastened to the yoke by twisting into a strong cord a heavy rope of raw hide. The tongue was put into this ring and a pin of wood put through the end of the tongue before and behind the ring; the oxen were thus enabled to haul the wagon. These wagons were very serviceable for hauling wood, gathering corn, and for many other purposes on the farm. They were very musical as well, for the more grease one put on the wooden axle to make it run lighter, the more it would squeak and squeal, making a noise that could be heard a mile.

The pitch forks for all purposes on the farm were made of wood. A young forked dogwood sapling was secured, the bark taken off and the two forks pointed for tines and this made a good fork. Some fifty years ago I saw an old four pronged fork that was made in a circular head of wood with four prongs taken from the antlers of an elk, that was useful for many purposes.

Wooden rakes were made of strong seasoned wood, some of them being made by fitting the head piece with deer horns and they made very useful implements. A good spade was made of hickory, fashioning it after the useful form of a spade and if properly seasoned and kept well oiled this tool would do good work as long as wanted.

Sleds were made in many ways and were universally used by all who had either oxen or horse teams.

In early times the hickory withe and deer hides were used for all purposes on the crude farming implements as is the binder twine and fencing wire of this period.

The pioneer women who came to the wilderness of Indiana had very few utensils they could use for cooking. The older sections they had emigrated from were quite distant from their new homes and if they had the different dishes and vessels to bring it was hard work to bring them for very few of them came in wagons or carts but mostly on horseback. There were many who walked all the way and had only such things as they could carry. In fact, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in some of the older states, cooking utensils were not plentiful and they were very high priced and hard to get. The reader must take into consideration that this country was just beginning to gather strength after the great war of the Revolution, when our finances were completely wrecked. There was almost no money and the continental script was worthless. Mrs. Nancy Gullick, related to me that when she was a grown woman in the neighborhood where she lived, there was not more than one vessel for cooking in any home and that was nearly always a skillet and a lid. Often the lid was broken and the skillet nicked. Many of those who had cabins did not have any sort of vessel to cook in unless it was an earthen pot which had been made by the owner out of clay and burned as hard as it could be. Since there was no glazing, when boiling anything that had grease in it, there was nearly as much fat on the outside as there was inside. So much came through the pores that after the first fire to boil the pot, there was not much more needed for the fat on the outside was constantly on fire. In the skillet, all the meat had to be cooked on the hearth before a blazing fire, the cook having to stoop half bent and attend to the meat. The bread was baked in the same skillet, if not on a Johnny-cake board that was made for this purpose about ten inches wide and fifteen inches long and rounding at the top end. The corn dough was made thick and put on the board which was placed against a chunk of wood near the fire. After one side was baked to a nice brown, it was turned over and the other side was baked in the same way. This was called a Johnny-cake. If a board was not at hand, a hoe without its handle was cleaned and greased with bear's oil. Then the dough was put on the hoe blade the same as on the board and baked—this was called a hoe cake. When they had neither Johnny cake board nor hoe, a place was cleaned on the hearth under the edge of the fire, the dough wrapped in cabbage leaves or fresh corn shucks and laid on the hot hearth and covered with hot embers. This was called an ash cake. The bread from any of these ways of cooking was good, even delicious.

A little later on more iron vessels were brought into the country and the dinner pot that held about two gollons with a lid and three short legs and an ear on each side for the hinged hooks to fit in, came into use. It was a great improvement over the old vessels and enabled them to boil the meat instead of always having to fry or roast it. A pole was put above the fire from jamb to jamb and a hook was put on it, sometimes several of them of different lengths. The hooks which were fitted in the ears of the pot were hung on these hooks holding the pot over the fire. In this pot meat and vegetables could be well cooked. While these people had only a very primitive way of preparing the food, they cooked it well and I doubt if any age in this country's history will see another time when such delicious meats were served or a people who so thoroughly enjoyed their food. The country was so abundantly supplied with all sorts of game that all could have a bountiful supply. The usual dish for breakfast was fried turkey breast and slices of venison; for dinner the loin of a fat deer cooked with potatoes; for supper or the evening meal usually the meats were roasted. These dishes of food served with Johnny cake seasoned with the rich gravy of these meats, were certainly a repast which would satisfy the most exacting epicure.

I can't determine the date when stoves came into general use but as late as 1820 there were but few stoves in use and I very much doubt if one of every twenty families in Indiana had any idea of how to cook and prepare food in any other way than I have described, up to 1835.

Possibly they were not so careful in appealing to the eye then as now but I am sure the dishes were prepared better than they are now and tasted just as well and I think better. There were no sweets nor pastries and biscuits were a luxury that were served only on Sunday mornings.

THE MILLING INDUSTRY.

After the first few years of the early settlement of this country, there has been some kind of mill that ground for toll. In 1808 Judge Isaac Montgomery built a horse mill on his farm about one mile southwest of the court house in Princeton, Indiana. In 1810 Jesse Kimball, the grandfather of the Jesse Kimball, of Princeton, Indiana, of today, built a flutter wheel water mill on Black river about six miles south of Owensville, Indiana and ground corn for himself and few neighbors for several years. Mr. Kimball came to that neighborhood in 1804 from the Red Banks now Henderson, Kentucky, and took the burrs with him from Henderson with a horse in shafts and a pole through the stones for an axle. One of the stones is now, 1905, in the possession of Mr.

Edwad Knowles who is over eighty years old and lives on part or the old Kimball farm.

The Indians were very numerous when Mr. Kimball first settled there but he got along with them, only at such times as he was unable to meet their demands for whiskey. The Indians finally determined to kill him and he was decoyed away from his cabin by what he thought was the call of a wild turkey but which proved to be an Indian and he was enabled to get back only by dodging from tree to tree in a zigzag manner. However they watched their opportunity and burned his cabin. While he was in hiding he saw them hold a pow-wow, then a war dance around his little home, and finally set it on fire. In 1813 he built a horse mill that was operated up to 1838.

Major David Robb in 1814 built a small overshot mill on Robb's Creek near where the town of Hazleton now stands. It was a very successful undertaking and a few years later he built a much larger mill on the same site, carrying two burrs. A few years after this he added a department for making lumber. These ventures were all very successful.

In 1809 Robert Falls built a horse mill near the center of what is now Washington township, in Gibson county, that did good work and was well patronized.

In 1820, Jacob Bonty built a little mill on the Smith's Fork of Pigeon creek in Barton township. Gibson Co. This mill was operated for thirty years and was a great help to the surrounding country.

In 1824 Henry Miley built a horse mill near Petersburg, Pike county, Indiana. In 1830, Jacob Stuckey built a grist and saw mill at Petersburg, and there were many little horse mills built in the settled sections of the state from 1820 up to 1830, but they were of only local importance.

The tub mills consisted of an upright post with a row of cogs around the lower end. The top end carried the top stone. There was a large wheel that was made with cogs to fit into those of the post. Buckets or boxes were made all around the outside of the tub. The water was let in from a wicket in the dam about three feet below the water level of the dam, and ran against the buckets on the outside of the tub, thus putting the wheel in motion. These mills were very easily made. An overshot mill was made with a perpendicular shaft that carried the mill stone on the upper end. There was a large horizontal wheel run by the side of the upright shaft that had slanting cogs that fitted into those around the main shaft. The water ran over the dam and fell on the buckets and boxes made on the outside of the wheel thus putting it in motion and it ran the upright post at a good rate of speed. An undershot mill was made the same way, only the water was run against the drum wheel from below the water level and turned the wheel the opposite way from the overshot.

A flutter mill was made by the water falling against the paddles which put the main shaft in motion by cogs the same as the last two described. Horse mills were made in many ways. The only one I ever saw was constructed in a very simple manner. The main shaft which was an upright post had a small wooden pully on it about six feet from the ground. The post that was turned by the horse had a large wooden pulley or hoop about six feet from the ground. A band or belt of a raw hide was put around both of the posts on the pulleys. The horse was hitched to an arm which was fastened into the post with the large pulley and as he went around, the main shaft ran very fast. The grinding was done on a floor just above the belt.

Usually the miller measured the grain and poured it into the hopper, then with the toll box took out the toll for grinding. At water mills where permission to build was granted under territory or state laws, I think the toll was one-sixth but the toll at horse mills and afterwards at steam mills was fixed by the owners, about one-fourth usually. There were then as there always have been people who claimed that the miller took too much toll and most of those who owned mills were on the black list for honesty.

After there was a steam mill at Princeton, Ind., an old fellow living near there had to have milling done. He was so situated that he could not go so he prepared his corn and sent his boy a good sized lad and told him to watch the miller, for if he didn't he would steal all his corn. When the lad got to the mill he had to wait a good while for his turn to come. During that time he never lost sight of his sack. Finally the miller poured the corn into the hopper and laid the sack down. The boy watched him and as soon as the sack was laid down he snatched it up and ran to his horse and home as fast as he could go. His father seeing him coming in such a hurry went out and said—"Johnny, where is your meal and why are you riding so fast?" He told his father—"The old rascal stole every grain of the corn and aimed to keep the sack but I watched him and as soon as he laid it down I got it and ran home."

The doggerel verses below are something like I used to hear when I was a mill boy:

The miller must have a pen of hogs
  And they were always very fat,
It was uncertain, says the song,
  Whose corn they always ate.

The miller was an important man,
  He'd make the meal that fed them all
If you objected to his plan
  He'd even up if it took all fall.

His toll box bottom was very thin,
  They always heaping measures took
You couldn't always be in time
  And if you were you hardly dared to look.

Some time after this there were three mills built on the Patoka river, one at Columbia now Patoka, one at Kirksville, built by Mason Kirk and one at Winslow, built by John Hathaway. These mills were a great improvement on the ones I have been describing. They all ground wheat as well as corn but they ground very slowly when compared with the mills of this date. It often took two full days to get one's grinding done as one had to wait one's turn. In grinding wheat the bran and flour all fell into the chest together and they had an arrangement for bolting much the same as is now used for screening wheat and it turned in the same way. The machine was covered with bolting cloth, but one had to bolt one's own flour. This was not hard work but it was not necessary to ask a person who had been turning that bolting machine where he had been for his clothes had enough of flour on them to make a pone of bread.

THE FLAX INDUSTRY.

The flax industry was very important to the early settlers as it formed the chain for all the fabrics woven and often the chain and filling until later on when cotton was raised. When the flax harvest was ready it was pulled and tied into bundles. These bundles were taken to a suitable place and spread in a thin swath on the ground and left there until the sun and the rain made the wood in the stem brittle, then it was taken to the flax brake and thoroughly broken on that machine, until the woody parts had all been loosened and most of it had fallen through the brake. It was then taken to the scutching board and with the aid of the scutching knife was thoroughly swingled and cleaned of everything but the flax fiber. It was then well hatcheled when it was ready for the distaff and to be spun into thread on the little wheel.

A flax brake was made by using two thick blocks of wood about eignteen inches long with two posts in each block, two feet and a half long for legs, then four bars or slats six inches wide and one inch thick shaved smooth with a drawing knife. These slats were about six feet long and fitted into mortises made in each block leaving an opening between them of about one inch and a quarter. Then another frame was made the same way, only the three slates that were in it came below the blocks some two inches and fitted in the open space between the slats of the first set made. One end of this was fastened to the under machine by some kind of a hinge often made out of raw hide. The front end had a hole made in the middle slat that was made wider than its two mates, and this was used for a hand hold to lift the top brake by. The flax was put on top of the lower brake and was broken by the upper three slats and the work was well done.

To work with a flax brake was hard labor but it was fast work only requiring a little time to break all the flax needed for one family.

The scutching board was a slab about four feet high driven into the ground. It was made perfectly smooth with the drawing knife, the top end being brought into a thin edge. In taking the flax from the brake it was thrashed over the end and around the post to free it from any of the woody stems left and finally finished with a scutching or swingling knife made of hickory about eighteen inches long, drawn to an edge on both sides.

The hatchel was made by driving long spikes of steel through holes made in a heavy piece of plank about one foot long and eight inches wide. There were forty or fifty of these spikes in a hatchel.

The distaff was fastened into an arm of the little wheel that went from the wheel bench and it stood about two feet away from the head of the wheel. The distaff was made out of a small dogwood bush, using the part where four small forks branch out from the main stem, which is the usual way this bush grows. The bush was cut two feet below the fork then all the prongs were cut off about fifteen inches long. The ends were then gathered to the middle stem and securely tied thus making a frame on which the flax was wrapped, ready for the spinning to commence.

The one running the wheel with her foot on the treadle used both hands to size the flax so that it would make an even thread. The machinery of this little wheel ran very fast. I have spent hours when I was a little boy watching my mother (God bless her memory) with both her hands full of flax, making it even for the spinning.

The next machine was the reel. There were from four to eight arms or spokes to this machine and on the end of each spoke there was a small head something like a crutch head on which the thread was wound. The arms or spokes were fastened into a small hub which was fastened on a spindle on the side of the upright stock of the reel. Attached to the spindle was a counting machine that counted the number of revolutions made. When it had turned over so many times it would strike and every time it struck, it had reeled a cut. Four of these cuts made a hank which was taken off and twisted to keep it from becoming tangled and put away for the winding blades, to run on to spools for the warping bars or run on to little brooches or quills to be placed in the shuttles for filling.

The pioneer women from the two Carolinas and Tennessee who came in early times to Indiana brought cotton seed with them and planted them. Cotton would not bloom as well as it would where the seasons were warmer and longer but it made enough to aid them in making clothing. It was planted as early as it was safe to be free from frost and tended well. It made a splended stalk but was lacking in bloom consequently not many bolls or pods were formed. The cotton was gathered and when dry was seeded and was then ready for the cards to be made into rolls and spun into thread. When they had a sufficient quantity of cotton thread it made the chain for their linsey cloth.

THE LOOM AND WHIP SAW.

The first looms in use in this counry were very crude affairs. For the foundation of the loom and to thoroughly brace it, two smooth poles were secured about six inches through at the top and put up slanting, usually in a shed room or a smoke house adjoining the cabin, one end resting on the ground about eight feet from the wall, the other end pinned to the wall about seven feet up. These poles were set wide apart as wanted, usually about four and one-half feet. There were two other timbers placed in the ground about two feet from the lower end of the two slanting timbers and pinned to them, extending up as high as wanted for the top of the loom. Two split pieces about two by six inches were pinned to these poles and extending back to the two slanting poles were pinned to them, thus forming the top of the loom. The roller for the gears and the two upright pieces for the cloth batten were fastened to the top pieces. The thread beam was fastened to the two pieces of timber that extended from the side timbers to the ground and the same was true of the cloth beam. The seat and the break beam were fastened to the two front upright posts. To the lower end of the timbers that held the thread beam in place, a small roller was attached and to this roller the treadles were fastened. This made a very strong loom and it required very little time to make it. It was a very simple piece of machinery yet it did its work well for its time and millions of yards of cloth were woven on such looms; but the coming of the square framed loom was a great blessing to all who had to depend on the loom for clothing. This machine is, to this day, made very nearly as it was seventy-five years ago and as there are several such looms in every neighborhood I shall not attempt to describe it.

The dyeing of the chain and filling was a part of the cloth manufacturing that added very much to the looks of the clothing. In those early times all the coloring was done with different sorts of bark. The walnut bark and the hulls of the walnut made a very serviceable brown, often very nearly the color of the wool from a black sheep. Maple bark mixed with copperas made a very dark color almost black. Later the proverbial "old blue dye pot with a niche in the top" came. Indigo and madder combined made a very pretty blue that would hold as long as any of the cloth was left. Still later logwood and many other kinds of dye were used, up to the time when the clothing or the cloth was purchased from stores. These old days with the stained hands of our mothers have gone never to return and there will never be a time when such a noble, self-sacrificing band of women will live, as those who trained the generation that has made this country the Eden of the world.

When the whip saw was introduced and put to work it was a great help to the new comer in securing material to finish his log house more comfortably and in supplying lumber for the outbuildings. Timber of all kinds was of the best and the yellow poplar the one used most was very easy to saw.

The whip saw was a very simple device. In shape and in the handles it was much the same as the common cross cut saw of today. The teeth were so constructed and filed that it would cut the timber the long way, the log being placed on a scaffold. To keep from having the scaffold too high a pit was dug two or three feet deep for the under sawyer to stand in, the top sawyer standing on top of the log. The log was first divided into slabs the thickness wanted for the width of the planks. The slabs were then turned on their sides and after the first one was taken off, a gauge was used to govern the thickness of the plank, which was usually an inch and a quarter thick and any width required for their work. This was very slow work but as no one ever wanted a very large amount of lumber, two men could soon saw from the soft timber a sufficient amount for all needs.

The top sawyer was free from the dust and he had to look after the gauge used to make the plank the same thickness all along. The under sawyer was under the saw and all the saw dust fell on him and aside from holding the saw he had to keep his eyes and nose free from the dust. As the country was settled these saws were in great demand and a good saw pit scaffold was in constant use.

The whip saw was brought into use when Abraham Lincoln's mother died in 1818, to rip planks from a black cherry log to make her coffin. It is a traditionally recorded that young Lincoln, then a lad only ten years old, sat on the door steps of their humble home, watching his father make the coffin out of the green lumber to bury his mother in, sad and grievously lamenting their poor and helpless condition to have to bury his noble mother so meanly. In after years when he was the greatest President the United States has ever had, he said to a friend "All I am or ever hope to be I owe to my angel mother."

SHOE-MAKING.

It was a long time after the country commenced to be settled before there was any attempt to make any other kind of shoes than moccasins and shoe pacs. This soft easy foot covering was the best suited for the times and the business of those living here. After a while they had leather of their own tanning other than deer and wolf hides.

Nearly every man was an expert at making moccasins as the only thing to do was to have a pattern of the right size. There were only two seams to sew up, but to make shoes that would have the right shape and be comfortable was another thing. But as in every thing else they had the will and of course there is always a way. They cut blocks of soft timber and fashioned a last the size they wanted for the feet, then secured a maple rail and cut blocks the right length for shoe pegs, made a supply of patterns and went to work at their new industry. They took the thick part of the cattle hides that they had tanned and cut soles and heel taps out of them. Then by the patterns cut the uppers, and sewed the back quarters and vamp together, then lasted the shoe and pegged the soles and heels on.

Mr. David Johnson at one time told me his experience with a pair of these newly tanned shoes which I will relate. He said that with the help of a man who had done some cobbling before he came to this section, he made a pair of shoes and was very proud of them as he felt that he was getting away from the savage age of the country. In dry weather the shoes were all right and very comfortable. Unfortunately he went on a hunt that took him some distance from home where he intended to go into camp expecting to kill a lot of game. Before he reached the place he wanted to locate the camp, a heavy rain set in and it rained all that day, everything becoming very wet. He kept on for several miles in the rain but had not gone far until he felt his feet slipping about in the shoes as if there were room enough for a half dozen feet inside. He stood it as long as he could and selecting a place to make a temporary camp, made a fire and pulled off his enlarged shoes, intending to dry them; but it kept up such a torrent of rain that he could keep but little fire. Next morning he determined to go home and putting as many leaves in his shoes as he could, walked three or four miles, when he found he could go no farther; so he stopped and resolved to cut off the uppers and make a pair of moccasins. His foot he said looked like the end of an overturned canoe. He pulled them off, cut the uppers away from the sole and found that the uppers of one shoe would make a pair of moccasins with some to spare. Getting out his whang leather he made the strings and in a little while had a pair of moccasins made, put them on, and taking the odd shoe, started.

Being tired when he reached home he made a pallet of skins and lay down before the fire as all hunters did when they had wet feet. (It was believed that the heat bath that all hunters gave their feet was the only thing that kept them from becoming hopelessly crippled with rheumatism.) After thoroughly baking his feet at the fire, he thought he would put on his new moccasins and dry them on his feet, for he knew if they dried without something to hold them in shape they would shrink until they would be ruined. He was awakened from his sleep by his feet cramping as if in a vice and had to cut the moccasins off of his feet.

A little later sole leather was brought from New Orleans and Philadelphia that sold for a very high price. The leather had been pressed and would hold its shape fairly well. The children and most of the women went barefooted as long as they could, usually until frost. There were men who went around from house to house making shoes and many a half grown boy, as well as others, has been made glad by his coming. I can well remember when I have set for hours with my new wool socks on, when it was too cold to be out of doors, watching the old shoemaker. make shoes for the family. Commencing with the eldest, and going down according to the age, as I was near the foot of the line, I had to wait for some time for my turn to come; but as I now recall those days and how I felt on getting my new shoes, I think that nothing in the way of clothing in all my life was so thoroughly enjoyed as were the new, warm shoes. The best of care was taken of the shoes as it was certain that one pair would have to lost until spring came. They were greased with coon and opossum oil to make them soft and with tallow to fill the pores to keep the water out. In the early thirties, pot metal boots, as they were called because of their being so hard, were brought on by the merchants and sold at eight and ten dollars a pair. One day's walking in a pair of these boots would tire any man. When these heavy, clumsy boots are put in contrast with the elegantly shaped and made boots and shoes of this day, the great improvement is very apparent. There is no business in which there has been more improvements during the last seventy-five years than in the boot and shoe business.

ROPE WALK.

The first generation after settling in this country depended on the skins of animals and hickory withes to tie and bind with. Later on there was plenty of flax and hemp raised and when long ropes or twine were wanted a rope walk had to be constructed which was very easily done in a crude manner, but it was all sufficient for making any sort of twine, cording, and strong heavy ropes. A level piece of ground was selected about two hundred feet long. A heavy slab was put in the ground at each end of the place selected, about five feet in height and twelve inches broad. A two inch auger hole was made in the center of each slab about three feet from the bottom. Into these holes were put pins with a shoulder on the outside end and a key to hold them in place on the inside To this pin a round wheel about eight inches broad was fastened with a pin for a handle placed in a hole made for the purpose on the outside edge of the wheel. Along the walk about twenty feet apart, smooth posts were set on each side about four feet from the center with a number of pegs driven on the side facing the walk. Along the center of the walk every twenty-five or thirty-five feet a slab was driven into the ground, standing about three feet high with a notch cut in the top end and made perfectly smooth.

Whether made of hemp or flax, or of both, as was often the case, the bunch of tow or a draw-out end of it was fastened to the pin that the wheel was on and the wheel was turned. One held the bunch of tow under his arm, using both hands to even the string as it was twisted, and as he passed the low post, put the cord in the notch on top of it, and when he had gone the length of the walk he tied the string to the end of the other wheel and turned it until the string or cord was twisted as hard as wanted. Then it was taken off and tied to a peg on the sidepost at each end of the walk and lifted onto the pegs all along the line until there was enough strings to make a strand for a cord or rope, usually from three to five. Then all the strings were fastened to the ends of the wheels and twisted hard and tied back to the side stakes until three or five strands had been made. After this all the strands were tied to the wheels and twisted as hard as was wanted. The small cords were used for bed cords. They were either put through holes made in the end and side rail of the bed or put around pegs with heads driven into the rails to receive the cords. In making large ropes such as were used for check ropes or cables, eight strings were used for a strand and six strands for a rope. When made, this was strong enough to hold anything reasonable. When first made, the new rope was inclined to untwist, but it was kept in a coil when not in use so that it would hold its twist. After it had been used a few times and thoroughly wet, there was no further trouble with it.

When I was about ten years old I helped make a check rope for my father that he used on three or four trips for a check rope and cable on flatboats loaded with produce, pork, wheat, corn and venison hams that he loaded and ran from the place where the old town of Dongola stood on the Patoka river, to New Orleans. We made the rope on a walk that ran about two hundred feet south of the place where the Missionary Baptist church now stands in Oakland City. We used the same walk for many years after that to make all sorts of ropes or cords needed for our home use, mostly for bed cords. One evening while at the World's Fair in St. Louis, as I was passing through the Philippine reservation looking at their primitive style of living and the sort of tools and implements they had to do with, I was very forcibly reminded that they were in the same road we had passed over. Many of their implements, tools and vessels for household work were about what were in use in this country a hundred years ago. In my ramble over their grounds I came to a rope walk. I felt at home, and being interested at once in giving it a careful investigation, I found that it was the same in every particular as the one I had worked with more than fifty years ago. I then came to the conclusion that in their manner of living possibly they were not so far behind our people as I had thought them. I went over their exhibition pretty carefully and found many things that were used in this country at an early date. One of them was a truck wagon they used with the water buffalo, but it was a very crude wagon, not nearly so good as the one I have described in this work. After getting home I looked up the history of the Philippine islands and found that for several hundred years they had made but little advance in any way except where they came in contact with the white race, and one display they made I was forcibly struck with—their display of sisal twine. I never saw anything to equal it.

BEE HUNTING.

Bee hunting was a very important part of the hunter's business and generally was very successfully carried on and usually quite profitable. A bee tree marked was worth one dollar in most sections of this country. The hunter would catch a bee and keep it a prisoner for a while and then it would fly away and nearly every time it flew to the tree it made its home in. Another way was to make up a bee bait of anything sweet, often a piece of honey comb with sweetened water in it. They then made a little trough and put the bait in it and set it on a stump. The bees would find it in a little while and when loaded with the sweets would fly away to their tree which was some times a considerable distance away, but usually not more than two or three hundred yards. Still another way was to find a tree that they thought was probably a bee tree and then get in a position to view every part of it between the person hunting and the sun. If there were bees in it, they could be seen flying to and from the tree. When a bee tree was found, the next thing was to determine whether it was a strong colony or a weak one. If a strong colony the tree would be cut as soon as the bee food commenced to be scarce. If it was thought to be a weak swarm it was let alone another year. The bee hunter's mark was as sacredly respected as was his mark on hogs or cattle. The honey was gathered and was a very helpful portion of the food. All that was over their needs was sold and the same was true of the bees wax after the honey was extracted.

In the History of Gibson county, published by James T. Tartt & Co., I saw a statement that the honey bee was the fore-runner of civilization. It says—"The approach of the honey bee was always a sad harbinger for the Indians for they knew that the pale face was not far behind." I think that the author was misinformed of the facts in the case and instead of the honey bee being here only a little while before the white man came, they have been here ever since the country was suitable for their occupation, perhaps for a thousand ages. M. Joliet, an agent for the French Colonial Government and James Marquette a missionary and explorer in 1670, as they were on an expedition to the Mississippi river and up and down that and other rivers, found the honey bee in many localities and used the honey for food. Again in a history given by Hunter DeMot of his captivity by the Indians and his life among them in 1725, he says that the many years he traveled all over the north and from Pennsylvania to the Rocky mountains, the wild honey bee made its home in the hollow of the trees and that near the great prairies where such an abundance of flowers were, the bees filled the openings in trees on the border of the creeks and rivers in such localities with most delicious honey and where no trees were near he had seen the honey hanging under shelving rocks at cliffs and bluff banks along the rivers and creeks.

About 1630 Miles Standish who was so busy hunting Indians that he had no time to court the beautiful Priscilla, had two of his men court martialed for being absent. The evidence showed they had found a bee tree and there was so much honey in it they were making a trough to put it in.

The bear was the greatest lover of honey and would risk his life for it. An old hunter by the name of Caleb Spear gives his experience in many hunting expiditions which are published in a small volume in the colonial days. Spear says that one evening while passing near a little lake of water he saw a bear jump in and roll over and over several times, then wading out and climbing up a tree for about thirty feet he went tearing away with his claws at a hole in a large limb, every now and then snorting and shaking his head. There were a number of bees flying around his head, and in a little while Mr. Bear let all holds go, fell down all in a ball and ran to the water, going through the same performance, repeating it half a dozen times and no doubt drowning half of the bees for they were not nearly so plentiful flying around his head. Finally he climbed up the tree and remained there until he had made a hole large enough to put his paw in when he scooped out the honey which he gulped down with great satisfaction.

Soon after my father was married he had a pet bear that was very tame—so much so that he could handle it. He lived at that time on his farm near Francisco, Indiana, now owned by Capt. C. C. Whiting. There were great quantities of honey in all the woods and he gathered several tubs full of it preparatory to taking it to Princeton to market and left the tubs in a lean-to back of the main cabin. One Sunday they went to visit some neighbors and were gone until late in the day. The cabin had two beds in it with nice old South Carolina white counterpanes over them. The bear got loose and ate all the honey he could hold and then wallowed in it. Later he got into the cabin and proceeded to make himself at home by rolling all over both the beds and when the family got home he was fast asleep in the middle of one of them.

WITCHCRAFT AND WITCHES.

To the educated and cultured people of this date it sounds strange indeed that there ever was a period in this or any other country's history when such foolish fallacy as witchcraft was believed in, but such was the fact. Witchcraft and witches were the bane of the lives of very respectable people.

New England had overdone the witch business so much in an early day that those believing such foolery at a later period were content to silently suffer the imaginary wrongs from those they thought were witches without resorting to drastic measures to punish them.

In fact, the conduct of the Puritans had such a reaction on themselves for brutally murdering innocent men and women on spectral evidence, that ever since there has been such an odium attached to believers in witchcraft that none were willing to own any connection with it.

The early settlers in Indiana were mostly from the south and but few of them ever heard of Salem and the witch trials. Some of them believed in witchcraft in a mild form. If a gun did not shoot well, it was often said to be bewitched. If the butter refused to gather, some said a witch had put a spell on the churn. If the soap wouldn't thicken, it was said that some old witch was the cause. If a hen failed to hatch well or a cow should give bloody milk, it was attributed by some to witches. This belief was confined to a very few in this section.

Early in the thirties a band of nomads named Griffys located in eastern Gibson county, about one and one-half miles northwest of Oakland City. They built floorless huts in a cluster around a large spring on land that recently belonged to William M. Thompson. There were thirty or forty people in the colony, all of whom were superstitious and believed in witches and ghosts. They were looked upon as an indolent, lazy set, but had one feature about their manner of living which was certainly commendable; they had several very old people with them, men and women, whom they cared for and who were not related to them or had any claim on them, but had been gathered into this colony for no other reason than sympathy for their helpless and forlorn condition.

At one time Jonas and Casway Griffy came to see my father and wanted small change in bits and quarters for a silver dollar. One of them wanted to know if silver would melt in a ladle with lead. My father at once concluded that they wanted to make counterfeit coin and told them he was surprised to think they would undertake such business. They were much alarmed at what father said to them and said they had no thought of doing wrong; that they had had a secret among themselves they had not intended to tell, but would have to tell him in order to clear themselves of suspicion, and enjoined my father to keep it. They had lived for some years in Martin county, this state, before coming to this part, and they had so much trouble there that they moved away in the hope that their trouble would cease. But for the last several months the same trouble had come to them and they were planning to rid themselves of the evil. They wanted the small coin so they could melt it in lead and run it into bullets for the purpose of disabling witches so that they would let them alone. They said there was an old woman who lived near them in Martin county who was a terror to all the country round. She did not fear anything, would ride without a bridle and saddle the wildest, unbroken horse and would fight any man. She had nearly killed two of their neighbors in a fight. They said that before they moved down here they had four head of cows, but could not get any milk from two of them at any time—they were always milked dry. The old witch did not have any cows, but always had plenty of milk and butter. "We tried," said they, "many ways to find out how the cows were milked, but did not succeed until one morning one of our women went up to the old witch's house and saw her doing something with a towel which was hanging in a small window. While the witch's back was turned she determined to find out what she was doing. She first stuck a pin in the towel and named it for one of our cows. Then she took hold of the fringe and commenced to milk it as if she were milking a cow. When she had finished that cow she put another pin into the towel and named it after our other best cow and proceeded to milk her in the same way. At night she would assume the form of a black cat and go all over our homes. We tried many times to kill the cat, but could not do it. Finally old Mr. McCoy, one of our people, saw the cat go into his room. He closed the door and armed himself with an axe. Opening the door a little ways to let the cat run out, which it did, he cut off one of its ears. The next morning one of our women went over to see the old lady and found her in bed with a bandage on her head. That night she went back to Mr. McCoy's cabin, found the ear and it grew back on as well as ever, except that it was cropped. After that the same black cat was seen with one ear cropped. We brought the same four cows when we moved down here. The range was good and they gave an abundance of milk. About two months ago two of our men were in the woods hunting and saw the same crop-eared black cat. Ever since that evening our two best cows have given no milk, and we have many other troubles which we attribute to the same cause."

A few years later the section that these Griffys occupied had a terrible scourge of what was known as the black tongue, and fifteen or twenty of the colony died from the dreadful disease. They attributed it all to the same one-eared black cat, and as soon as they were able to get away, they moved up east on the Patoka river and none of them were ever seen in this section again. I have been unable to learn if the same one-eared black cat still followed them up, inflicting misfortune upon them.

CHAPTER XIV.

AMUSEMENTS AND SPORTS OF THE EARLY PIONEERS.

There was nothing in the rude condition in which the people had to live in the early days that changed their natures. They had great desire to engage in feats of strength or skill and in many athletic sports. and no people ever enjoyed these times of recreation more than did these people.

Many of the games used by the early settlers were borrowed or copied from the Indians. Playing or rolling the hoop was one of the games often engaged in. They made a hoop about four feet in diameter out of a young hickory sapling and covered it all over with raw deer hide, making it se strong that there was no danger of breaking it. There were three parallel lines made about one hundred yards long and about fifteen feet apart on a level piece of ground, the middle line about ten yards longer than the others at each end. On the outside lines, the opposing parties, which generally consisted of from ten to twenty persons, arranged themselves from ten to twelve paces apart, each individual fronting his opponent, on the other outside line. On the central line, extending a few paces beyond the wings of the other two lines, stood two persons facing each other. It is their part of the play to alternately roll the hoop with all their strength from one to the other. The object of triumph between the two is who shall catch his opponent's hoop the oftenest, and of the contending parties on the side line, which shall throw the greatest number of balls through the hoop as it passes rapidly along the intervening space. Two judges were appointed, with powers to appoint a third one, to determine which side was victorious.

Another game that was often played was called "Bull Pen." Eight or ten persons could play it. Two would choose up and then each select his players. The ground was laid off as nearly square as possible, about one hundred and twenty feet each way. The basemen stood at the corners. If five corners were wanted, at one side an extra corner was made extending the line to a half angle, making room for the fifth corner. The choice as to who should have the corners was first decided by the flip of a chip, wet on one side and dry on the other. The thrower would call out "Wet" or "Dry." The ball was usually a heavy one, made over a heavy pebble and wrapped with yarn and covered with buckskin. The ball was in the hands of the corner man and was thrown from one to the other until it had gone around and had been caught by each corner; then it was said to be hot and could be thrown at any of the other sides who were inside of the pen or square. When the ball was thrown, the corner men had to run to the right and change places, but if the ball was caught or found and thrown between a corner man and the base he was running for, the corner men went out and the pen men went to the corners. There was really great work in playing this game.

Boys would run as deer and other boys after them as hounds. Jumping was much indulged in, stand and go—three jumps or half hamen, a hop, a skip and a jump. They climbed trees and shot with a bow and arrow. In this they became experts, killing quail, squirrels and turkeys. They would practice the noise made by birds and animals in their notes of call.

When a boy, the author could imitate a squirrel to perfection. Old hunters called the strutting gobbler up to them by imitating his gobble and his strutting, blowing noise. The bleating of a young fawn was imitated and the mother would go to the bleating. The same with wolves. They would make the night hideous with their everlasting howling, but man did imitate them so perfectly that they would howl in answer and finally come to the man wolf.

Dancing was the principal amusement of the young people of both sexes. They were not of the fancy figures of these modern times, but were of the simplest figures, three and four-handed reels and jigs. In most neighborhoods lived some old man who would indulge in telling dramatic stories of Jack the Giant Killer. In telling these harmless lies, the narrator would spin out his tale to quite a length, embracing quite a range of incidents, and always told these blood and thunder stories of their hero, Jack, in a way to bring him out the great victor. He often told tales of impossible character, such as the Arabian Nights are full of, such as the flying horse with a peg behind his ear to turn when he was desired to alight at a certain place.

CHAPTER XV.

INDIANA DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

REORGANIZE THE RANGER SERVICE—PIGEON ROOST MASSACRE—ATTACK ON FORT HARRISON—GENERAL HOPKINS' REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR — EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE INDIANS—DELAWARE INDIANS REMOVED TO OHIO—GENERAL GIBSON'S MESSAGE TO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1813 — TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT REMOVED FROM VINCENNES TO CORYDON — MISS MCMURTRIE'S STATEMENT—TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE WITH THE INDIANS — GENERAL JOHN GIBSON — GOVERNOR THOMAS POSEY — LOGAN, THE INDIAN CHIEF — TERRITORY LAID OFF INTO FIVE DISTRICTS—JUDICIAL SYSTEM IMPROVED—CHARTERS GRANTED TO BANKS—RAPPITES AT HARMONY—NEW HARMONY SOLD TO ROBERT OWEN.

After the battle of Tippecanoe the Indians were apparently submissive. This afforded a temporary relief from Indian depredations and there was a great impetus given to emigration into Indiana Territory from Kentucky all along the southern borders.

During December of 1811 Governor Harrison received messages from different tribes of the Wabash Indians, offering to renew their allegiance to the United States. He refused at that time to have a meeting with them. The same month the Legislature of Indiana Territory adopted a memorial to Congress praying that body to authorize the people of the Indiana Territory to form a state constitution. In their memorial among other things they declared they felt it a hardship to be disfranchised when they had done no wrong and ended their appeal by saying: "It is principles and not men or measures that we complain of."

The Indians were too much under the influence of the British at Malden to remain for any length of time submissive and early in the spring of 1812 small war parties were on the warpath and many petty annoyances were perpetrated on the exposed settlements, as stealing horses and shooting dogs. Early in April two men were killed near the mouth of the Wabash river. They were coming to Vincennes in a large skiff. In the same month Mr. Hutson and wife and four children were killed on the west side of the Wabash thirty miles north of Vincennes. On April 22, Mr. Harriman, his wife and five children were murdered five miles from Vincennes. These depredations caused great excitement all along the borders of Indiana Territory. The Territorial Militia was put in the best possible condition for active service. The settlers over all the settled portions of the territory fitted up their old block-houses and erected many new ones.

The Indians who had for four years before this been moving away from the lower White river to stations farther north were now returning, and in such numbers as to be very threatening to the new settlements. Several scouts were all the time on the watch to understand the intention of the Indians. Two scouts were sent to the southeastern section of the territory to induce the people to erect forts and block-houses on the frontiers of Wayne, Franklin, Dearborn, Clark, and Harrison Counties. In this way most of the exposed frontiers were put in a fairly good condition to defend themselves.

Friendly Indians of the Delaware tribe were sent among the Indians with instructions to inform them that Harrison did not want any trouble with them, that he was for peace and that there was plenty of room for the whites and Indians, too, in this big country. These offers of friendship caused the Indians to hold a great convention at an Indian town on the Mississinawa river. There were deputations from the

Wyandotts, Chippewas, Attawas, Pottawattamies, Delawares, Miamis, Weas, Kickapoos, Shawnees and Winnebagoes. Tecumseh was at that great gathering of Indians and made a long speech, declaring that if he had been at home there would have been no trouble, that he was all the time in favor of peace, if it could be had without the ruin of the Indians. The general expression of that meeting was for peace, but the speeches were mostly such as the British Indian traders and their agents put in the mouths of the chiefs. Tecumseh became very much angered at a speech made by a Delaware chief, who said things which reflected on the way Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, had acted and their hypocritical pretensions of friendship to the Americans. Tecumseh left the council in great anger and immediately repaired to Malden, where he commenced to gather the hostile Indians around his standard in the interest of the British.

Governor Harrison sent his orders to all the commanders of detachments of Militia to use all fair means to keep peace with the Indians, but if depredations were committed in their districts, to follow the Indians and fight them to a finish if there was an equal chance of success.

On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain. There was no apparent trouble immediately in Indiana Territory. Harrison and the people of the Territory had been expecting this and made the best disposition of the means at their command to be prepared for any trouble that might grow out of open hostilities with the British, by the influence they had with the Indians. Soon after the war was declared Governor Harrison visited the state of Kentucky to consult with the authorities of that state about securing help to defend the exposed frontier of Indiana Territory.

During the year of 1812 Governor Harrison was so busy looking after the military affairs of Indiana Territory that he turned the general management of the civil department and the local military affairs over to General John Gibson with the authority of Acting Governor. About the first of August, the Indians becoming very troublesome, it was resolved to organize a ranger corps on a similar basis to the one that was so successful in preserving peace in holding the Indians in check during the year 1807, with this difference—the rangers of 1807 were foot soldiers and the corps to be organized now were to be mounted in order to cover a larger territory in a given time. For this purpose General Gibson wrote a letter to Captain William Hargrove.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
Sunday, July 5, 1812.

"CAPTAIN HARGROVE:

Dear Sir:

"This letter will be handed you by interpreter John Severns, Jr. The times are so full of threatenings that it is thought best to reorganize a ranger service which you proved yourself so competent in commanding during the year 1807, and with a view to that end, I now invite you to come to these headquarters for consultation. I would suggest that you come as soon as convenient for you to do so. The Indians are much better than the British and if they were not constantly urged to take up the tomahawk against the Americans there would be no trouble in keeping peace along the border; but from this on, as long as the war continues, there will be much trouble with all the tribes in the northwest and along the Wabash.

JOHN GIBSON, Acting Governor
Indian Territory in absence of Governor Harrison.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory, July 11, 1812.

"It is hereby ordered that on and from this date, William Hargrove shall be in command of the rangers in Indiana Territory and to all whom it may concern, he is duly authorized to so act with the rank of Lieut. Col. commanding the rangers who will be stationed at different points in this Territory and will be so obeyed by the militia and all other troops enlisted for the defense of the Territory.

John Gibson,
Acting Governor."

Per J. T. D., Clerk.

Instructions For the Guidance of Lieut. Col. William Hargrove Commanding Rangers in Indiana Territory.

1. The object in placing a mounted corps of rangers on duty is that they can with celerity go over the various routes which you will select for them to operate on.

2. You will accept none but the best mounts for the men as speed in this service will be the object to gain. The men must be good horsemen and if possible, men who have had practice in shooting from horseback.

3. The most important point to guard will be the country east of this for twenty miles up to sixty or seventy miles east; and, that you may be able to have your men well in hand, it is thought best that you have a permanent stockade station between the White Oak Springs blockhouse and the Mudholes. At this station you will keep a platoon of men and four sergeants to rank as first, second, third and fourth sergeants, to be men in every way competent to take charge of a squad of troops in any emergency. The next station will be at a point about ten miles east of Blue river and to be far enough to the north to furnish protection to the few settlers who have advanced beyond the line of safety in that direction. It will be necessary to have twenty men at this station, with three sergeants to rank as first, second and third sergeants.

4. The sections of country about Robb's Fort and to the southwest of it are amply able to take care of themselves and furnish you all the men that you will want. It is thought best to locate a post at a point northwest of Kimble's mill on the foothills of the Wabash river. The need of this station is, that there will be a large territory east and

west of the Wabash river which is a dense wilderness and a large body of Indians could concentrate there and successfully raid any of the settlements in that section. Twenty men, with three sergeants, should be stationed at this point.

5. It is thought best that a station with ten men be at a point about twenty-five miles north of the mouth of the Wabash river and on the foothills on the east side of the river, to be established under the command of two sergeants. All these stations should have a strong stockade that incloses all the ground that will be needed for the horses when inside and for barracks for the men. A strong, small house should be erected to hold the rations and ammunition.

7. The territory around all the stations from whence the Indians are most likely to come, should be closely watched, and a vidette station as far front as it is practicable to place it. This should be done every day. At night two men should be selected to act as advance sentinels. These men should be placed at points where they can see the surrounding country with as little exposure to themselves as possible.

8. The arms should be of the best that can be secured, not of the army musket, as that is too heavy, but of the regular hunting rifle, with the caliber of a size that would make forty balls to the pound. For convenience in carrying, if the barrels could be cut down to about three feet and a half in length, it would be better. For the rest of the armament, the usual hunting outfit will be all sufficient.

9. The stations on the north frontier of Harrison County should patrol the section in their front to the north as far as they are safe to go, and to the northwest and northeast. The central and southern portion of Harrison County can take care of any raids that may come to them. They have a company called "Minute Rangers," that is commanded by Captain John Tipton, that patrol all the country as far south as the Ohio river and some miles west of Blue river and east until in touch with guards from Clark's Grant or Jeffersonville.

10. If you think best, you can detail one man

at each station for hunting game. In that way there will be no need of meat rations being drawn from the Commissary at this post.

11. You will have a platoon of not less than fifteen men with you at the place which you shall choose for the headquarters. As a suggestion, this headquarters would recommend that you have such a station at or near the White Oak Springs Fort. From there it will be easy to visit any of the stations and you will be near where it is thought the most likely place for the Indians to attempt to come into the settlements and near these headquarters.

Done at Vincennes, Indiana Territory, July 11, 1812.

John Gibson,
Acting Governor.

Per J. T. D., Clerk.

"Headquarters, Indiana Territory,
Vincennes, July 20, 1812.

"Col. Wm. Hargrove, Commanding the Mounted Rangers of Indiana Territory:

"This will be handed you by a Piankashaw Indian named Minto. Yesterday (Sunday) morning a French boy and his mother were out to the east in a cart, eight or nine miles from this post, when they were met by eight Indians and robbed of their horse and cart. The woman thinks they were Shawnees. She says that she was on the old Delaware trace and was then some four or five miles north of White river. There was a cavalry company sent out from here to try to intercept them. The reason for reporting this to you is that the eight Indians seen may be only a small band of a much larger one that may be hovering on the frontier, with the hope that they may find an opportunity to raid some of the settlements. You had better send some of your men to several of the new settlements on the border and notify them of this, and inform the people that they must at once prepare to go into the fort at the first note of alarm.

The British will cause the Indians to do all the harm that it is possible for them to do. I have just had an interview with the French woman who was robbed. I asked her why they did not take her and her boy prisoners. She says they seemed to want to be friendly and only wanted the loan of the cart to haul several deer into their camp and in less than one-half moon, they said, they would bring it back to her at Vincennes. This, of course, was only a pretense, hoping that she would report to this post that they were friendly Indians.

The reports from different points of the Territory indicate that the Indians are concentrating at various places on the northern frontier. It will be best to keep a vigilant lookout, for we cannot steer clear of trouble if the war continues, and it is much better to be prepared for trouble, if it is a little inconvenient to do so, than to wish that we had been, when it is too late.

JOHN GIBSON,
Acting Governor."

"Vincennes, Indian Territory,
July 29, 1812.

"COL. WM. HARGROVE,
Commanding Mounted Rangers:

"For about ten days a man has been around this post claiming to be an expert engineer and that he has built many forts for the mounting of heavy ordnances in the states east of the Alleghanies. He had such good papers of recommendation that he was permitted to go where he pleased and was all through the fort and barracks. Last night he disappeared and took with him a very fine saddle horse which belonged to Col. Luke Decker, together with a fine saddle and a pair of heavy pistols in the holsters. It was thought he went toward the Ohio river and may come near some of your stations. You had better inform your men by a courier. There is no doubt that he is a British spy and it is very desirable to capture him. A description of him given by those with whom he was is: A heavy man, five feet ten in height; would weigh about one hundred and eighty pounds; dark hair, black eyes, and he wore a fine velvet vest and a dark blue long-tailed coat both ornamented with silver buttons. A pair of fine white dressed buckskin knee breeches with silver buckles at his knee; a pair of fine leather shoes with silver buckles; a swiveled hat, made out of beaver skin. Have your men keep a good lookout for him.

"I will here again inform you that in the near future there is danger ahead if the war lasts any length of time This lull is only the fore runner of certain stirring times. Be sure that everything is in readiness for what may come.

John Gibson,
Acting Governor.

"By the hand of a friendly Delaware Indian. Return him in two days with anything that you wish to say. J. G."

Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
August 10, 1812.

"Col. Wm. Hargrove,
Commanding Mounted Rangers.

"The new men can be mustered in and the two young boys will be returned to their homes. Two scouts from this post were at a point on West White river thirty miles east of the forks and saw two old Delaware Indian men who have a lone wigwam at that place. These Indians were friendly and have been for a long time. They said that several Pottawattamies had recently been at that point and told them—'Soon we will go to the Ohio river—get heap horses—maybe get scalps—the British drive Americans away soon.'

The scouts report that there is a general movement among the Indians, a sort of nervous unrest that forebodes trouble and that the Indians did not seem to show that hearty friendship as formerly. One friendly Indian was with the scouts pretending to be a hunter, and said that if an opportunity offered, the Indians would strike our people soon.

John Gibson,
Acting Governor."

During the month of August there was a great deal of activity in military circles. On the 12th of the month, Governor Harrison was made a Major General by Governor Scott of Kentucky, with authority to command the militia of that State which was to be sent to assist Indiana Territory for the protection of her frontiers. Soon afterward two thousand Kentuckians were assembled near the borders of the State of Ohio and with the militia of Indiana and Ohio, formed an army of three thousand four hundred men.

They marched from their place of rendezvous and arrived at Ft. Wayne in Indiana Territory on September 12th. The approach of such a large army caused the hostile Indians to retire from in front of that fort.

On the 15th of August, 1812, General Hull, an old Revolutionary officer, ingloriously and cowardly surrendered the post of Detroit with two thousand men as prisoners. This substantial victory by the British was a great aid to them in allying all the tribes of the Indians on the Wabash and the Northwest Territory to their standard and very soon after this there were many partisan organizations prepared for the purpose of preying on the most exposed places of the frontiers of Indiana and Illinois Territories and the State of Ohio.

THE PIGEON ROOST MASSACRE.

In 1809 there was a settlement made by a few families at a place known as Pigeon Roost in what is now Scott county. These families were from four to five miles away from other settlers who had located in that section some years before. They had been busy cleaning up and cultivating the rich land for more than three years; without taking the precaution to build a fort for protection against the Indians who were not far away in their towns. On the 3d of September, 1812, while Jeremiah Payne and a visitor named Coffman were out in the woods some two or three miles from the settlement locating bee trees, they were ambushed and killed by a party of Indians which afterward was learned to consist of nine Shawnees and four Delawares. The Indians moved on to the settlement and in less than two hours killed one man, five women and sixteen children. Mrs. Jane Biggs and three little children escaped and after wandering through the woods nearly all night, reached the home of her brother, Zebulum Collings, six miles away. In one house there were William Collings (who was an old man), and Captain John Norris, and two small children, Lydia and John Collings. The two men made a brave defense and held the Indians in check until night and then escaped with the two children, and a little while before day arrived at the home of Zebulum Collings.

The total number killed in this massacre was twenty-four—the two who were bee hunting, Henry Collings and his wife, Mrs. Payne and eight children, Mrs. John Norris and her only child, and Mrs. Norris, the mother of John Norris, and Mrs. Richard Collings and seven children. These villainous murderers, after committing this awful crime, scalped their victims, took all the goods which they could carry and set fire to the houses. They then hastily returned the way they had come. Captain Devalt with his company of rangers pursued them and at one time came up with their rear guard, when a running fight took place. One of the Captain's men was killed. Still the pursuit was kept up through the woods but the Indians were not overtaken again. The Legislature recently appropriated two thousand dollars ($2,000.00) and the State has erected a suitable monument to the unfortunate people at the place where their settlement was.

AN ATTACK ON FORT HARRISON.

On September 3, 1812, two men were killed near Fort Harrison while they were cutting wild hay. On the night of the 4th of September a large body of Shawnees, Pottawattamies, Winnebagoes and Kickapoos attacked Fort Harrison. At the outset they set fire to a blockhouse which was near the fort. Captain Zachary Taylor, who afterward was the twelfth President of the United States, was in command and determinedly resisted the attack, which was persistently kept up all night, at which time the Indians withdrew.

In order to show the material this commander was made of, his report to Governor Harrison is here produced. In the official account of this action, written on the 10th of September, 1812, Captain Taylor said:

"About eleven o'clock I was awakened by the firing of one of the sentinels. I sprang up, ran out and ordered the men to their posts—when my orderly sergeant, who had charge of the upper blockhouse, called out that the Indians had fired the lower blockhouse. The guns had begun to fire pretty smartly from both sides. I directed the buckets to be prepared and water brought from the well and the fire to be extinguished immediately as it was perceivable at that time, but from debility or some other cause, the men were slow in executing my orders. The word 'Fire' appeared to throw all of them into confusion, and by the time they had gotten the water and broken open the door, the fire had, unfortunately, communicated to a quantity of whisky, and in spite of every exertion we could make use of, in less than a moment it ascended to the roof and baffled every effort we could make to extinguish it. As that blockhouse joined part of the barracks that make part of the fortifications, most of the men immediately gave themselves up for lost, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting my orders executed. And, Sir, what from the raging of the fire—the yelling and howling of the several hundred Indians—the cries of nine women and children (a part soldiers' and part citizens' wives who had taken shelter in the fort), and the despondency of so many men, which was worse than all—I can assure you my feelings were unpleasant; and, indeed, there were not more than ten or fifteen men able to do a good deal, the others being sick or convalescent; and to add to our other misfortunes, two of the strongest men in the fort, that I had every confidence in, jumped the pickets and left us. My presence of mind, however, did not forsake me. I saw that by throwing off a part of the roof that joined the blockhouse that was on fire and keeping this end perfectly wet, the whole row of buildings might be saved and leave only an entrance of eighteen or twenty feet for the Indians after the house was consumed, and that a temporary breastwork might be erected to prevent their even entering there. I convinced the men that this might be accomplished and it inspired them with new life, and never did men work

> with more firmness or desperation. Those who were able (while the others kept up a constant fire from the other blockhouse and the two bastions) mounted the roofs of the houses, with Dr. Clark at their head (who acted with the greatest firmness and presence of mind the whole time the attack lasted, which was about seven hours), under a shower of bullets, and in less than a moment threw off as much of the roof as was necessary. Although the barracks were several times in a blaze and an immense quantity of fire against them, the men used such exertions that they kept it under and before day raised a temporary breastwork as high as a man's head, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball and an immense quantity of arrows during the entire time that the attack lasted. After keeping up a constant fire until about six o'clock the next morning, which we began to return with some effect after daylight, they removed out of reach of our guns. A party of them drove up the horses that belonged to the citizens, and as they could not catch them very readily, shot all of them in our sight, as well as a number of their hogs. They drove off all of the cattle, which amounted to sixty-five head, as well as the public oxen."

The sight that met the soldiers of this garrison when aroused from their slumbers to find the roaring flames of fire devouring a part of their blockhouse, was enough to try the nerves of the bravest. The men, with very few exceptions, after being infused with the heroism of their commander, fought like heroes. Two big burly fellows, however, let their heels get the better of their honor. jumped over the fence and attempted to break through the Indian lines and get away. One was killed and the other was glad to get back to the fort, where he lay on the outside of the wall, screened by some logs until daylight, when the Indians withdrew and he was admitted into the fort, without having a very high appreciation of the famous lines, "He who fights and runs away, will live to fight another day."

When the authorities at Vincennes were informed of the attack on Fort Harrison, Colonel Russel, with ten hundred men, was dispatched to that point for the purpose of chastising the Indians and relieving the fort. The troops arrived at that point on the 6th of September, but found the Indians had retired. A small detachment commanded by Lieut. Richardson, acting as an escort for provisions sent to Fort Harrison, was attacked by a large party of Indians at a point within the boundary of Sullivan county. Seven of the men were killed and the balance, with the provisions, fell into the hands of the Indians.

Colonel Wilcox, with the command of Kentucky volunteers, remained at Fort Harrison; Colonel Russel, with the two regiments of Indiana Militia, returned to Vincennes.

There was a noted Shawnee chief named Captain Logan, acting as a scout, who was with Harrison during his march for the relief of Fort Wayne. Some time after the relief of this fort he and two warriors of his tribe were on a reconnoisance about thirty miles north of Ft. Wayne, when they had a skirmish with a like party of the enemy, consisting of several hostile Indians and two or three white men in the British service. During the skirmish one of the white men was killed and Winnamac, a Pottawattamie chief, was killed by Logan, who, being mortally wounded, retreated and got back to the camp of General Winchester, where shortly afterward he died and was buried with military honors.

During the occupancy of Ft. Wayne by Harrison's army the Indian village and their cornfields were destroyed for many miles in every direction. In the latter part of September General Harrison turned over the command at Ft. Wayne to Brigadier-General James Winchester. On the 24th of the same month Harrison received a dispatch from the Secretary of War with orders assigning him to the command of the Northwest Army, with a command estimated at about ten thousand men, with instructions to recapture Detroit, invade the Canadas and destroy the British army in that quarter—all of which he thoroughly accomplished.

As the seat of war was removed out of Indiana Territory, Harrison and his command will be left for the general history of the United States to tell of the heroism of that great general and the valor of his brave and determined men.

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
August 20, 1812.

"COLONEL WM. HARGROVE,
Commanding Mounted Rangers:

"General Harrison has been commissioned Major General by the Governor of Kentucky and placed in command of the militia of that state, who are ordered to report to him in this territory. There will soon be a large number of troops crossing the Ohio river into this Territory. This apparent security will not in the least change your duties. The men under your command will still keep up the same vigilance. The militia of this Territory will in a great measure leave for the north. Then our force of able bodied men will be much reduced and it will be necessary to carefully watch every point of our frontier.

JOHN GIBSON,
Acting Governor."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
August 28, 1812.

"COLONEL WM. HARGROVE,
Commanding Mounted Rangers of Indiana Territory:

"General Hull ingloriously and cowardly surrendered Detroit and two thousand troops to the British on the 15th inst. It is feared that this success on the part of the British will cause the Indians who have been apparently friendly to go to their standard. There is no doubt of the ultimate outcome of this war, but there seems to be much incompetency in high places.

JOHN GIBSON,
Acting Governor."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
September 8, '12.

COLONEL HARGROVE,
Commanding the Mounted Ranger Service:

"On last Thursday, the 3d inst., there were twenty-four people killed at a point north of Louisville, some thirty or forty miles. The Indians who committed this murder came from the north beyond White river. These fool-hardy people had moved away from all others and made no attempt at preparing a place for defense.

"You will go over your territory and at each post ascertain if there are people who are out beyond the line that you are protecting. If you should find such to be the case, then order them to prepare a fort and see that they do it, where there are as many as three families. If you should find less than three families at any isolated point, have them and their effects moved to a place where they can be protected and where the men of these families can help protect others. See that this order is carried out in the earliest possible time.

JOHN GIBSON,
Acting Governor.

Per J. T. D."

"Vincennes, Indiana Territory,
September 12, 1812.

"COL. HARGROVE, Commanding Rangers:

"The brave defense made by Captain Taylor at Ft. Harrison is one bright ray amid the gloom of incompetency which has been shown in so many places.

"Your force east of Blue river was not expected to do anything toward guarding the country for several miles this side of the frontier where the twenty-four foolish people were murdered. The militia of Clark county are supposed to be on duty in that direction and were not to blame. The venturesome people who are in all sections of the country cause their own destruction and keep the country in a great turmoil. The orders in regard to people moving beyond the line of protection from this date shall be obeyed and the venturesome people who are continually wanting to go too near the front, shall go into forts in touch with our guards or brought back inside of the line.

"There is great need of vigilant watch being kept. The Indian will attempt in many ways to

wreak vengeance on the white people.
JOHN GIBSON,
Acting as Governor."

Per J. T. D."

During the last part of 1812 there was so much uncertainty in all parts of Indiana Territory and so many men who were members of the Legislature who were on military duty, that when the time for the regular Legislature came around it was thought best to postpone it.

After it became evident that the Indians were concentrating at different points in Illinois and Indiana Territories, so as to be in position to send out various raids to all the districts which were the most exposed on the borders of these two Territories, the Governor of Kentucky became alarmed. After the determined attack made upon Ft. Harrison and numerous raids made by the Indians along the line and the murder of so many citizens north of Louisville, he determined to strongly reinforce the militia of these two territories. Issuing a call for volunteers for that purpose, there were so many responded that he could not accept half of them. About the middle of September General Samuel Hopkins, a man of noted distinction, was placed in command of two thousand Kentuckians and marched with them to Vincennes, Indiana. Refitting his corps with the proper supplies and ammunition, along about the fourth of October he was ready to march. In a conference between the military commanders and Governor Gibson, of Indiana Territory, and Governor Edwards, of Illinois Territory, it was decided that so many of the Wabash and Northwest Indians had moved and settled in that section around the Illinois river and about where Peoria, Illinois, is now located, placing them in a position to raid any of the settlements along the borders of the the two territories, that Hopkins' corps should be sent against them. The first objective point would be the villages of the Kickapoo Indians beyond and to the northwest of Ft. Harrison. Hopkins got away with his army and crossed the Wabash at Fort Harrison. After marching some days and coming near to the objective point, owing to the loose manner in which the rules of discipline were enforced, theie arose great dissention among the men and officers, several of whom possibly felt that they had not been consulted concerning matters about which they thought themselves competent to give advice, and others claiming that they were not expected to march so far into the interior when they enlisted. After getting probably within one day's march of the Peoria Indians there seemed to be a spirit of mutiny among all the men which was led on by one very officious major. The army followed their trail back, recrossed the Wabash, General Hopkins following in the rear with a picked corps to protect the army from being assailed by any Indians who might be following on their trail. This mutinous army was discharged and sent to their homes. The conduct of the men and a portion of the officers was deeply deplored by General Hopkins, who was a brave, gallant and generous-hearted man, worthy the confidence of this nation.

Soon after this General Hopkins asked permission to organize another corps which was granted and three regiments of Infantry were organized under the commands of Colonels Barbour, Miller and Wilcox, and a company of Regulars under the command of Zachary Taylor. With this command there were several companies of the militia infantry rangers of Indiana Territory.

The army rendezvoused at Vincennes and in the early part of November marched to Ft. Harrison and from there up to the region round the Tippecanoe river, where they destroyed a large amount of Indian stores and a number of their towns. In defense of this old veteran hero, General Hopkins, it is thought best to let him tell to the Governor of his state in his own way the doings of the corps under his command:

"On the 11th of November the army marched from Ft. Harrison on the road formerly made by Governor Harrison's army and the boats set out at the same time. The length of time the enemy had expected us made it necessary to guard ourselves in a special manner. The rise of the waters from the heavy rain preceding our march and some large creeks, left us no doubt of considerable difficulty and embarrassment in so much that not until the 14th did we pass Sugar Creek, three miles above the road. From every information I had no hesitation in moving on the east side of the Wabash. The Vermilion Pine Creek and other impediments on the west side, superadded to the presumption that we were expected and might more easily be annoyed and ambuscaded on that route, determined me in this measure. The boats, too, with provisions of rations, forage and military stores, could be easily covered and protected, as the line of march could be invariably nearer the river. Lieutenant Colonel Barbour, with one battalion of his regiment, had command of the seven boats and encamped with us on the bank of the river almost every night. This so protracted our march that we did not reach the Prophet's town until the 19th.

"On the morning of this day I detached three hundred men to surprise the Winnebago town lying on Ponce Passu (Ponce peau pichou) Creek, one mile from the Wabash and four below the town of the Prophet. This party, commanded by General Butler, surrounded the place about break of day, but found it evacuated. There were, in the main town, about forty houses, many of them from thirty to fifty feet in length, besides many temporary huts in the surrounding prairie, in which they had cultivated a good deal of corn.

"On the 20th, 21st and 22d we were embarked in the complete destruction of the Prophet's town, which had about forty cabins and huts, and the large Kickapoo village adjoining, below it on the west side of the river, consisting of about one hundred and sixty cabins and huts—finding and destroying their corn, reconnoitering the circumjacent country and constructing works for the defense of our boats and army. Seven miles east of us, on the Ponce Passu creek, a party of Indians were discovered. They had fired on a party of ours on the 21st and killed a man by the name of Dunne, a gallant soldier in Captain Duval's company. On the 22d upwards of sixty horsemen, under the command of Lieutenant Colonels Miller and Wilcox, anxious to bury their comrade, as well as gain a more complete knowledge of their ground, went to a point near the Indian encampment, fell into an ambuscade and eighteen of our party were killed, wounded and missing. On the return of this party and the information of a large assembly of the enemy, who, encouraged by the strength of their camp, appeared to be waiting for us, every preparation was made to march early and to engage the enemy at every risk, when from the most violent storm and fall of snow, attended with the coldest weather I ever saw or felt at this season of the year and which did not subside until the evening of the 23rd, we were delayed until the 24th. Upon arriving on the ground, we found the enemy had deserted their camp before the fall of the snow and passed the Ponce Passu. I have no doubt but their ground was the strongest I have ever seen. The deep-rapid creek spoken of was in their rear, running in a semi-circle and fronted by a bluff one hundred feet high, almost perpendicular, and only to be penetrated by three steep ravines. If the enemy would not defend themselves here, it was evident they did not intend to fight at all.

"After reconnoitering sufficiently, we returned to camp and found the ice so accumulated as to alarm us for the return of the boats. I had fully intended to spend one more week in endeavoring to find the Indian camp, but the shoeless, shirtless state of the troops now clad in the remnants of their summer dress—a river full of ice—the hills covered with snow—a rigid climate and no certain point to which we could further direct our operations—under the influence and advice of every staff and field officer, orders were given and measures pursued for our return on the 25th.

"We are now progressing to Ft. Harrison through ice and snow, where we expect to arrive on the last day of this month. Before I close this I cannot forbear expressing the merits of the officers and soldiers of this command. After leaving Ft. Harrison, all unfit for duty, we had in privates of every corps, about one thousand—in the total, twelve hundred and fifty or thereabout. At the Prophet's town upwards of one hundred there were on the sick report, yet, sir, have we progressed in such order as to menace our enemy.

free from annoyance; seven large keel boats have been convoyed and protected to a point heretofore unknown to Indian expeditions; three large Indian establishments have been burned and destroyed, with nearly three miles of fence (and all the corn, etc., we could find), besides many smaller ones. The enemy have been sought in their strongholds and every opportunity afforded them to attack or alarm us; a march on the east side of the Wabash without road or cognizance of the country, fully one hundred miles perfected, and this has been done with a naked army of infantry, aided with only fifty rangers and spies. All this was done in twenty days—no sigh, no murmur, or complaint.

"I certainly feel particular obligations to my friends, General Butler and Colonel Taylor, for their effectual and ready aid in their line; as also to Captain Z. Taylor, of the Seventh United States Infantry. Messrs. Gist and Richenson, my aide-de-camps, and Major J. C. Breckinridge, my secretary, for prompt and effectual support in every instance. The firm and almost unparalleled defense of Ft. Harrison by Captain Z. Taylor has raised for him a fabric of character not to be effaced by my eulogy. To Colonel Barbour for his officer-like management in conducting and commanding the boats, my thanks are due. As also to Colonels Miller and Wilcox; and to Majors Hughes and Shacklett, and to the Captains and subalterns of the army in general. From Lieutenants Richenson, Hawkins and Sullivan, of the U. S. troops, I have to acknowledge my obligations for their steady and uniform conduct, as well as Captain Beckes, of the rangers, Captain Washburn of the spies, and the staff generally."

When the army on its return trip had arrived at Vincennes, General Hopkins announced in a general order his determination to retire from military life.

From the northern borders of Indiana Territory many Indians had returned to the former sites of their old towns in the central part of the Territory and rebuilt them. The

Miamis occupied many stations along the Mississinewa river and were concentrating a large force at these towns. General Harrison ordered Lieutenant Colonel John B. Campbell of the Nineteenth U. S. Regiment to organize a corps of mounted troops for the purpose of breaking up these stations along the Mississinewa river. A regiment of Kentucky Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Simerall, and a detachment of U. S. Dragoons, commanded by Major Ball, and a few other detachments of regular and volunteer troops—in all something over six hundred troops. With the command was a company of spies and several guides who had been imprisoned with the Indians for a long time when stationed in the section that the army intended to march through.

This detachment started on the expedition along the latter part of November. The weather becoming very cold, they were very much retarded in their march. They carried, individually, a full ration for twelve days and on their horses, strapped behind their saddle, a bushel of corn. It was not until the 17th of December that they arrived at a town on the Mississinewa river. inhabited by the Indians. The ground being covered with snow and very cold, the Indians were in their wigwams. The troops entered the town from several points and killed several warriors and captured between forty and fifty prisoners, most of them women and children. Then they went to some other villages farther down the river, but found them all evacuated. The weather was so extremely cold that it was thought best by the council of officers assembled for the expedition to return, but while the officers were in council the camp was attacked by a large body of Indians. The attack was made upon the left flank of the camp, but in a very short time became general. The enemy advanced very close to the line, and seemed determined to come into the camp. The soldiers along that line were brave men, many of them old Indian fighters, and they met this onrush of the Indians with a leaden hail that checked them, when they rushed to find places of concealment, from which position they kept up a furious fire on the American troops for more than one hour, when the Indians gave way and retired from the field.

Of the Americans, eight were killed outright and several died that day of their wounds. In all there were about fifty-five soldiers hit. They lost something more than one hundred horses. The Indians left on the field fifteen dead. It was not known how many they carried off the field dead or mortally wounded, but probably as many as they left. There was no way of ascertaining the number of others wounded who were able to get away.

After the battle was over and the dead were buried, it was decided to commence immediately their return trip. They were compelled to move very slowly owing to a number of severely wounded men, whom they had to carry with them. Colonel Campbell sent an express to Greenville notifying the authorities there of their condition, and a detachment of ninety men, commanded by Major Adams, started to meet them with supplies and conveyances for the wounded.

At a large town in what is now Delaware county, Indiana, the Delaware Indians were in considerable force, and at various other towns up and down that river and its tributaries. These Indians were regarded as friendly to the United States and were urged to move away from the routes of the hostile Indians into the state of Ohio at a reservation assigned for them on the Auglaize river. This arrangement was carried out and the friendly Delawares placed themselves under the protection of the United States Government.

During the times of these expeditions against the Indians and the many battles with them, Governor Gibson and the few troops of his command were busy trying to influence the people who had settled in the Territory to prepare suitable places in each settlement where the people could rally in case of danger and defend themselves.

On the 18th of December, 1812, General Gibson, acting Governor, issued a proclamation in which he required the Legislature to meet on the first day of February, 1813. In a message which he delivered to the House of Representatives in 1813, the acting Governor said: * "The Governor of the

Territory, having been for some time absent from us, the gubernatorial functions consequently devolving upon him have been exercised by me. In my discharge of this important trust, I have been actuated by none other than a wish to preserve public rights and protect private property. If I have, at any time, failed in my official duties, or erred in my plans you must attribute it to the head and not to the heart. My address to you, gentlemen, shall be laconic, for I am not an orator nor accustomed to set speeches and did I possess the abilities of Cicero or Demosthenes, I could not portray in more glowing colors our foreign and domestic political situation than it is already experienced within our own breasts. The United States has lately been compelled by frequent acts of injustice to declare war against England. I say compelled, for I am convinced from the pacific and agricultural disposition of her citizens that it must be a case of the last necessity which would induce such a measure. For the detailed causes of the war, I beg leave to refer you, gentlemen, to the message of his excellency, the President, to Congress at the commencement of the present session. It is highly worthy of the serious perusal of the sage and patriot. It does honor to the head and heart of Mr. Madison. Although I am not an admirer of wars in general, yet, as we are now engaged in a necessary and justifiable one, I can exultingly say that I am happy to see, in my advanced days, our little but inimitable navy riding triumphant on the seas; but chagrined to find that our armies by land are so little successful. The spirit of '76 appears to have fled from our continent, or if not fled, is at least asleep for it appears not to pervade our armies generally. On the contrary, lassitude, and too often schisms —have crept in and usurped the place of patriotic ardor.

"At your last assemblage, gentlemen, our political horizon seemed clear; our infant Territory bid fair for a rapid and rising grandeur; our population was highly flattering; our citizens were becoming prosperous and happy, and security dwelt everywhere, even on our frontiers. Alas! the scene has changed and whether this change, as it respects our Territory has been owing to over anxiety in us to attend our dominions or to a wish for a retaliation by our foes or to a foreign influence, I shall not pretend to decide, but that there is a change, and that, too, a distressing one, is evident. For the aborigines, our former neighbors and friends, have become our most inveterate foes. They have drawn the scalping knife and raised the tomahawk and shouts of savage fury are heard at our thresholds. Our former frontiers are now our wilds and our inner settlements have become frontiers. Some of our best citizens and old men worn down with age and helpless women and innocent babes, have fallen victims to savage cruelty. Our citizens, even in our towns, have frequent alarms and constant apprehensions as to their preservation. I have not been inattentive to my duty, gentlemen, but have hitherto and shall continue to exert every nerve to afford our citizens all possible protection, and it is hoped that the all-wise and powerful Creator and Governor of the Universe will not forget his people, but cover us from our savage and sanguinary foe by his benign interposition."

During the session of this Legislature there were thirty-two laws passed, mostly of local importance to a number of sections in the Territory. Fixing the seat of justice in new counties; an act to organize Gibson and Pike Counties and defining their boundaries; an act to remove the Territorial government from Vincennes to Corydon, Harrison County; an act to reduce into one the several acts, establishing a permanent revenue. "The following tax shall be paid annually on one hundred acres of first rate land, and so in proportion for a lesser amount of first rate land, seventy-five cents. On one hundred acres of second rate land, fifty cents: and so in proportion for lesser amount of second rate land. On third rate land, one hundred acres, twenty-five cents; and in proportion for lesser amount of third rate land. For every slave or servant of color over twelve years of age, two dollars; for a retail store, twenty dollars; town lots to be taxed at a rate of fifty cents on every hundred dollars worth; for a tavern, not more than twenty dollars; for a billiard table, fifty dollars."

By an act which was approved on the 11th of March, 1813, the seat of government was declared to be fixed at the town of Corydon from and after the first day of May, 1813.

After having been in session about forty days, the General Assembly, in conformity to a joint resolution of both Houses, was prorogued by proclamation of Governor Gibson to meet at Corydon on the first Monday in December, 1813.

Governor Gibson becoming convinced that the only safety to the people in his Territory lay in increasing the number of the militia, a proclamation was issued calling for twelve companies of militia. This call was but partly filled, owing to the fact that so many were already on military duty; but the number enlisted added much to the prospect of resisting the attacks of the Indians when they were stationed at the different places along the most exposed part of the Territory.

Wayne, Franklin and Dearborn Counties, or the eastern portion of those counties, being near the thick settlement of the state of Ohio, was much more securely protected than many other districts to the west. The new companies organized—one of them went on duty on the borders of Wayne, and their line of defense extended along part of Franklin County. That company, together with the militia and the rangers already on duty on that border, made that section quite secure. Another company went on duty on the northern borders of Dearborn County and the south and west part of Franklin County; another company was placed on duty on the northern border of Clark County, and another company went on duty on the northern border of Harrison County; the rangers already on duty in these two last named counties cooperated with these new militia companies. These two last named companies, with all the other military forces in that district, were commanded by Major John Tipton, who afterward became U. S. Senator from Indiana. Col. Robert M. Evans, who was in charge of this militia, at one time while making inspection of the forces somewhere in the woods where Jackson County now is, with his large cavalry escort, came up to the place where Major Tipton was giving some directions to mounted spies. Tipton, not paying the Colonel what he (the Colonel) thought was proper military attention, Evans said, "What is your name, sir?" Tipton turned around in his saddle and looking at him, said, "If that is of any importance, Colonel, my name is John Tipton." "Where are your headquarters?" asked the Colonel. The Major replied, "It is now on this saddle, and tonight, sir, if I can find a tree without a panther being at roost in it, it will be on this saddle at the root of that tree." The Colonel, being a very dignified man and much used to formality, in making his report to Governor Gibson, said: "That varmint that you have on duty up in the wilds of Harrison County paid no more attention to me than he would have to an ordinary man."

The rest of the militia companies organized, two of them being enlisted at Vincennes. were stationed at points above and below that post at or near the Wabash river. One of the other two companies raised was on duty near the forks of White river and the last near Blue river. The ranger service which had been organized and was under the command of Colonel Hargrove, was all merged into these organizations and Colonel Hargrove went on duty under Colonel Evans, who commanded all these new levies.

During the year of 1813 the Indians did not attempt to attack any of the forts on the frontiers, but gathered at different points in small numbers in the neighborhood of a fort or blockhouse and laid in wait for days at a time, until they caught some unguarded man stealing away from the fort to look after his little fields of corn or stock. In this way a number of men were killed and several women and children captured. With all of the vigilance that the rangers and soldiers could bestow upon the thinly settled sections of the country, these depredations were committed. Many horses were stolen and houses plundered of such things as they could carry away, and then burned.

Within a very few miles of Vincennes at one time, three men were killed and scalped and twenty-five horses were surrounded and captured and ridden away by the Indians. During the early part of the spring of that year two men who were cutting a bee tree in Franklin County were surprised by seven or eight indians, killed and scalped and their vessels full of honey carried away.

There was a running fight between three scouts of Tipton's command and about twenty-five Indians. One of the men, after running over eight miles, was shot dead. The Indians lost three of their men in the encounter.

At a point near White Oak Springs fort (now Petersburg, Ind.), and within the lines of the patrol guard, two men were killed while out hunting for their horses that were belled. The Indians had caught the horses and tied them in a thicket, taking the bells off their necks and climbing into a low, bushy tree. At intervals they would ring these bells and the men, not suspecting any danger, deliberately went forward to within a short distance, when two out of the three who were together were shot dead by two Indians who were hidden in the tree. The third rushed back to the fort, less than a mile away, raised the alarm and twenty mounted soldiers went to the point and found the two men dead and scalped. They found where the horses had been hitched and where the Indians had hurriedly ridden away.

These maraudings were very annoying, but it was impossible to break them up, as there were many square miles in one body of land, which was a perfect wilderness and unsurpassed for density. There were a great many such places as this in which the Indians, in small squads, could hide in for weeks at a time without being discovered.

With all the precaution that could be used, the Indians would appear from points near where the guards were stationed, killing many of the settlers and stealing their horses. A letter written by Major Tipton to General Gibson in April, 1813, will explain the condition of affairs of the Indiana Territory at this time:

> "Since I have had command of the militia on the borders of Harrison and Clark Counties, the Indians have caused us much trouble and murdered a number of citizens on the frontiers of these counties, all of which I have reported to Colonel Evans; but in order that you may understand the situation, I have directed this letter to you.
>
> "On the 18th of March one man was killed and three others wounded near this place (Valonia).

At that time I was not there. On my arrival I took twenty-nine men and went up to Drift river, twenty-five miles, and here found a party of Indians on an island in the river. In a skirmish of twenty minutes, I defeated them, killed one and saw others sink in the river, and I believe if any made their escape by swimming, they lost their guns. I lost no men.

"On the sixteenth inst. two men were killed and one wounded southwest eight miles of this place and a number of horses were stolen. I immediately took thirty men and followed them three days. We had five large creeks to raft and many to wade and every day a heavy rain fell. The third day I directed my spies to march slowly. The Indians' horses were showing evidences of fatigue, and I thought it best not to overtake them until night; but contrary to my orders, they came up with one Indian who had stopped to fix his pack and fired at him. The other Indians were but a little in advance and they all left their horses and plunder. The ground being hilly, we could not overtake them. Had it not been for my orders being disobeyed, I would have been able to have killed or captured them in their camp that night. As they went out they passed Salt creek and there took an old trail directly for Delaware town, and it is my opinion that while the government was supporting one part of that tribe, the others were murdering our citizens. It is much to be desired that these rascals, of whatever tribe they may be harboring about their town, should be routed. This could be done with one hundred mounted men in seven days.

"If there is not an effective measure taken to guard this place, all of Clark and Harrison Counties will break. It is rumored here that when the rangers come out, the militia will be dismissed. If so, our case is a dangerous one, as it is hard for mounted men to range through the swamps and backwaters of Driftwood and Muscackituck rivers, as they have been for most of the season more than a mile wide, by reason of low, marshy bottoms which overflow, and many times three and four miles wide. The Indians come in and secrete themselves in some high ground surrounded by water and by

> the help of bark canoes, come in and do mischief and until I came out, never could be found. Since I came they have made two attempts to take off the horses. The first time, on the 12th inst.. I took all their horses but one. The last time I took all and still followed them with footmen. The last time we lived three days on a little venison, without bread or salt. and I believe if there are to be rangers, there should be spies of young and hardy footmen, who can lay and scout through the swamps and thickets as the Indians do; then we will be secure, not else. I have been constantly out for the last eight days on foot, wading and rafting the creeks. I have seen many signs of Indians, such as camps where they have lain, and killed hogs and cattle to live on, and many canoes to approach our settlements, and I am conscious if you had not ordered out the additional company and made those excellent arrangements of the ninth of February, all of this frontier would have been murdered ere now. The citizens are living between hope and despair, waiting to know their doom."

In June, 1813, an expedition of one hundred and thirty-five men under Colonel Joseph Bartholomew left Valonia in the direction of the Delaware town on the west fork of White river to capture several hostile Indians who were thought to be among the Delawares. The most of these places they found deserted. Some were burnt and others had been only temporarily occupied by the Indians to collect and carry away their corn. Colonel Bartholomew's forces succeeded in killing one Indian and wounding two more and capturing a very old man who claimed to be a brother of Buckongahelas, the great chief of the Delawares. The old man was fitted up in comfortable quarters by the troops and given supplies of food and ammunition for his fine gun, a present from Daniel Boone, which had engraved on the metal plate, fastened to the stock of the gun, "Presented to my friend, Treatway, brother of Chief Buckongahelas, for great favor shown me when my life was in peril, while a prisoner among the Indians during the year 1779; this is given in testimony for my sincere regard for this kind-hearted Indian. D. Boone."

In one of the treaties which Clark had with the Indians, Boone, who was one of the commissioners to make the treaty, sent the gun by Chief Buckongahelas to his brother.

In July, 1813, Colonel Russel organized a force of six hundred men at Valonia and marched to the Indian villages which were about the mouth of the Mississinewa river, and found they were all deserted. It appeared that the Indians had all left the country.

During the summer there were many smaller expeditions, but they found no Indians. With all of these expeditions, there were many of the most noted Indian fighters of that period, and had they found the Indians, would have given a good account of themselves.

The British still held Detroit, and from that point had furnished supplies to the Indians and paid for scalps of the Americans up to July, 1813. A young Kentucky woman, named McMurtree, was sold to a Canadian officer named Rahel in July, 1813, and was recaptured October 5, 1813, after the battle of the Thames, when General Procter's headquarters and all his baggage was captured. With that was a large number of American women who had been captured and sold into slavery. With this number was Miss McMurtree, and she was recognized by some of her former neighbors belonging to a Kentucky battalion who were in that fight. The statements made by this lady were so damaging to the British that it was thought best to preserve them. Her testimony was taken down by the adjutant of that batallion. She said that she was captured at a point about thirty-five miles northwest of Louisville as she, with her father, mother and brother were coming to Indiana Territory. Her father and mother were killed and scalped and she and her brother were captured, and after the first day's march, her brother was taken by the Indians to a town which they passed near a large river and she had never seen him since. Three Indians had her in charge and took her to Detroit, where she was taken into a building in which quartermaster supplies were stored. Here she saw a man who seemed to be in charge of that building pay the three Indians who had her in charge some pieces of coin and presented each of them with a jackknife and then the Indians gave the man the scalps of her mother and father. Her father's hair being of a fiery red color, this white man made joking remarks to her that they would keep that and would not have to use the steel and punk any more—that they could catch fire by the brilliancy of that hair. They sent to the fort or barracks for Lieutenant Rahel. He returned with the messenger, looked at the girl carefully and said to the man who seemed to be in charge of the quartermaster's building something she did not understand. This quartermaster gave each of the Indians a piece of coin, also a red blanket. The man who paid for her said she would go to his home, that he had a mother there and she would provide for her. These was so much excitement about the army evacuating Detroit that she saw the young lieutenant but once after this. He was then making preparations to send his mother and household effects to Malden, where they remained for a few days until Procter evacuated that town. This young man was killed at Malden while trying to quell a drunken riot among the Indians.

After the destruction of Procter's army and the death of Tecumseh, the Indians became less troublesome and several tribes sued for peace. Among them were some which had caused much trouble in Indiana Territory—the Pottawatamies, Miamis and Kickapoos. About the middle of October, 1813, General Harrison for the United States and several tribes of Indians, the Miamis, Pottawattamies, Wyandotts, Eel River Miamis, Ottawas and Chippewas, held a meeting and agreed on the terms of an armistice, as follows:

> "1. There shall be a suspension of hostilities between the United States and said tribes from this day until the pleasure of the Government of the United States can be known. In the meantime, these said tribes may retire to their hunting grounds and be unmolested, if they will behave themselves.
>
> "2. In the event of any murder or other depredations being committed upon any citizen of the United States by any of the other tribes of Indians,

> those who are parties to this agreement shall unite their efforts to punish the offenders.
>
> "3. Hostages shall be given by said tribes who shall be sent into the settlements and there remain until the termination of all the differences with the United States and said tribes by a council to be held for that purpose.
>
> "4. All prisoners in the possession of said tribes shall be immediately brought to Ft. Wayne or some other post and delivered to the commanding officer."

This armistice affected about three thousand five hundred Indians.

During the early part of the year 1814, General Harrison, General Lewis Cass and General Adair were appointed commissioners to hold a conference at Greenville, Ohio, with the Indians named in the armistice and all other Indians of the Northwest. The information of this treaty was sent to all tribes by the hands of friendly Indians asking them to meet on the 20th of June, 1814, at Greenville to form a treaty of friendship and alliance between the United States and the Northwest Indians. Nearly all the tribes of Indians that had been at war with the United States responded to this call. The negotiations were not concluded until late in July, when the treaty of friendship and alliance was signed, and from that period on there was but little trouble with the Indians.

GENERAL JOHN GIBSON.

In the early part of 1813 Thomas Posey was appointed Governor of Indiana Territory, thus relieving General Gibson of his duties of Acting Governor. It is thought to be but a just tribute to this gallant old hero to give a short sketch of his life.

He was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in May, 1740, and was well educated for that day. He was of Scotch-Irish ancestry and was thoroughly imbued with the patriotism, energy, and physical and intellectual strength so typical of these people. In his youth he served under General Forbes, who commanded an expedition against Fort DuQuesne on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which resulted in its reduction. This became the first settlement west of the main region of the Alleghanies made by the English and away from the seaboard. He remained in the infant town for some time as an Indian trader. In an excursion with another party into the country in 1763, he was captured by the Indians and was adopted by an Indian squaw whose son he had slain in battle. He remained with these Indians for a time and had an opportunity to acquire the language of several Indian tribes and also to learn their customs and manners of warfare and attack, which afterward became of great use to him as an Indian trader and government officer. His conduct was so exemplary that he won the confidence and esteem of his Indian neighbors, and they, in council, determined that he should be released and returned to his own people. He then resumed business at Pittsburg.

Governor Dunmore of Virginia organized an expedition against the Indians in 1774; Gibson was enlisted by that officer to go with them and by his influence with the Indians negotiate important treaties.

The speech of the celebrated Indian chief, Logan, on this occasion, which was cited by Thomas Jefferson as one of the masterpieces of eloquence of all times, owes its English version to the skill of General Gibson in translating it from the Indian language.

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Gibson was made Colonel of a Virginia regiment, remaining in that command for seven long years; he again returned to Pittsburg. From that district he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. He also became a Major-General of the militia and an associate judge.

In 1800 he was appointed Secretary of the Territory of Indiana and held the office until 1816.

At the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain he was left as Acting Governor while General Harrison was engaged at the front. In his old age he became afflicted with an incurable cataract which compelled his retirement from office. He ended his days with his son-in-law, George Wallace, at Braddocks Field, near Vincennes, Indiana, where he died in May, 1822.

LOGAN, THE INDIAN CHIEF.

The object of this is to show a few of the many instances of the wrong doing of the Americans which had much to do with bringing about many of the blood curdling atrocities of the savage race, who were only too glad for an excuse to destroy the white intruders, as they termed them.

In showing this, it is not for a moment intended to excuse or paliate the cruel, barbarous and fiendish actions of the Indians, who murdered, scalped and burned because they loved to destroy. They fought and destroyed their own people of other tribes with the same relentless cruelty that they did the whites; even the members of the same tribe would fall out over some trivial thing and bring on a feudal war which only ended when all the partisans were killed. This is the reason the Indians were in so many little bands and the great reason why they were not more numerous when our people came to this country. They had been here for a long time and it is now generally conceded that they over-ran the country and destroyed its inhabitants when it was peopled by a far superior race. There should not be the least sympathy with those who are ever lamenting the sad fate of the Indians, accusing the white race of stealing their lands from them. The good Lord never intended this fair domain to remain a howling wilderness, nor the hands of the world's onward march to stop, that a race of barbarians might have this immense country for a hunting ground. No; it was intended for just what has been and is still being done, making of it the cultured and beautiful home of the greatest people that are yet on record in the world's history. Of the white people who wronged the Indians none were more cruel than Colonel Cresap, who was a brave man but the spirit of the border ruffian controlled him. He was as cruel as the worst of the savage Indians at times, and much more resourceful in hunting them and much more determined in battle. Without an excuse he and his fellows ambushed and murdered two friendly Shawnee Indians against a protest of the better element of his followers. The next day he led his band and killed several other friendly Indians and the day after that they made arrangements to march and attack Logan's camp on Yellow Creek, fifty miles away. Young George Rogers Clark who was one of the company, talked with different parties of the expedition while they were marching, telling them the Indians they were intending to attack were friendly to the white people and he felt it a great wrong to murder them. Some of the older ones told Cresap that they felt condemned for engaging in such uncalled for murder.

When the party had stopped for dinner young Clark appealed to them—"Let us go and hunt enemies, not friends; there are plenty of them and it is a disgrace for the white race to murder the friendly Indians." After talking the matter over, Cresap and all the company felt ashamed of their action. They about faced and went back to their homes. A few days after this a dozen or more Indians, all of them Logan's family and relatives, crossed the river from Logan's camp and went to a trading post of one Greathouse, where rum was for sale. He sold them the fiery liquor until they became helplessly drunk and then he and a lot of drunken white men murdered every soul of the party. Had it not been for Clark, Cresap instead of Greathouse would have been the bloody butcher. The murder of these friendly Indians all came so close together that they were all charged to Colonel Cresap by the Indians. The Indians were in a furious rage and determined to have revenge for the cowardly, dastardly crime.

Logan was an Iroquois Indian but had moved away from his people and settled among the Mingo tribe and was known far and near as the white man's friend. He was named by his father for Governor Logan of Pennsylvania. As soon as the brutal murder became known the frontier Indians hurriedly made preparations to defend themselves. Logan organized the Mingos into a company and commenced his bloody work, killing, burning and destroying those he had so recently protected, until his cup of revenge was full. After the war had raged for some time, the Shawnees sent word to the white people—"Send someone who can understand our language." General John Gibson was selected to go. Entering the town he was conducted to the great Shawnee Chief, Cornstalk, and other chiefs of the same nation. Logan came to the place where they were and asked Gibson to walk with him. When they had reached a nearby copse of woods, they sat down on a log and Logan, after shedding an abundance of tears made the following speech to Gibson: "I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat. If he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idily in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said—'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had even thought to have lived with you. but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, who last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace but don't harbor for a moment the thought that mine is the joy of fear—Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

One of the lords of England, when on a visit to Lord Dunmore went with him to the wilds of Virginia and met Logan. When he returned home, in a speech telling of what he had seen, he said: "I met an Iroquois Indian by the name of Logan and he was the finest specimen of humanity, red or white, that my eyes have ever seen."

GOVERNOR THOMAS POSEY.

In February, 1813, President Madison appointed Thomas Posey who was a senator in Congress at that time from the state of Tennesee, Governor of the Indiana Territory. Governor

Posey had been an officer in the Revolutionary war and went to Vincennes to take charge of his office on the 25th of May, 1813. The Territorial Legislature met at Corydon on the 6th day of December, 1813 and received the Governor's message. This message in part said:

> "The present crisis is awful and big with events. Our land and nation is involved in the common calamity of war but we are under the protecting care of the beneficent Being who has in former occasions brought us in safety through an adventurous struggle and placed us on a foundation of independence, freedom and happiness. He will not suffer to be taken from us what he has, in his great wisdom, thought proper to confer and bless us with, if we make a wise and virtuous use of his good gifts.
>
> "Although our affairs at the commencement of the war wore a gloomy aspect, they have brightened and promise a certainty of success if properly directed and conducted, of which I have no doubt, as the President and heads of departments of the general government are men of undoubted patriotism, talents and experience, who have grown old in the service of their country. It must be obvious to every thinking man that we were forced into the war. Every measure consistent with honor before and since the declaration of war has been tried to be on amicable terms with our enemies. If they will not listen to terms of reciprocity and be at peace with us, who is the man who is a friend to this country who will not give a helping hand and use his best exertions to preserve and maintain inviolate the just rights of this country?
>
> "It is to be hoped that there are none such."

During that session of the Legislature, which lasted altogether thirty days, there were several very useful and commendable laws passed. One of the most important was that regulating and reorganizing the Territorial militia. Others were to regulate the practice of attorneys; to authorize collection of taxes; an act to regulate elections; an act to prevent duelling, requiring all of the civil and military officers to prescribe to an oath that they would not accept a challenge or carry a challenge for a duel.

Governor Posey was in very poor health and had to leave the seat of Territorial government and go to Jeffersonville for medical attention. He remained away all the time during the session of the Legislature and for a long time afterward.

The House of Representatives of Indiana Territory, by an act of Congress on the 4th of March, 1814, was authorized to lay off that territory into five subdivisions or districts, and in each of these districts the voters were empowered to elect a member to the Legislative Council. The members of the House assembled at Corydon in June, 1814, and divided the districts in accordance with the said act of Congress. These divisions consisted of the following counties:

1. Washington and Knox.
2. Gibson and Warrick.
3. Harrison and Clark.
4. Jefferson and Dearborn.
5. Franklin and Wayne.

There was a great deal of contention at this time that interfered with the administration of the laws. The controversies grew out of a doubt that the people had as to the jurisdiction and powers of the several courts of the Territory. To cure this defect, Governor Posey issued a proclamation convening the General Assembly to meet at Corydon on the 15th of August, 1814.

The General Assembly was convened for the purpose of organizing a judiciary system in conformity to the laws of the United States and that Legislature by an act, divided the territory into three judicial circuits and made provisions for holding courts; defined the jurisdiction of such courts and authorized the Governor to appoint a presiding judge in each circuit and two associate judges of the circuit courts in each county. The Governors were required by this statute to select for the circuit judges men learned in law who were citizens of the United States and had regularly practiced in the courts of the United States or in this Territory for the three years previous.

The administration of justice in the Indiana Territory was embarrassed by difficulties which no Territorial Legislature could remove. These difficulties were mentioned in a memorial by the Territorial General Assembly and laid before the House of Representatives of the United States on the 18th of October, 1814. It seems by a former law which Congress had passed, one of the judges appointed for the government of this Territory was authorized to hold court. By this, one of the judges was competent to hold a court and decide a point of law at one term, and at the next, if the other two judges should be present, they might decide the same principles of law differently.

There was another evil growing out of the system of one judge holding the superior court, or the court of last resort, for appeals were taken from all the courts of inferior jurisdiction to the court organized by the ordinance, which inferior courts are never constituted of less than two judges. Thus the suitor in the Territory was frequently driven to appeal from the judgment of the two men to that of one, but this only constituted part of the trouble, for the next superior court and the other two judges might over-rule the decision of their judge at the preceding term. Hence the want of uniformity in the decisions of the court of the last resort.

Some of the evils complained of were cured by an act of Congress on February 24, 1815. That act set out that the general or superior court of the Indiana Territory should be composed of at least two of the judges appointed by the United States.

After the successes by land and sea of the American army and navy, all opposition disappeared from the northwest section of the United States, and England seemed to have contented herself with the guerilla-marauding, house-burning kind of war at exposed places on the Atlantic coast. During 1814 there was a large emigration into Indiana Territory. The trouble with the Indians had passed, never to return with any severity in this section. The people commenced to develop the country, build houses, repairing the damage done by the Indians and their brutal allies. By the time that the joyful news of peace was declared in the latter part of December, 1814, all the older settled districts of Indiana Territory had received such a large addition to their population that the hum of busy industry was heard on every hand. They built mills, cleared land, opened roads and in many ways started out to develop and improve the rich country they had selected for their homes.

In the year 1814 the General Assembly of Indiana Territory granted charters to two banking institutions. The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Indiana at Madison was incorporated by an act approved the 5th of September. The charter extended to the first of January, 1835. That act declared that the property of the corporation, including the capital stock, should not exceed $750,000.00. An act incorporating the Bank of Vincennes was approved on the 10th of September. The capital stock of this institution was fixed at $500,000.00, the charter authorizing the stockholders to organize a bank on prescribed conditions until October 1, 1835. The charters of these banking institutions were confirmed by the state constitution in 1816. The Legislature by an act of 1817 adopted the Bank of Vincennes as the State Bank of Indiana.

In 1814 Frederick Rapp bought a large body of land on the Wabash river and founded the society known as the Rappites and established a town which they named Harmony. The society was composed of Germans who were principally natives of Wurtemberg. The members of the society were professedly Lutherans and were very simple in their manners, dress and living. By industry and economy they purchased a very large body of land, opened farms, planted vineyards and orchards, erected mills for the manufacture of flour and meal and an establishment for the manufacture of various sorts of articles of industry. In the town they erected churches and public schools. Their farms, homes and property, by certain stipulations of agreements in their organization, were owned in common by the members of that community; and their spiritual welfare was vested in Frederick Rapp, who was the founder of the society. They manufactured many things, having artisans of many professions—hatters, shoemakers, blacksmiths and coopers, tailors, tanners and wagon-makers, wheelwright mechanics, and saddlers. They had establishments for spinning and carding and making various sorts of cloth, both cotton and woolen and the common goods for dresses of that day—flannel and linsey. They brought from the old country their love of the distilled hops, which they brewed in a large distillery.

The community under Rapp had in the neighborhood of nine hundred persons. Schoolcraft, who visited New Harmony in 1821, said: "There is not an individual in that society who is of the proper age who does not contribute his proportional share of labor. They have neither spendthrifts nor drunkards, and during the whole period of their residence in America, about seventeen years, there has not been a single lawsuit among them. If a misunderstanding or quarrel occurs, it is a rule to settle it before retiring to rest, thus obeying the injunctions of the prophets."

In 1825 the town of Harmony, now called New Harmony, was sold to Robert Owen, of Scotland, and Mr. Rapp and his associates moved away. Mr. Owen came from Scotland and was regarded as a philanthropist who did not regard Christianity as an essential element of society, and made efforts to establish a community at New Harmony who were under the same impression.

There is a very interesting volume written by Lockwood giving a full history of the Harmony movement. The author will only give here an anecdote showing Father Rapp's resourcefulness in bringing his adherents to his way of thinking. The latter part of this has not been published before.

Those who are familiar with the history of the Rappites will recall that while they were at New Harmony, Father Rapp in many instances had difficulty in bringing his industrious followers to a point where they were willing to leave their works of useful industry to gratify his ideas for erecting great structures. At one time Rapp was very desirous of building a large granary to store the cereal the community raised and also to build a very large military fortress pierced with portholes for artillery and musketry in tiers one above the other, in case he should have trouble with the Indians. He allowed his wants to become known to the community, but they demarred against his wishes. He then realized that the time was at hand when he must bring to his aid other than temporal things to gain his point. For the time he seemed to acquiesce in their opposition. In the meantime he sent some of his trusted adherents with a boat to a point on the Mississippi river, where he knew there were two large pictograph rocks. In each of them was an impression of an enormous human foot. These boats were returned at night and the treasured rocks were conveyed into Rapp's front yard and nicely imbedded in the turf The next morning he sent a courier around to see all his people and invited them at a certain hour to come to his house. When the people arrived they were amazed to find these two great slabs of stone with the immense footprints. In a short time Father Rapp came slowly out of his house and walked down to where the people were standing and in a very meek and submissive manner told the people that during the night Gabriel had come down from Heaven on these stones and had given him instructions to forthwith proceed to the erection of the granary and the great military fortress, and that if he failed to carry out these injunctions, there would be visited upon him and his people plagues and disasters which would be their ruin. This was all that was needed. The shoemaker forsook his bench, the hatter his blocks, the tailor his table, the blacksmith his anvil, the weaver his loom, and the dyer his pots, the farmer his plow, and even the distiller left off brewing his favorite beverages in the great rush to erect that immense granary and military fortress, which is standing today in a good state of preservation at New Harmony, Indiana.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDIANA BECOMES A STATE.

Constitution Adopted — Officers Selected — Governor Jennings' First Message — Boundary and Area of State — Survey — Taxes — Internal Improvements — Purchase of Indian Claims — Counties Organized — Ague and Other Illness — Failure of State Banks — William Hendricks Elected Governor — Site of Indianapolis Chosen for Capital — Indianians Called Hoosiers — Counties Organized — White Men Executed for Murder of Indians — A Letter From Oliver H. Smith — Improvements Recommended by Governors Hendricks and Ray.

On the first Monday in December, 1815, the Legislature of Indiana Territory met at Corydon. Governor Posey was still an invalid at Jeffersonville, but on his message to the General Assembly, congratulating them and the country on the termination of the war, and alluded to the vast tide of emigration which was coming into the Territory from every quarter, and advising the Legislature to make such wholesome laws as would develop the country and add to the comfort of the new comers. Among the beneficial acts that he asked them to look after, was education and the opening of public highways throughout the settled portions of the Territory. The Legislature, which lasted for thirty days, passed some amendments to the existing laws and adopted some others which would meet the requirements of the condition of the Territory.

A memorial was adopted by that Legislature and sent to Mr. Jennings, the Territorial delegate in Congress, which he laid before that body. It contained the following:

> "Whereas, The ordinance of Congress for the government of this Territory has provided that when there shall be sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, this Territory shall be admitted into the Union of equal footing with the original states; and whereas, by the census taken by the authority of the Legislature of this Territory, it appears that the number of free white inhabitants exceeds sixty thousand, we therefore pray the honorable Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, to order an election according to the existing laws of this Territory to be held in the several counties on the first Monday in May, 1816, for representatives to meet in convention at the seat of government of this Territory on the 10th day of June, 1816, who, when assembled, shall determine by a majority of the votes of all the members elected whether it will be expedient to form a state government, and if it is determined expedient, the convention thus assembled shall have the power to form a constitution and frame of government, or if it be deemed inexpedient to provide for the election of representatives to meet in convention at some future time to form a constitution. Whereas, the inhabitants of this Territory are principally emigrants from every part of the Union and as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons, we think it prudent at this time to express to the General Government our attachment to the fundamental principles of legislation prescribed by Congress in their ordinance for the government of this Territory, particularly as respects personal freedom and involuntary servitude, and hope they may be continued as a basis of the constitution."

The memorial was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Jennings was chairman, and on the 5th of January, 1816, was reported to the House of Representatives of the United States. A bill enabling the people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and state government and for the admission of the state into the Union on the same basis as other states had been admitted, was passed by Congress and approved by the President of the United States on the 19th of April, 1816.

On Monday, the 13th day of May, 1816, members of the constitutional convention were elected in proportion to the population of each county in the Territory of Indiana.

> CLARK COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 1,387; total population, 7,150. Members of the convention, Jonathan Jennings, James Scott, Thomas Carr, John K. Graham and James Lemmon.
>
> DEARBORN COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 902; total population, 4,424. Members of the convention, James Dill, Solomon Manwaring and Ezra Ferris.
>
> FRANKLIN COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 1,430; total population, 7,370. Members of the convention, William H. Eads, James Brownlee, Enoch McCarty, Robert Hannah, Jr., and James Noble.
>
> GIBSON COUNTY—White male inhabitants over 21 years, 1,100; total population, 5,330. Members of convention, David Robb, James Smith, Alexander Devin and Frederick Rapp.
>
> HARRISON COUNTY—White male inhabitants over 21 years, 1,050; total, 6,975. Members of convention, Dennis Pennington, Davis Floyd, Daniel C. Lane, John Boone and Patrick Shields.
>
> JEFFERSON COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 874; total, 4,270. Members to convention, David H. Maxwell, Samuel Smock and Nathanial Hunt.
>
> KNOX COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 1,391; total, 8,068. Members to convention, John Johnson, John Badollet, William Polk, Benjamin Park and John Bennefield.
>
> POSEY COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 320; total population, 1,619. Member to convention, Dann Lynn.
>
> PERRY COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 350; total population, 1,720. Member to convention, Charles Polke.
>
> SWITZERLAND COUNTY—White male citizens over 21 years, 377; total population, 1,832. Member to convention, William Cotton.

WAYNE COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 1,225; total population, 6,407. Members to convention, Jeremiah Cox, Patrick Baird, Joseph Holman and Hugh Gull.

WASHINGTON COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 1,420; total population, 7,317. Members to convention, John DePauw, Samuel Milroy, Robert McAntire, William Lowe and William Graham.

WARRICK COUNTY—White males over 21 years, 280; total population, 1,415. Member to convention, Daniel Grass.

GRAND TOTAL POPULATION—63,897.

The convention assembled at Corydon on the 10th of June, 1816, and completed its work on the 29th day of June, 1816. Jonathan Jennings was chosen to preside over the convention and William Hendricks was elected secretary. The constitution framed by the men of this convention was a practical business document, and in the interest of good government and for the advancement of the individual and state interests. Under the wise provisions of this constitution the State of Indiana made rapid advancement in the improvements of the country and in upbuilding of state institutions and in internal improvements, which were carried out for the advancement of the interest, comfort and convenience of the people.

Under this code of laws made by the old pioneers (who had undergone the perils, hardships and many privations in order that they might have this rich domain as a home for themselves and to transmit as a princely heritage to their children), with amendments adopted from time to time, the people of this state lived and prospered for thirty-six years, when it was thought best to adopt a new constitution in 1852.

An act of Congress enabling the people of Indiana Territory to form a constitution and state government, contained several conditions and propositions with respect to boundaries, jurisdiction, school lands, salt springs and land for seat of government. All the conditions and propositions were accepted by an ordinance which passed the Territorial convention on the 29th of June, 1816.

The officers of the Territorial Government of Indiana, including the Governor, Secretary of State, Judges, civil and military officers, were required by the provisions of the State constitution to continue the exercise of their duties until they were superseded by officers under the authority of State government. The president of the convention which formed the constitution was required to issue writs of election to the sheriffs of the different counties, requiring them to call an election to be held for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, a Representative to Congress of the United States, members of the General Assembly, sheriffs and coroners, at the respective election districts in each county; election to be held the first Monday in August, 1816. At the first general election held in the different counties in Indiana, Jonathan Jennings was elected Governor, receiving 5,211 votes. His opponent was Thomas Posey, then Governor of Indiana Territory, he receiving 3,934. Christopher Harrison, Washington County, was elected Lieutenant Governor; William Hendricks was elected the first Representative from the State of Indiana to Congress. At that election the following named individuals from the counties here named were elected as Senators and Representatives:

SENATE.

Knox County: William Polk.
Gibson County: William Prince.
Posey, Perry and Warrick Counties: Daniel Grass.
Wayne County: Patrick Baird.
Franklin County: John Conner.
Washington, Orange and Jackson Counties: John Depauw.
Jefferson and Switzerland Counties: John Paul.
Dearborn County: Ezra Ferris.
Harrison County: Dennis Pennington.
Clark County: James Beggs.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Clark County: Benjamin Ferguson, Thomas Carr and John K. Graham.

Dearborn County: Amos Lane and Erasmus Powell.

Franklin County: James Noble, David Mount and James Brownlee.

Gibson County: John Johnson and Edmund Hogan.

Harrison County: John Boone, Davis Floyd and Jacob Zenor.

Jefferson County: Samuel Alexander and Williamson Dunn.

Knox County: Walter Wilson, Henry I. Mills and Isaac Blackford.

Posey County: Daniel Lynn.

Perry County: Samuel Conner.

Switzerland County: John Dumont.

Wayne County: Ephriam Overman, Joseph Holman and John Scott.

Washington County: Samuel Milroy and Alexander Little.

Warrick County: Ratcliffe Boone.

Jackson County: William Graham.

Orange County: Johnathan Linley.

The first meeting of the General Assembly commenced its session at Corydon on the 4th of November, 1816. John Paul was elected chairman of the Senate pro-tem until the oath of office would be administered to Lieutenant Governor Harrison. Isaac Blackford was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives November 7th; the oath of office was administered to Governor Jennings and Lieutenant Governor Harrison, after which Governor Jennings delivered his first message to the General Assembly. This message was so replete with many good things for the interest of the inhabitants of the young state and gave evidence of such wise administration for the people, that it is here given in full:

> "GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:
>
> "The period has arrived which has devolved on you the important duty of giving the first impulse to the government of the State. The result of your deliberation will be considered as indicative of its future character, as well as the future happiness and prosperity of its citizens. The repu-

tation of the State; as well as its highest interest, will require that a just and generous policy toward the general government and due regard to the rights of its members, respectively, should invariably have their proper influence.

In the commencement of the State government the shackels of the colonial should be forgotten in your united exertions to prove, by happy experience, that a uniform adherence to the first principles of our government and a virtuous exercise of its powers, will best secure efficiency to its measures and stability to its character. Without a frequent recurrence to those principles, the administration of the government will imperceptibly become more and more arduous, until the simplicity of our republican institutions may eventually be lost in dangerous expedients and political design. Under every free government the happiness of the citizens must be identified with their morals, and while a constitutional exercise of their rights shall continue to have its due weight in the discharge of the duties required of the constituted authorities of the State, too much attention cannot be bestowed to the encouragement and promotion of every moral virtue and to the enactment of laws calculated to restrain the vicious and prescribe punishment for every crime commensurate to its enormity.

"In measuring, however, to each crime its adequate punishment, it will be well to recollect that the certainty of punishment has generally the surest effect to prevent crime, while punishments unnecessarily severe too often produce the acquittal of the guilty and disappoint one of the greatest objects of legislation and good government. The dissemination of useful knowledge will be indispensably necessary as a support to morals and a restraint to vice, and on this subject it will only be necessary to direct your attention to the plan of education as prescribed by the constitution.

"I recommend to your consideration the propriety of providing by law, to prevent more effectually any unlawful attempts to seize and carry into bondage persons of color legally entitled to their freedom, and at the same time, as far as practi-

> cable, to prevent those who rightfully owe service to the citizens of any other state or territory from seeking, within the limits of this state, a refuge from possession of their lawful owners. Such a measure will tend to secure those who are free from any unlawful attempts (to enslave them) and secure the rights of the citizens of the other states and territories as far as ought reasonably to be expected."

BOUNDARY AND AREA.

The State of Indiana is situated between the parallels of 37 degrees, 50 minutes and 41 degrees, 46 minutes north latitude, and between 8 degrees, 48 minutes and 11 degrees and 1 minute west longitude from Washington. The extreme length from north to south is two hundred and seventy-six miles. The state, however, is nearly an oblong, the only irregularities being the Ohio river on the south and where the Wabash is the dividing line between it and Southern Illinois. The average length is two hundred and forty miles, the average width one hundred and fifty-two miles, making the contents about thirty-six thousand five hundred square miles, or twenty-three million three hundred and sixty thousand acres.

By the ordinance of Congress of April 19, 1816, the contemplated state was to be bounded on the east by a meridian line which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio, being a northern line from the mouth of the Miami; on the south by the River Ohio, from the mouth of the great Miami to the mouth of the River Wabash; on the west by a line drawn along the middle of the Wabash from its mouth to a point where a due north line drawn from the town of Vincennes would last touch the northwestern shore of said river and from thence by a due line north until the same should intersect an east and west line drawn through a point ten miles north of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; on the north by the said east and west line until the same shall intersect the first mentioned meridian line, which forms the western boundary of the State of Ohio.

Indiana is therefore bounded by Ohio on the east, Kentucky on the south, Illinois on the west, and Michigan on the north.

The titles to the lands in this state have been acquired and the lands all passed through the general government, except the French grants near Vincennes, which were confirmed to the descendants of the early settlers there, and the grants near the falls of the Ohio made to Clark's regiment by the State of Virginia for their services in the Indian campaign.

In the surveys, meridian lines were first established running due north from the mouth of some river or from some other point easily located. These are intersected at right angles by lines running east and west and called base lines.

The first principal meridian for the State of Indiana is a line running due north from the mouth of the Miami, and is in fact the east line of the state. The second principal meridian is a line running due north from the mouth of Little Blue river, eighty-nine miles west of the eastern state line. The only base line running through the state crosses it from east to west in latitude 38 degrees, 30 minutes, leaving the Ohio twenty-five miles above Louisville and striking the Wabash four miles above the mouth of White river. From this base line the Congressional townships of six miles square are numbered north and south from the second principal meridian crossing the base line six miles south of Paoli, in Orange County; all the ranges of township are numbered east and west, except the counties of Switzerland, Dearborn and parts of Franklin, Union, Wayne and Randolph. This part of the state, which was acquired by the Greenville treaty in 1795, was attached to the land office at Cincinnati and was surveyed in townships from a base line fifteen miles north of the former and it ranges west of the first principal meridian.

Townships are sub-divided into thirty-six equal parts or thirty-six square miles, containing six hundred and forty acres each, called sections. These sections are sub-divided into halves of three hundred and twenty acres and quarters of one hundred and sixty acres each, which last are again sub-divided into halves of eighty acres and into quarters of eighty acres and into quarters of forty acres each.

The townships are laid off into sections, commencing at the northeast corner, numbering from the right to the left hand and from the left to right hand until the thirty-six sections are numbered.

The Territorial government of Indiana ended on the 7th of November, 1816, when it was superseded by the state government and the state was formally admitted by resolution of Congress, approved the 11th of December the same year. The first Senators elected to represent Indiana in the United States Senate were James Noble and Waller Taylor. Robert C. New was elected Secretary of State; William H. Lilly was elected Auditor; Daniel C. Lane, Treasurer. After this the first General Assembly adjourned on the third day of January, 1817.

The citizens of the infant state had but very few among its number who were well off financially, and as the amount required to run the state machinery at that period was not large, the taxes on the property were kept at the lowest possible figure. For state revenue purposes the taxes were raised from the land, of which they made three classes. In 1817 and 1818 the rate of taxation on one hundred acres of first rate land was one dollar; on a hundred acres of second rate land, eighty-seven and a half cents; on a hundred acres of third rate land it was fifty cents. In 1821 it was increased to a dollar and a half on one hundred acres of first rate land and other land in proportion. About this same rate of taxation was continued until the year 1831, when the taxes on one hundred acres of first rate land were reduced to eighty cents; second rate land, sixty cents, and third rate land, forty cents. The tax for the funds to support the county institutions and officers, taking care of the poor and for such improvements on public highways as building bridges, etc., was secured from a poll tax on the head of every man over twenty-one and under fifty years, and from all sorts of merchandise and personal property and a license to venders of all sorts of merchandise. Even at these low rates of taxation it was a great hardship on many people to pay the small amounts assessed against them. Nearly all the people were more or less in debt in small amounts, and in some cases for the money which purchased their lands. Very little of the land was cleared up and productive, and it was several years after 1820 before the people could depend upon agricultural sources for money. Nearly all of the men put in their time on the chase and paid but very little attention to clearing the land or cultivating the soil.

While it was true that money was hard to get and many of the people had nothing practically in this way, there never were people who lived better or had more of the real comforts that come to people who are willing to accept the situation and make the best of it, than did the pioneers of Indiana. Their homes at that time were log cabins and were finished in a very rude manner—in most cases with such furniture as the men could make by the use of an auger and an ax.

During Jennings' administration as Governor of Indiana, the inconvenience of transporting articles of merchandise and of travel, was so apparent that the first note of internal improvements was sounded by him in a message to the Legislature in 1818, in which he said:

> "The internal improvements of the state form a subject of the greatest importance and deserves the most serious consideration. Roads and canals are calculated to afford facilities for commercial transactions connected with the exports and imports of the country, by lessening the expense and time attendant, as well as on the transportation of bulky articles which compose our exports, as on the importation of articles, the growth and manufacture of foreign countries, which luxury and habit have rendered too common and indispensable to our consumption. They enhance the value of the soil by affording agriculturists the means of deriving greater gains from its cultivation with an equal proportion of labor, thereby presenting stronger inducements to industry and enterprise, and at the same time, by various excitements, invite to a more general intercourse between the citizens. The success which had attended the exertions of the Jeffersonville and Ohio Canal Company affords a

> flattering prospect of a speedy commencement upon a great object for which the corporation was created, and presents still stronger claims upon the General Assembly to aid in its ultimate execution."

Governor Jennings in 1818, in connection with General Cass and Judge Parks, was appointed a commissioner to treat with the various tribes of Indians for lands in central Indiana. In the series of treaties they succeeded in purchasing the Indians' claims to all the lands in the central part of the state. In fact, except the Miami, Thorntown and a few other small reservations, they purchased all the land south of the Wabash river. This was a very important transaction for Indiana, and was of sufficient excuse, in the opinion of the majority of the people, for the violation of the clause in the constitution which forbids the Governor of the State to hold any office under the United States. In order to insure success, the contemplated proceedings were kept secret. The negotiations were not protracted and the offense, whatever it may have been, was wholly inadvertent on the part of the Governor. He was, however, very much chagrined when he learned that his conduct had been called into question. He threw his commission into the fire and left it to his enemies, as he called them, to sustain their charge The subject came up before the Legislature whether the Governor had not vacated his office, thereby devolving it on the Lieutenant Governor by acting as commissioner of the United States. The Legislature, however, appreciated the motives of the Governor and declined any action in the premises. Lieutenant Governor Harrison immediately resigned his office and at the August election of 1819 was a candidate against Jennings for Governor. Jennings received 9,168 votes out of 11,256.

During the year 1816 the following counties were organized:

Pike County, containing 338 square miles.
Jennings County, containing 380 square miles.
Monroe County, containing 420 square miles.
Orange County, containing 400 square miles.
Sullivan County, containing 430 square miles.

During the year 1817 the following counties were organized:

Davis County, containing 420 square miles.
Dubois County, containing 432 square miles.
Scott County, containing 200 square miles.

In the year 1818 the following counties were organized:

Crawford County, containing 320 square miles.
Lawrence County, containing 438 square miles.
Martin County, containing 340 square miles.
Morgan County, containing 453 square miles.
Owen County, containing 396 square miles.
Randolph County, containing 440 square miles.
Ripley County, containing 440 square miles.
Spencer County, containing 408 square miles.
Vanderburg County, containing 240 square miles.
Vigo County, containing 408 square miles.

Floyd County was organized in 1819, containing 144 square miles.

The first few years after the state was admitted into the Union the price of government land was held at two dollars an acre. One-fourth of which must be paid down and the balance in three equal annual payments and a year of grace after the last payment became due before forfeiture was exacted. If paid at the end of four years, interest was exacted on all the unpaid installments. The government allowing credit to the purchaser caused many men to bargain for more land than it was possible for them to pay for. In many cases they would borrow money and buy a half section or more of land, paying one-fourth or fifty cents an acre. Good land at this time advanced very rapidly in price. About the year 1818 there was great trouble caused by so many who were unable to secure money to settle the second or third payments.

By 1821 thousands of those purchasers were unable to meet their obligations as it was utterly impossible for them to secure the money. This subject was brought up before Congress and the plan that was agreed upon was probably most favorable to the people of any that could have been adopted. All interest, which then amounted in many cases to more than one-third of the debt was released. Lands entered, that part payments had been made on, were allowed to be relinquished and the amount that had been advanced was applied on such lands as the purchaser would select, paying for it in full. The lands were thereafter sold for cash only at $1.25 an acre.

The three years of 1820, '21 and '22 were attended with more fatal sickness than has ever been known either before or since in the western country. Many of the young towns which were county seats, which had sprung up in the various parts of the country, were almost depopulated. During that time very few persons escaped without one or more severe attacks of fever. The prevailing disease was what is known as bilious or remittent fever, in many cases differing very little from the yellow fever known in the extreme south. In all parts of the new country, owing to so much decaying vegetation, there was a great deal of malaria and almost everybody was affected with it. The regular old shaking "ague fits" and fever were common on every hand.

The persons owning milk cows permitted them to graze on the rich range of the country, and from some cause the cows contracted a disease called Tires, or Milk-sickness. The disease was thus conveyed to the people and in many cases proved fatal. A tired and weary feeling was the chief characteristics of this disease, and many times the little calves would reel and fall down while sucking milk from their mothers. As the country was cleared this disease became less prevalent, and in a few years entirely disappeared. The same was also true of the ague which was so prevalent.

In November, 1821, Governor Jennings convened the Legislature in extra session to make provisions for the payment of the interest on the state debt. It was thought that a sufficient amount for that purpose could be realized on the notes of the State Bank and its branches, and the Governor urged upon the Legislature that the public debt could honestly and conscientiously be paid with these depreciated notes. He said that it would be oppressive if the state, after the paper of this institution was authorized to be circulated in revenue, should be prevented by any assignment of the evidence of the existing debt, from discharging at least so much of the debt with the paper of the bank as would absorb the collections of that year, especially when their notes were to be made receivable by the agent of the state because greatly depreciated by mismanagement on the part of the bank itself. It was not to be expected that a public loss to the state should be avoided by resorting to any measures which would not comport with the correct views of public justice, nor should it be anticipated that the Treasurer of the United States would ultimately adopt measures to secure an uncertain debt, which would interfere with the arrangement calculated to adjust the demands against the state without producing an additional embarrassment.

The manufacturing industries which had been started in New England and the Atlantic states furnished a good demand for cotton that was raised in the Southern states and territories. This furnished labor for a large number of persons in the East, also a large amount of slave labor in the south and there was a great demand for produce raised in the western states. Flat-boating commenced and was in full blast, carrying corn, wheat and pork to New Orleans, where it was then distributed to the cotton country and by ship to the New England shores. All sorts of business flourished and there was a great deal of emigration into this state. This favorable condition of things was noted by the ministers of foreign countries. There being no tariff (or not a sufficient one) to protect our new industries, in a short time immense quantities of goods were imported into our country which could be sold for much less price than our new manufacturing institutions could make them. This stopped our manufacturing business, broke down the demand for cotton and destroyed, or nearly so, our flat boat trade with produce in the south.

For the next few years after 1820, produce became so cheap that it did not pay to raise any more than was needed for the home consumption. Everything and all sorts of business was affected from the same cause. Land that had been advancing in price during the short period of good times was now in no demand. Improved farms which had been worth from six to ten dollars per acre were not worth now more than two and a half. Contracts which were made during the good times, where deferred payments were to be made, caused ruin to many parties.

It was impossible to collect debts by forced sales; nobody wanted property. The failure of the bank at Vincennes that had become the state bank of Indiana, and its branches at Corydon, Brookfield and Vevay left a large amount of worthless paper in the hands of the people. This was another severe blow to the people of this State. There was no possible reason why this bank and its branches should not have kept solvent if they had lived up to the conditions of their charter; but speculation and peculation were engaged in contrary to the stipulated and lawful conditions of the charter of this bank, which brought ruin to it and injured thousands of the citizens of Indiana. The Government of the United States received only thirty-seven thousand dollars on a deposit of two hundred thousand dollars for land sales.

The bank at Madison, Indiana, was an honest institution and was governed by a Board of Directors and bank officers who regarded a solemn oath to mean that it was their duty to protect those who intrusted them with the keeping of their means, and not to mean to get all they could by honest or dishonest means and keep it all. The financial pressure on this bank, however, was very heavy, caused by the failure of the others, and it was forced to suspend. A little while afterward it terminated its business and paid the last farthing of its debts.

These bank failures were one of the real causes of such hard times in Indiana at that period. There was very little coin in the country at that time, the silver, with the exception of a small amount of subsidiary coin, the old style bits (twelve and a half cent pieces) and what was termed by the Hoosiers "fo-pence" (six and a half cents), was all Mexican dollars. They cut many of these dollars into quarters and sometimes into eighths when the transaction called for twelve and a half cents. Then, as now, some who wanted to get the best of the bargain would cut the dollar into five pieces, thus making a quarter on each dollar cut up. This became so common that many county commissioners had a diagram made of a cut quarter when a dollar was to be cut in equal parts, and when paying taxes and cut money was used, it had to conform to the diagram or it was rejected. Storekeepers resorted to the same expedient to detect short quarters.

When blacksmithing was needed, if the account amounted to a quarter and the customer had a dollar to pay it with, they took the dollar and laid it on the anvil and the blacksmith, with a cold chisel, cut out a notch of one-fourth of the dollar for his pay. Some times a round bit would be furnished when the article was only six and a fourth cents and it would be cut in the middle.

Governor Jennings was elected to two terms as Governor of Indiana. At the August election of 1822 he was elected as member to Congress and served in that position until 1831. Soon after his being elected to Congress, he resigned his position of Governor and was succeeded by Ratliffe Boone, of Boonville, Indiana, who at that time was Lieutenant Governor. At the election of August, 1822, William Hendricks was elected Governor. He was a good man and made a good Governor and held that position until 1825, when he was elected United States Senator.

In 1820 a committee was appointed to select a suitable place for a state capital. The commissioners for that purpose were George Hunt, of Wayne County; John Conner, of Fayette County; Stephen Ludlow, of Dearborn County; Joseph Bartholomew, of Clark County; John Tipton, of Harrison County; Thomas Emmerson, of Knox County; Jesse B. Durham, of Jackson County; John Gilliland, of Switzerland County, and Frederick Rapp, of Posey County. William Prince was appointed on that committee from Gibson County, but failed to go. The commission, in accordance with a proclamation of Governor Jennings, met at the cabin of William Conner on the west fork of White river, May 22, 1820.

After canvassing many sites which were presented and recommended to them by delegations of citizens from various towns who were at the meeting, owing to the location of many of these recommended sites being so near the southern border of the state, it was agreed to select a site as near as practicable in the center of the state. This had to be determined by the surveys which had then been made and by the length and breadth of the territory which was then unsurveyed. After a heated controversy the site of Indianapolis was agreed upon, it having received the votes of a majority of two of all the commissioners present. At that time there was not a white family located in that immediate neighborhood. Surveyors were put to work and laid out a new location for the capital. On the 9th of January, 1821, the report of the commission was accepted and the capital of Indiana, then a dense woods, was located and named Indianapolis. Congress donated four sections of land for that purpose, on which the city was laid out and which now stands so proudly as a monument to Hoosier progress and industry.

The first sale of lots at Indianapolis was a spirited affair. Many of them sold for five hundred dollars and some that are now located in the most valuable portions of the city sold as low as thirty dollars. It was difficult to gather together a sufficient number of bidders in that remote section to sell the lots at a very advantageous price. Everybody interested in the capital bought all they could pay for. As soon as it became known that the capital was to be at that point, there was a rush of settlers to that section and nearby country. Nearly all of them adopted the same tactics that all early settlers did, of purchasing forty acres of land out of a hundred and sixty acres which they located and intended to purchase as soon as they could in any way secure the means. This was true of all the country around Indianapolis for many miles and very soon speculators started out to select lands in the country around where the new capital was located.

The first of these were three or four from Louisville, Kentucky, who were acting as agents for large land syndicates in the east and were preparing to locate some land ten or fifteen miles to the south-east of Indianapolis. They were met by some of the squatters, who had bought small pieces of land, who told them there was much better land than they were preparing to select nearer the capital. Accepting this advice and the guidance of these citizens, they started out to examine some lands, and while in a dense wilderness they were fired on by a concealed foe, several shots passing very near their heads. This was evidently done by men who wished to drive them out of the country and it had the desired effect, they reporting at Louisville that they had been fired on by Indians.

The settlers in the country in the meantime were making every effort to secure the land they wanted, but for fear of trouble from the land sharks and of losing the land they wanted to purchase, some of which they had made improvements on, they determined to form an organization for self protection and to that end they called a meeting of all the citizens in the surrounding country to assemble at a given point. They called themselves "Home Defenders." Everything that took place at this meeting was to be a profound secret. They resolved that these land sharks should be defeated in their attempts to purchase the lands these farmers had selected even if they had to kill them to accomplish their object. They selected three of their most resolute men to keep a lookout for the agents of these land syndicates. They organized a company of thirty men who were dressed in regular Indian costumes and when needed they were to be painted and wear all the paraphernalia that the Indian wore to make them look as dangerous and hideous as possible. They had another company of twenty-five men who were dressed in the home spun wear of the pioneer, hunting shirts and coon-skin caps. Having their organization in readiness, they sent their spies out in various directions to watch for these dressed-up dandy agents, many of them wearing the stove-pipe hats of that period, whom they knew would come by the way of the White water country from Cincinnati or from Louisville over the beaten trace which had been made through Jackson county that crossed the east fork of the White river not far from Columbus, Indiana. Having a detachment of mounted men who were all the time in touch with their spies who would notify all the organizations at the earliest possible moment when they should find out that any of the speculators were coming into that section, the main body of these people returned to their homes. Everything went on very quietly for some time, until finally one day several of the detachment left on duty came into the settlement and notified all the citizens to assemble at a point formerly selected, as the speculators were coming.

These speculators traveled in a body of from fifteen to twenty men, in order that they might be company for each other and that they might be better able to defend themselves as each of them had on his person a pair of pistols or some weapon of defense. These men were coming by way of Wayne county, there being a trace from Cincinnati through the White Water valley, up to that country.

After the men who had organized to defend their homes had been in camp some time and had all their preparations made, one of their spies rode hurriedly up and told them that the land sharks were coming and would be in the neighborhood, where they had selected to receive them within two or three hours. Three men were sent back to meet the speculators proposing to act as guides for them and show them the best lands to select from. They were riding leisurely along looking at lands, having a jolly, social time, when all at once they heard several shots fired not far away, and they saw a number of backwoodsmen, riding at breakneck speed across their front, stopping every little while and firing back. These backwoodsmen apparently, were being pursued by some men who were yet in the distance. They halted not far from the place where these speculators had stopped and leaving their horses in the hands of a few men to hold, they rushed back and selected places to defend themselves, seeming to be waiting for the coming enemy whatever it was. In a few minutes a large body of Indians came rushing over the brow of the hill screaming and whooping as Indians do. The white men fired several shots at them which seemed to stop the advance of the Indians. The pioneers went to the point where their horses were left and got onto them and rode in among the speculators and told them that they had been assailed by a strong body of Indians, two of their men had been killed and that they were not strong enough to hold their ground as the Indians outnumbered them two to one and appealed to the speculators to form and help them protect their homes. About this time the Indians were seen coming, whooping and firing as they came, the pioneers firing back at them, at the same time appealing to these specúlators to get in position and help them drive the Indians back. This was a little more than the speculators had bargained for. Ther turned and took their back trail at the best speed their horses had in them. They were followed by the pioneers who tried to prevail on them to —"Stop! Be men and help us defend our homes." The Indians all the time, whooping and yelling and firing, many of the balls coming in close proximity to their heads. These agents lost all thought of honor and determined to take care of themselves only. The white soldiers kept up with them for some distance in their mad race, finally cursing them for a lot of cowardly, speculating villians. They halted their detachment and as the Indians came up, they fought a sham battle of no mean proportion. The speculators made good their retreat and did not halt until they reached Cincinnati. It was said afterward that in the woods in eastern Marion and the western part of Hancock county, many "plug" hats were found which had been worn by these gentry. The farmers returned to their homes and were never bothered again by speculators, purchasing their homes and living happily.

"HOOSIER."

It was in 1830 that the word "Hoosier" became known as meaning Indiana people. In 1833 the New Year's address, published by the Indianapolis Journal, contained a poem written by John Finley, of Richmond, Indiana. The poem was entitled, "The Hoosier's Nest." The word "Hoosier" evidently was intended to convey the meaning of an uncouth, crude, uncultivated people who lived in Indiana, and the "smart set" of other parts of the United States had tried to construe the word to express odium on our people. When taking into consideration the advanced steps taken by our state in educational matters, these attempts have been as a boomerang and only reflect upon those ignorant enough to attempt to cast the odium. There is no Indianian today of any note who does not accept the term "Hoosier" and is proud of the name. In the early days men who went from Indiana to California, when in answer to the question, "Where are you from?" said "Indiana," the reply would be, "A Hoosier from Posey County, Hooppole Township." Much of such slang was originated by the Pittsburg coal boatmen. "Hooppole Township" came to be used in this way: In the early boating days of this country, Mt. Vernon was a head centre for the gathering of flatboat crews. At one time a large coal fleet had landed at that point from Pittsburg and a number of the boatmen had gone up into the town and filled up on fighting whisky. They soon raised a disturbance and started in to clean out the town. At that time there were some large cooper shops in the lower edge of the village next the river and some twenty-five or thirty coopers were working there. As the boatmen and citizens were having the battle, these coopers, with a stout hooppole, went to the relief of the officers who were trying to quell the disturbance, and with these formidable weapons gave the Pittsburg boatmen a chastising which they remembered for all time afterward. Hence the name of "Hooppole Township, Posey County."

In 1821 there were several counties organized:
Bartholomew County, containing 405 square miles.
Decatur County, containing 380 square miles.
Green County, containing 540 square miles.
Henry County, containing 385 square miles.
Marion County, containing 400 square miles.
Park County, containing 440 square miles.
Putnam County, containing 486 square miles.
Rush County, containing 414 square miles.

Shelby County, containing 408 square miles.
Union County, containing 168 square miles.

In 1822 the following counties were organized:
Johnson County, containing 320 square miles.
Montgomery County, containing 504 square miles.

In 1823 the following counties were organized:
Hamilton County, containing 400 square miles.
Hendricks County, containing 380 square miles.
Madison County, containing 390 square miles.
Vermilion County, containing 280 square miles.

In 1824 the following county was formed:
Allen County, containing 672 square miles.

In 1825 the following counties were formed:
Clay County, containing 360 square miles.
Fountain County, containing 390 square miles.

In 1826, Tippecanoe County, containing 504 square miles.

In 1820 the population was 147,178. The increase for the next three and a half years was very light, as that embraced one of the hardest financial periods in the state's early history.

The administration of Governor Hendricks was a wise and careful one. No man was more respected and none more worthy of it. He was ever on the lookout for the interests of his state and its people.

From 1816 to 1821 the Legislature was organized with ten Senators and twenty-nine Representatives. By apportionment law made by the Legislature at Corydon in 1821, the Senate was increased to sixteen members and the House to forty-three members. The men composing the General Assembly were not always men of profound learning, but in most cases were the best men of the section in which they lived. At that time politics had not invaded this country in any serious degree and the difference between the men was usually local. These lawmakers had to face the dishonest actions of men who had been entrusted with the banking interests of the state and the unfavorable condition brought about by the paralyzing situations that our manufacturing interests were in and the consequent hard times, the want of a market put upon our people.

Portions of the new country had settled up previous to these hard times very fast, and in that day what was termed a neighborhood was a cluster of families over several quarter sections of land, and most likely there was a wilderness of six to eight miles between them and the next neighborhood. Around the most important towns they were much closer together. These pioneers were very short of money, but they had their guns and were good marksmen. The country at that time was at peace with the Indians. The greater portion of all of them had moved to the west and northwest to better hunting grounds, where there were no white people.

In Madison County in 1824 there were two or three families of friendly Indians who had located a camp on Fall creek and were hunting in the surrounding country. These Indians had a large amount of valuable furs. This becoming known to some parties, it aroused their cupidity and they resolved to kill the Indians in order that they might secure the booty. The history of this murder and the trials which followed are so well told by the Honorable Oliver H. Smith in his "Early Indian Sketches," that it is thought best to here produce it—also a letter from Mr. Smith to the author in 1856 in relation to this matter. The letter speaks for itself:

Indianapolis, Ind.,
February 10, 1856.

Mr. Wm. M. Cockrum,
Oakland, Gibson County, Indiana—

My Dear Young Friend: Your letter of recent date is before me. Certainly I recollect you. You drove me too many times over the hills and bad roads of Gibson and Pike Counties for me to forget you so soon. Your good mother I shall always remember for the kind and thoughtful attention she showed for my comfort during the many weeks I was at your father's home.

Let me say, you are very young yet. The first dawn of manhood is just opening to you. It is reasonable to conclude that you will grow old. If you do, you will then realize that the best friend that God gave you was your mother. There could be no misfortune or sorrow, disgrace or evil, come to you but your mother would stand by you. Others may leave, but a mother's love endureth beyond the grave.

Your request for the trial of the men for killing the Indians and their execution and the story of Doderidge being treed by his own dogs for a panther, which I told you, I would have copied from my MS., but I can do better than that; I will publish a book, "Early Indiana Sketches," during the next year and will send you a copy; you then may use the two articles and as many others as you care to, if you conclude to put your data into book form. Just such hunting stories as your father tells so well is the sort of material that the young people will read. In writing a book, the author must write for the young to read. They soon will grow old and still other young people take their places.

I hope that you may, in the near future, visit us, and come on the Evansville, Indianapolis and Cleveland Straight-Line Railroad.*

Very truly yours,
OLIVER H. SMITH.

Following is a history of the trial and execution of several white men for the murder of Indians in Madison County in 1824, the only case of the sort in the State or Territory of Indiana; related by the Honorable Oliver H. Smith.

At the time of the Indian murders of Fall Creek, the country was new and the population scattered here and there in the woods. The game was plenty and the Indian hunting grounds had been forsaken by many of the tribes. The white settlers felt some alarm at the news of an Indian encampment in the neighborhood and although they were all friendly a watchful eye was kept on all their movements. The county of Madison had been organized but a short time before. Pendleton, with a few houses at the falls was the seat of the new county. Anderson on White river was a small village; Chesterfield and Huntsfield were not heard of. There were only a few houses between Indianapolis and the falls and still fewer in other directions from the capital.

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*AUTHOR'S NOTE.—Mr. Smith at that time was the President of the Evansville, Indianapolis and Cleveland Straight-Line R. R. (now Evansville & Indianapolis R. R.)

Early in the spring of 1824 a hunting party of Seneca Indians, consisting of two men, three squaws and four children, encamped on the east side of Fall Creek about eight miles above the falls. The country around their camping ground was a dense, unbroken forest filled with game. The principal Indian was called Ludlow and was said to be named for Stephen Ludlow, of Lawrenceburg. The other man I call Mingo. The Indians commenced their season's hunting and trapping—the men with their guns and the squaws setting the traps, preparing and cooking the game and caring for the children, two boys some ten years old, and two girls of more tender years. A week had rolled around and the success of the Indians had been very fair with better prospects ahead as spring was opening and raccoons were beginning to leave their holes in the trees in search of frogs that had begun to leave their muddy beds at the bottom of the creeks.

The trapping season was only just commencing. Ludlow and his band wholly unsuspicious of harm and unconscious of any approaching enemies, were seated around their camp fire, when there approached through the woods five white men —Harper, Sawyer, Hudson, Bridge Sr., and Bridge Jr. Harper was the leader and stepping up to Ludlow, took him by the hand and told him his party had lost their horses and wanted Ludlow and Mingo to help find them. The Indians agreed to go in search of the horses. Ludlow took one path and Mingo the other. Harper followed Ludlow; Hudson trailed Mingo, keeping some fifty yards behind. They traveled some short distance from the camp when Harper shot Ludlow through the body. He fell dead on his face. Hudson, on hearing the crack of the rifle of Harper, immediately shot Mingo, the ball entering just below his shoulders and passing clear through his body. Mingo fell dead. The party then met and proceeded to within gunshot of the camp. Sawyer shot one of the squaws through the head. She fell and died without a struggle. Bridge Sr. shot another squaw and Bridge Jr. the other one. Both fell dead. Sawyer then fired at the eldest boy, but only wounded him. The other children were shot by some of the party. Harper then led on to the camp.

The three squaws, one boy and the two little girls lay dead but the oldest boy was still living. Sawyer took him and knocked his brains out against the end of a log. The camp was then robbed of everything worth carrying away. Harper, the ringleader, left immediately for Ohio and was never taken. Hudson, Bridge Sr., Bridge Jr., and Sawyer were arrested and when I first saw them they were confined in a square log jail built of heavy beech and sugar-tree logs, notched down closely and fitting tight above and below on the sides. I entered with the sheriff. The prisoners were all heavily ironed and sitting on the straw on the floor. Hudson was a man of about middle size, with a bad look, dark eyes and bushy hair, about thirty-five years of age in appearance. Sawyer was of about the same age, rather heavier than Hudson but there was nothing in his appearance that could have marked him in a crowd as anything more than a common farmer. Bridge, Sr. was much older than Sawyer, his head was quite grey, he was about the common height, slender and a little bent while standing. Bridge, Jr. was some eighteen years of age, a tall stripling. Bridge, Sr. was the father of Bridge, Jr. and the brother-in-law of Sawyer.

The news of these Indian murderers flew upon the wings of the wind. The settlers became greatly alarmed, fearing the retaliatory vengeance of the tribes and especially of the the other bands of the Senecas. The facts reached Mr. John Johnston at the Indian Agency at Piqua, Ohio. An account of the murders was sent from the agency to the war department at Washington City. Colonel Johnston and William Conner visited all the Indian tribes and assured them that the government would punish the offenders and obtaining the promises of the chiefs and warriors that they would wait and see what their "Great Father" would do before they took the matter into their own hands. This quieted the fears of the settlers and preparation was commenced for the trials. A new log building was erected at the north part of Pendleton with two strong rooms, one for the court and one for the grand jury. The court room was about twenty by thirty feet with a heavy "puncheon" floor, a platform at one end three feet high, with a strong railing in front, a bench for the judges, a plain table for the clerk, in front on the floor a long bench for the counsel, a little pen for the prisoners, a side bench for the witnesses and a long pole in front, substantially supported to separate the crowd from the court and bar. A guard by day and night was placed around the jail. The court was composed of Wm. W. Wick, presiding judge, Samuel Holliday and Adam Winchell associates. Judge Wick was young on the bench but with much experience in criminal trials. Judge Holliday was one of the best and most conscientious men I ever knew. Judge Winchell was a blacksmith, and had ironed the prisoners. He was an honest, frank, rough illiterate man, without any pretensions of legal knowledge. Moses Cox was the clerk. He could barely write his name and when a candidate for justice of the peace at Connersville, he boasted of his superior qualifications, saying: "I have been sued on every section of the statute and know all about the law, while my competitor has never been sued and knows nothing about the statute." Samuel Cory was a fine specimen of a woods' Hoosier, tall and strong-boned, with a hearty laugh, without fear of man and beast, with a voice that made the woods ring when he called the jurors and witnesses. The county was then prepared for the trials.

In the meantime the government was not sleeping. Colonel Johnston, the Indian agent, was directed to attend the trials to see that the witnesses were present and to pay their fees. General James Noble, then a United States Senator, was employed by the Secretary of War to prosecute, with power to fee an assistant. Philip Sweetzer, a young son-in-law of the General, of high promise in his profession, was selected by the General as his assistant. Calvin Fletcher was the regular prosecuting attorney, then a young man of more than ordinary ability and a good criminal lawyer. The only inn in Pendleton was a new frame house near the creek, still standing by the side of the railroad bridge.

The term of the court was about being held. The Sunday before the term commenced, the lawyers began to arrive and, as the custom was in those days, they were invited out to dine on the Sabbath by the most wealthy citizens as a favor and compliment, not to the lawyers but to their hosts. We had a statute in those days imposing a fine of one dollar on each person who should "profanely curse, swear or damn," and making it the duty of all judges and magistrates to see that the law was enforced upon offenders in their presence. Judge Holliday invited Calvin Fletcher, the circuit prosecuting attorney, and his Indianapolis friend, Daniel B. Wick, the brother of the Judge, to dine with him. The invitation was accepted, of course, there being no previous engagement in the way. Dinner was announced; Judge Holliday asked a "blessing" at the table—Mr. Fletcher declining. The Judge had killed a fat goose for the extraordinary occasion, which was nicely stuffed with well-seasoned bread and onions and placed in the center of the table. Mr. Wick, who was not a church member, fixed his eye an the goose and said, by way of compliment, "That's a damned fine goose, Judge." "Yes, it is a fine goose, and you are fined one dollar for swearing." Not a word more was spoken at the table. Dinner over, Judge Holliday said, "Squire Wick, pay me the dollar." "I have not a cent with me, Judge." "Perhaps Mr. Fletcher will lend it to you." Mr. Fletcher: "I really have with me only sufficient to pay my tavern bill." Judge Holliday: "What is to be done?" Fletcher: "Lend him the money, Judge, take his note or bind him over to the court." "I'll bind him over; you'll go his security?" "The rules of the court forbid lawyers to go security for anyone, but you can go it yourself; just draw the recognizance, 'Daniel B. Wick and Samuel Holliday appear before Samuel Holliday, associate judge of the Madison circuit court, and acknowledge themselves to be indebted to the state in the penalty of twenty-five dollars each for the appearance of Daniel B. Wick at the next term of court to answer." The reasonable proposition of Mr. Fletcher was at once accepted by all parties. The recognizance was taken in due form and forfeited at the next term of court by the absence of Mr. Wick. Judgment was rendered against Judge Holliday for twenty-five dollars. A petition to the Governor was drawn and signed by the whole bar; a remittance soon followed.

The trial of Hudson commenced the next day after the Sabbath dinner at Judge Holliday's. A number of distinguished lawyers were in attendance from this state and several from the State of Ohio. Among the most prominent I name General James Noble, Philip Sweetzer, Harvey Gregg, Lot Bloomfield, James Rariden, Charles H. Test, Calvin Fletcher, Daniel B. Wick and William R. Morris, of this state; General Sampson Mason and Moses Vance, of Ohio. Judge Wick being temporarily absent in the morning, William R. Morris arose and moved the associate judges: "I ask that these gentlemen be admitted as attorneys and counselors at this bar; they are regular practitioners, but have not brought their licenses with them." Judge Winchell: "Have they come down here to defend the prisoners?" "Most of them have." "Let them be sworn — nobody but a lawyer would defend a murderer."

Mr. Morris: "I move the Court for a writ of habeas corpus to bring up the prisoners now illegally confined in jail." Judge Winchell: "For what?" "A writ of habeas corpus." "What do you want to do with it?" "To bring up the prisoners and have them discharged." "Is there any law for that?" Morris read the statute regulating the writ of habeas corpus. "That act, Mr. Morris, has been repealed long ago." "Your honor is mistaken; it is a constitutional writ as long as Magna Charta itself." "Well, Mr. Morris, to cut this matter short, it would do you no good to bring out the prisoners; I ironed them myself, and you will never get them irons off until they have been tried, habeas corpus or no habeas corpus." Per curia, "Motion over-ruled." Judge Wick entered and took his seat between the two side judges. "Call the grand jury." All answer to their names and are sworn. Court adjourned for dinner. Court met; the grand jury brought into court an indictment for murder drawn by Fletcher against Hudson. Counsel on both sides: "Bring the prisoner into court." The Court: "Sheriff, put in the box a jury." Sheriff: "May it please the Court, Dr. Highday just handed me a list of jurors to call on the jury." Judge Wick: "Bring Dr. Highday into court." "Did your honor wish to see me?" "Dr. Highday, is this your handwriting?" "I presume it is." "Dr. Highday, we have no jail to put you in; the one we have is full; hear your sentence: It is the judgment of the court that you be banished from these court grounds till the trials are over. Sheriff, see the judgment of the court is carried strictly into execution."

I digress to give here the scene in court, published by General Sampson Mason in a Springfield, Ohio, paper: "As I entered the court-room, the judge was sitting on a block, paring his toe-nails, when the sheriff entered, out of breath, and informed the court that he had six jurors tied and his deputies were running down the others." General Mason, with all his candor, unquestionably drew upon his imagination in that instance.

Hudson, the prisoner, was brought into the court by the deputy sheriff and two of the guard. His appearance had greatly changed since I first saw him in the long pen with his comrades in crime. He was now pale, haggard and downcast, and with a faltering voice answered, upon his arraignment, "Not guilty." The petit jury were hardy, honest pioneers, wearing moccasins and side knives. The evidence occupied but a single day and was positive, closing every door of hope to the prisoner. The prosecuting attorney read the statute, creating and affixing the punishment to the homicide and plainly stated the substance of the evidence. He was followed for the prisoner in an able, eloquent and powerful speech, appealing to the prejudice of the jury against the Indians; relating in glowing colors the early massacres of white men, women and children by the Indians; reading the principal incidents in the history of Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton; relating their cruelties at the battle of Blue Lick and Bryant's Station, and not forgetting the defeat of Braddock, St. Clair and Harmar. General James Noble closed the argument for the state in one of his forcible speeches, holding up to the jury the bloody clothing of the Indians and appealing to the justice, patriotism and love of the law of the jury, not forgetting that the safety of the settlers might depend upon the conviction of the prisoners, as the chiefs and warriors expected justice to be done. The speech of the General had a marked effect upon the crowd, as well as the jury. Judge Wick charged the jury at some length, laying down the laws of homicide in its different degrees and distinctly impressing upon the jury that the law knew no distinction as to nation or color; that the murder of an Indian was equally criminal in law as the murder of a white man. The jury retired and next morning brought into court a verdict of "Guilty of murder in the first degree." The motion for a new trial was over-ruled, the prisoner was brought into court and sentence of death pronounced in the most solemn manner by Judge Wick. The time for the execution was fixed, as is usual, for a distant day In the meantime Hudson made his escape from the guardhouse one dark night and hid himself in a hollow log in the woods, where he was found and arrested.

Time rolled on and the fatal day for execution arrived. Multitudes of people were there. Among them were several Senecas, relatives of the murdered Indians. The gallows was erected just above the falls on the north side. The people covered the surrounding hills, and at the appointed hour, Hudson, by the forfeiture of his life, made the last earthly atonement for his crimes. Such was the result of the first case on record in America where a white man was hung for killing an Indian. The other cases were continued until the next term of court.

TRIAL OF SAWYER.

Monday morning came. Court met. Judge Eggleston, in fine health, on the bench in the center; Adam Winchell on his left and Samuel Holliday on his right; Moses Cox at the clerk's desk; Samuel Cory on the sheriff's platform, and Colonel John Berry, captain of the guard, leaning against the logs. The grand jury was called, sworn and charged and court adjourned for dinner. In the afternoon the evidence of the main witnesses were heard. I had prepared the indictments in my office and had them with me. The foreman signed the bills on his knee and they all returned into court before the adjournment. That night Col. John Johnston, the Indian agent, called at my room and offered me one hundred dollars on behalf of the United States. I informed him that I was a state officer and could not accept the money, however tempting it might be under other circumstances.

The court met in the morning. We agreed to try Sawyer first for shooting one of the squaws. The prisoner was brought into court by the sheriff. He appeared so haggard and changed from his long confinemant that I scarcely knew him. The court-room was crowded. General James Noble, Philip Sweetzer and myself for the state; James Rariden; Lot Bloomfield, William R. Morris and Charles H. Test for the prisoner. Judge Eggleston: "Sheriff, call the petit jury." Judge Winchell: "Sheriff, call Squire Makepiece on the jury; he will be a good juror; he will not let one of these murderers get away." Judge Eggleston, turning to Judge Winchell: "This will never do. What! the court pack a jury to try a capital case?" The jury was soon impaneled. The evidence was conclusive that the prisoner had shot one of the squaws at the camp with his rifle, after the killing of Ludlow and Mingo by Harper and Hudson in the woods. The jury were a hardy, heavy-bearded set of men with side knives in their belts and not a pair of shoes among all of them; they wore moccasins. Mr. Sweetzer opened for the state with a strong, matter-of-fact speech, which was his forte. He was followed in able speeches by Mr. Morris, Mr. Test and Mr. Rariden for the prisoner. General Noble closed for the prosecution in a powerful speech. The General was one of the strongest and most effective speakers before a jury or promiscuous assembly I have ever heard. The case went to the jury under an able charge from Judge Eggleston and court adjourned for dinner.

At the meeting of the court in the afternoon, the jury returned the verdict of "Guilty of manslaughter — two years at hard labor in the penitentiary." Mr. Rariden sprang to his feet: "If the court please, we let judgment go on the verdict and are ready for the case of Sawyer for killing the Indian boy at the camp." "Ready for the state." The same jury were accepted by both sides — being in the box. They were immediately sworn. The evidence was heard, again conclusive against the prisoner. General Noble opened for the prosecution, and was followed by Charles H. Test, William R. Morris and James Rariden with powerful speeches. The jury were referred to their verdict in the previous case and their judgments were warmly eulogized. This was, by arrangement, my case to close. I saw my position, and the only point which I had to meet was to draw the distinction between the two cases, so as to justify the jury for finding a verdict for manslaughter in one case and of murder in the case before them. In law there was no difference whatever. They were both cold-blooded murders. The calico shirt of the murdered boy, stained with blood, lay upon the table. I was closing a speech of an hour. Stepping forward I took up the bloody shirt and holding it to the jury: "Yes, gentlemen of the jury, the case is very different. You find the prisoner guilty of only manslaughter in using his rifle on a grown squaw—that was the act of a man; this was the act of a demon. Look at this shirt, gentlemen, with the bloody stains upon it. This was a poor helpless boy, who was taken by the heels by this fiend in human shape and his brains knocked out against a log! If the other case was manslaughter, is not this murder?" The eyes of the jury were filled with tears. Judge Eggleston gave a clear and able charge upon the law. The jury, after an absence of only a few minutes, returned a verdict of "Murder in the first degree." The prisoner was remanded and the court adjourned.

TRIAL OF BRIDGE—SCENES AT THE EXECUTION.

The next morning the case of Bridge, Sr., for shooting a little Indian girl at the camp, was called. The prisoner entered with the sheriff. He was more firm in his step and looked better than Sawyer, though a much older man. A jury was impaneled. The proof was positive. The case was argued by Mr. Morris and Mr. Rariden for the prisoner, and Mr. Sweetzer and myself for the state. The charge was given by Judge Eggleston, and after a few minutes' absence, the jury returned the verdict of "Murder in the first degree." The only remaining case — of the stripling, Bridge, Jr., for the murder of the other Indian boy at the camp— came on next. The trial was more brief, but the result was the same—verdict of murder in the first degree -- with a recommendation, however, to the Governor for a pardon, in consequence of his youth, in which the court and bar joined. Pro forma, motions for new trials were over-ruled, the prisoners remanded to be brought up for sentence next morning, and the court adjourned.

Morning came and with it a crowded court-house. As I walked from the tavern, I saw the guard approaching with Sawyer, Bridge, Senior, and Bridge, Junior, with downcast eyes and tottering steps in their midst. The prisoners entered the court-room and were seated. The sheriff commanded silence. The prisoners arose, the tears streaming down their faces and their groans and sighs filling the court-room. I fixed my eyes on Judge Eggleston. I heard him pronounce sentence of death on Fuller for the murder of Warren, and upon Fields for the murder of Murphy. But here was a still more solemn scene: An aged father, his favorite son and his wife's brother—all standing before him to receive the sentence of death. The face of the judge was pale, his lips quivered, his tongue faltered, as he addressed the prisoners. The sentence of death by hanging was pronounced, but the usual conclusion, "and may God have mercy on your souls," was left struggling for utterance.

The time for the execution was fixed at a distant day, but it soon rolled around. The gallows was erected on the north bank of Fall Creek; just above the falls at the foot of the rising grounds one may see from the cars. The hour for the execution had come. Thousands surrounded the gallows. A Seneca chief, with his warriors, was posted near the brow of the hill. Sawyer and Bridge, Senior, ascended the scaffold together, were executed in quick succession and died without a struggle. The vast audience was in tears. The exclamation of the Senecas was interpreted, "We are satisfied." An hour expired. The bodies were taken down and laid in their coffins, when there was seen ascending the scaffold, Bridge, Junior, the last of the convicts. His step was feeble, requiring the aid of the sheriff; the rope was adjusted; he threw his eyes around upon the audience and then down upon the coffin where lay exposed the bodies of his father and uncle. From that moment his wild gaze showed too clearly that the scene had been too much for his youthful mind. Reason partially left her throne and he stood looking at the crowd, apparently unconscious of his position. The last minute had come, when James Brown Ray, Governor of the state, announced to the immense crowd that the convict was pardoned. Never before did an audience more heartily respond, while there was a universal regret that the executive authority had been deferred until the last moment. Thus ended the only trials where convictions of murder were followed by the execution of white men for killing Indians, in the United States up to that period.

The following story is also from Mr. Smith's "Early Sketches":

Many years ago while our frontier counties were a wilderness, the settlers lived far apart. It had been whispered about in private circles that some boys had seen a panther looking out of a hole in a black walnut tree. The story was doubted by many, still it was sufficiently alarming to induce settlers to prepare themselves with rifles and large packs of hounds. Among the settlers there was a man, for the sake of a name I call Doderidge Alley, a neighborhood leader. He had often been elected captain of one side at log-rollings and corn-shuckings. Doderidge had one of the severest packs of hounds in the settlement, of which he often boasted, especially of "Old Ring." The county in which Doderidge resided was entitled to a Representative in the State Legislature. A number of candidates brought themselves out, Doderidge among them. There were no caucuses nor conventions in that day; every one ran upon his own hook and mounted his own hobby. Doderidge believed strongly in love at first sight and in early marriages. He selected the idea of authorizing constables in their several townships to solemnize marriages, so as to tie the hymeneal knot before the first love could have time to cool while they were sending to town for a preacher. Doderidge had, no doubt, seen the first verse of "Love at First Sight," but had not read the last.

The contest was very close, but Doderidge triumphed. The session of the Legislature was approaching—a new suit of clothes would be needed; the yarn was spun, the cloth woven and colored with butternut bark, a kind of yellowish brown. The neighboring tailor had cut and made the suit, coat, vest and pantaloons; they hung in folds upon him, but still he looked pretty well and felt right comfortable, as his blood had free circulation. All things were ready for his departure for the capital; business required him to go to one of the upper settlements. He dressed up in his fine butternut suit for the first time, promising to be back for supper. Time passed on and no Doderidge. His lady became uneasy; the story of the panther came fresh in her mind; the clock struck ten, still no Doderidge. The dogs had not been seen for an hour before dark. Hark! the sound of hounds is heard in the distant forest. A panther, no doubt. Night wore away, morning dawned, no Doderidge. The lady left her cabin and directed her course through the woods by the distant baying. The spot was reached at last. There, perched upon a leaning tree, some fifty feet up, sat Doderidge in his butternut suit, the very image of a panther, old Ring tearing the bark from the root of the tree and the rest of the pack baying at the top of their lungs. A word from the voice of their well-known mistress was enough; Doderidge came down, old Ring took the lead for home and away went the whole pack, leaving Doderidge and his rescuer to walk home together, deadly enemies to butternut bark while there were panthers in the woods.

Weeks afterward, Doderidge arises in the Legislature:

"Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a bill to authorize constables to solemnize marriages; it is laid off into sections of four lines." A member I call Hugh Barnes, with a powerful sing-song voice: "I am opposed, Mr. Speaker, to that bill. Marriage is a solemn thing; it ought never to be entered into without the greatest deliberation and the maturest reflection. Why all this haste to tie the knot? Constables ought to have nothing to do with it except when they get married themselves." As the speaker progressed, he became more and more animated; his voice rose to the highest tones, not unlike Old Hundred. As he closed, all eyes were upon Doderidge; the speech sounded very much like the funeral services of the bill and Doderidge looked like chief mourner. Doderidge sprang to his feet as quick as thought: "Mr. Speaker, would it be in order now to sing a hymn?" The Speaker hesitated, the house roared, the triumph of Doderidge was complete, the session closed, the bill was left for the next Legislature. Doderidge returned home, the hounds were disposed of, and there was never an ounce of butternut bark used for dyeing purposes in the family of Doderidge afterward.

In 1822 Governor Hendricks, in a message to the Legislature, recommended that as fast as the state was able, it should make many improvements that were much needed. He named improvements for the falls of the Ohio, also the Wabash and White rivers, making them navigable for keel and flatboats; also the construction of the national road through the state.

These recommendations were among the first which were afterward carried out, of the great system of internal improvements engaged in by our state. The most expensive of all of these was the construction of the Wabash and Erie canal. The act of Congress granting land for its construction was passed in 1827. It was more than twenty years after this before it was completed. An account of this work will be given in another chapter.

At an election of 1825 James B. Ray was elected Governor. At this time the revenue of the state to pay its expenses was a little over thirty-six thousand dollars, and this was the average amount received for that purpose until about 1830. In 1825 the state government was moved from Corydon to Indianapolis, a distance of about one hundred and twenty-five miles.

In 1826 there was a treaty held with the Pottawattamie Indians. The commissioners in this case were Governor Ray, General John Tipton and Governor Cass. At that treaty a strip of land ten miles wide on the north line of the state, also a small tract between the Wabash and Eel rivers, was purchased.

From 1826 the prices of land and produce improved and continued to improve for the next six or seven years. Confidence was restored in the business circles and everything gradually kept on improving. There was a large increase in the population during the years 1825 and 1826. At the close of 1826 there were 250,000 people in Indiana; this from 1800, when there were 5,000 persons in the state, was a gain of 245,000.

In the year 1825 Governor Ray in his message to the Legislature urged upon them the necessity of adopting a system of internal improvements, such as building canals, railroads and plank roads. The policy that he urged was not attempted to be carried out until ten years later.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANIMALS OF EARLY INDIANA.

Game Animals — Game Birds — Ferocious Animals — Fur-Bearing Animals — Birds of Prey.

BUFFALO.

The buffaloes varied in height from five to five and one-half feet. They differed from our domestic cattle in being longer of limb and shorter bodied and in having a large hump on the back. The males had a long mane and much longer hair on their heads, backs and shoulders. Their bodies were the largest just back of their fore legs and gradually tapered back and diminished in height. They had a long neck; head and eyes small. Their build denoted speed and their general appearance was fierce and dangerous. They had a very acute sense of smell and could scent danger a long way off. These animals migrated from south to north in the summer season, and from north to south in the winter season, across the great western plains that nature had provided with buffalo grass for them. Many small herds did not migrate and remained in the same sections winter and summer; even as far north as North Dakota this was true. Whether there was a difference or what caused small isolated herds to remain in the same section all the time, is not known.

On the great western plains, from Texas to the Dakotas, until only a few years ago, the buffaloes were in such countless numbers that they had to spread over an immense territory to find food for their sustenance. The males and females herded separately, except in the coupling season, which was in June and July. The males at this time contended for the mastery. Hundreds of them would engage in fighting at the same time. The roar from these conflicts was deep, loud and most terrible, and in many cases they gored each other to death with their strong, sharp horns. The cows brought forth in March and April. They were very much attached to their calves, and to protect them from the many animals that were always prowling around for an opportunity to catch a laggard calf, the cows at night would form a circle, the cows lying down with their horns outward, the calves on the inside of the circle. The usual weight of these animals was from ten to fourteen hundred pounds. Sometimes, as in our domestic cattle, there would be some which would weigh two thousand pounds. A buffalo cow in the northwest has been known to defeat and kill a grizzly bear with her horns, in defending her young calf. The flesh was better, if possible, than the best stall fed beef. It may be owing to the food they ate, which was fresh young grass of the plains and in Indiana, when in the timbered sections, young cane. The flesh had a wild, venison taste that gave it an excellent flavor. The hump was considered the choice piece. The buffalo of this country were hard to domesticate, not tractible as the buffalo in the old country. When they were domesticated, they became valuable in drawing immense loads. There were no such numbers of these animals in southern and southwestern Indiana when the pioneers first came to it, as was described by Daniel Boone when he first traversed the wilds of Kentucky, nor were there so many as there were at a much later date in northern and northwestern Indiana, on the prairies and around the Kankakee country. The reason for this was probably that the southern section of the state was a dense wilderness and the home of the panther, which was the only animal in Indiana that could contend successfully with the buffalo. The panther, from a perch in a tree, near a lick, would land on the buffalo's back and could not be shaken off, but would retain his hold, and with his long, sharp claws, cut the jugular vein. In this way untold numbers of buffalo were killed.

The settlers who were in the state before 1810 did kill some buffalo. All the country in southwestern Indiana, along the rivers and branch bottoms and the foothills, were covered with a rich growth of cane. On this the buffalo could live in the winter and have the shelter of the timber and brush for protection; but they were so very wild it was very hard to get near enough to shoot at them with any certainty.

THE ELK.

The elk was of the deer species and between the red deer of this country and the moose of the northeastern states in appearance. In the shape of the body they resembled the deer, but were many times larger. The male had a pair of very large, branching antlers. It has been known when standing on the point, that a man six feet tall could walk under them. It would seem impossible that they could make any speed through the woods with such an enormous pair of horns; but they would lay them back on their shoulders and run very fast. Hunters who moved to Indiana from the south claimed that the elk were not nearly so large there as the ones which they found here. Those that were in this section were much inferior in size to those in Minnesota and the Dakotas. There they were said to be the size of a horse. Hunters with the Lewis and Clark expedition to Oregon claimed to have killed an elk on the headwaters of the Missouri river that was twice the size of those that were in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.

The flesh of the elk is dark and coarse, like that of the buffalo, but very nutritious. They are very shy animals, and when disturbed will run three and four miles without stopping. An old male elk, when wounded, will fight most desperately, and anything that comes within range of his horns is sure to be badly hurt. The skin of these animals was used for many useful purposes. The elk is easily domesticated and has been known to pull a sled over frozen ground two hundred miles in one day.

THE DEER.

The red deer is one of the most beautiful creatures of all the animal kingdom. They were in such numbers in all sections of Indiana up to 1840, that a hunter with any sort of skill could kill two or three each day. Many old hunters, after the Indians had gone away, which allowed them to hunt in security, would kill eight and ten a day.

The deer undergoes three distinct colors during the year—red in the spring, blue in the fall, and grey in the winter. The skin is best when red or blue; when grey it is of little value. The meat is the most easily digested of any, and when cooked in the fat of the bear or in hog's lard, it was the most delicious steak of any. Venison, cooked in its own fat, is not so good, as the fat makes tallow, and when so cooked, the meat is dry.

The deer lives on vegetable food and has one peculiarity—that of having no gall, as they did not require that agent to help in digesting their food. The skin, as well as the meat, was used for so many purposes by the first settlers in Indiana, that it was almost indispensable, and many of the scant comforts that the pioneers did have would have been materially lessened if there had been no deer. The does have their fawns in the middle of the spring, usually two. These little creatures were of a pale, red color, with white spots, and it is said that there was no odor about them which would attract the wolf or the wildcat to the beds where they were hidden by their mothers. They would bleat much like a young lamb, and when the mother heard them she would run to them. Many an old mother doe has been killed by the hunters who could imitate the bleat of the fawn. When three months old they can follow their mother and run very fast. The male deer, or "bucks," as the hunters call them, shed their horns each year about the first of spring. At that time they separate from the does and go into seclusion. Where they drop their old horns has been a very hard question for the hunters to decide, for but very few of them are ever found. As soon as the old horns are off, the new ones commence to grow; in fact, it is believed that the new ones crowd the old ones off. The new horn is covered all over with a thick coat which looks like velvet and it grows very fast. In sixty to ninety days the new horns are fully formed. As soon as the horn has its growth, the velvety skin begins to break open and peel off. The deer help get it off by rubbing their horns against small saplings and brush. The one-year-old male fawn grows a short, sharp spike on each side of its forehead. When it is two years old it will grow a forked horn, and at three years old, three pointed horn, and so on up—one for each year to seven or eight year. Nine points on the horn of the red deer species have been seen.

The deer are very fleet of foot and can run for a long distance at a time when pursued by dogs or wolves. They are lightning-quick motioned. In their hind legs they seem to have the strength of a much larger animal, although a small hand can easily reach around their ankle, but the man who attempted such a thing was sure to come to grief. In the middle of the fall, when the mating season comes on, the deer are very fat. During this period the male deer run very much and have the most terrible combats, trying to gore each other with their sharp horns, often interlocking them so tightly together that they cannot loosen the hold and remain in this condition until they are starved to death. During this running period the bucks become very poor and their necks swell and their meat is not fit to be used, as it has a very disagreeable, musky odor. During the winter months, the deer go in droves like sheep, and unless there is a large mast of acorns or they are in the blue grass country where the grass is green, under that which has fallen down, they become very thin.

In the early spring droves of these deer would come into the wheat fields when the wheat first began to show and bite it down even with the ground. They were hard to keep out and were too thin in flesh to be of any use to the hunters, who resorted to the notched hickory rattle, which made a fearful noise, and would try to drive them away. They would run to the side of the field farthest from the rattle and commence again to nip the short wheat. A deer would kill any sort of a snake so quickly that you could hardly see their motions until they had torn it all to pieces. On discovering a snake they would go near it, when it would coil up in a bunch ready for battle. The deer would bound into the air and come down with all of its feet on that coil and with lightning-like stamps and strokes, tear it into shreds. After deer became less plentiful in Indiana, they were much harder to find and the hunters resorted to many ways of killing them. The saline licks that Nature distributed at convenient places for all wild animals to secure the needed salt for their health, were often watched, and as the deer in the night, would come to these licks, the hunter from a screen would shoot them. These "licks," as they were called, were provided by the Great Giver of all things for the bovine creation, and as the need of them has passed, it is doubtful if any exist now in Indiana that have any saline taste about them. The deer was an inquisitive animal and the hunter would shine their eyes with a torch and slip upon them. Both these modes of killing deer were considered by the real hunters as taking unfair advantage of these harmless animals.

The black tailed deer, sometimes called the mule deer (this term I suppose comes from the fact that they are a species between the elk and the red deer in appearance, and partake of some of the peculiarities of both) has meat in taste and color between that of the red deer and the elk, but there is no doubt that they propagate their own species. The black tailed deer are found only west of 105 west longitude and goes north to about 54 north latitude. In all the vast belt south and west of these lines it is and has been in vast numbers, to the Pacific Ocean.

THE BLACK BEAR.

The bear stood at the head of all the game animals for general use by the pioneers in Indiana. They were not so plentiful as the deer, but were in such numbers that all could be supplied with their meat and grease for more than twenty-five years after Indiana began to be settled. From 1800 up to 1815 or 1820 they were so plentiful that it was impossible to raise pigs, as the bears would carry them off in the daytime.

The bear is a peculiar species and there is no other animal that in any way resembles them in habit or appearance. When full-grown and fat, the usual weight is from 350 to 400 pounds. Their flesh, when properly cooked, is the most delicious, as well as nutritious, of any animal that was found in this country. Their meat when killed, after taking off the hide, was formerly cut up much as we do that of the hog now, salted and bacon made out of it. The lard or grease was used as hog's lard is, for all purposes in preparing the food. The bear is not a vicious animal, only when wounded or in defending their young; then they will fight to the last, and are very dangerous. They have great skill in using their fore arms and used to parry the blow of a tomahawk by this means.

In an article about a bear recently, the writer claimed that the hugging so much talked of was never brought into use only when the bear had a pig too heavy to carry away in its mouth, as it would then rear on its hind legs and carry it off in its arms. This writer, possibly, had never had a battle with a bear. In 1819 a young man named John Deputy, from Kentucky, was in the neighborhood of the place where Hazelton, Indiana, now is, visiting some friends. One day while out hunting he caught a young bear cub; before he could get away, the old mother was on him. In fighting her with his tomahawk he broke her under jaw. She caught him in her arms and hugged him to death, breaking his ribs as if they had been pipe-stems. This incident was given to the author by Mrs. Nancy Gullick.

There could be fifty instances given where the bear, in fighting both Indians and white men, came near squeezing the life out of them with their strong arms. It used to be a common saying with old hunters, that they had no fear of a bear so long as they could keep from being pounded to death with its strong arms or squeezed to death. There are but very few instances on record where the bear has been known to attack a man unless wounded or their cubs disturbed, and this continued to be the case in most sections of the country. After Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne in 1755, where so many men were killed and left for the animals and vultures to feast on, the bears in that section became so used to eating human flesh that afterward they were ferocious and would attack a man at sight. The same was true in 1791 at St. Clair's defeat and in the everglades of Florida where Major Dade's army was murdered and slaughtered by the Seminole Indians. The bears in that section for many years afterward would attack every human being they saw.

Bears look to be awkward and clumsy, but such is not the case. It can, with ease, climb the tallest tree, and when lean, can run very fast. They eat nearly every sort of food, but beechnuts, chestnuts and acorns are the food on which they fatten very fast. At times in early autumn, just before the nuts begin to fall, they will climb the oak and beech trees and pull the limbs to secure the nuts. This the old hunters called "lopping." After becoming very fat in the late fall or early winter, they will seek for a suitable hollow tree and go into a long sleep, called hibernating, and do not wake up until spring, when the frost is gone. It was always thought that they sucked their paws during this long period of rest and subsisted on the oil they drew out of them. At those times when they have been smoked out of their dens and killed during the winter months, in dressing them there was a large amount of pure oil found in the alimentary canal, sometimes as much as two gallons. There has been much speculation as to how the oil came there. The most accepted theory is that nature has provided the animal with absorbent vessels which gather the oil from the fat of the body into the stomach for sustenance during the long sleep.

They raised cubs each year, usually two. At first these cubs are not larger than small kittens and are quite helpless for some time. When they commence to grow they are the most playful of all animals. They remain with their mother until about one year old, when they commence to care for themselves. There is something in the formation of the bones or muscles of the bear different from any other animal. They will let go all hold and fall from the top of a tall tree to the ground all in a bundle and bound up two or three feet without doing them the least harm. Like the hog, they had a wallow in the mud and water where they resorted during the hot days of summer and spent much of their time there. When the first cornfields were planted, the bears made themselves at home when the roasting ears were ready—in many cases destroying the entire field. Their skins were dressed on the fleshy side, leaving the hair on, and were used by many a mother for a pallet for her young children, and in many cases they were all the doors or shutters that many families had for some time, after building their first cabin.

THE GREY AND FOX-SQUIRRELS.

These squirrels are both natives of this country and have up to a few years past been very plentiful and filled a needed place in the bill of fare on every hunter's table. They became at times a very great pest in cornfields, and if not killed or the field guarded, would destroy a large amount of corn. In the early times the farmers organized hunting parties, with three or four on a side, and set a day to meet at a stated place and count the scalps of the squirrels which they had killed. The side having the most scalps was to enjoy a dinner or supper of good things prepared by the defeated ones. In these round-ups they would have several hundred scalps each, representing a few days' hunting only. This may seem to have been cruel sport to the people of this date, but it had to be done or the cornfields would have been ruined. The squirrel is the most active and graceful of all the rodent family, and when in such numbers as they were in all parts of Indiana up to 1850, competent to do the corn crop more harm than all the other animals. The meat of these little animals, when properly prepared for food, is most delicious. These little rodents at times would migrate from one section to another. What the cause of this was, was hard to tell, but at such times the farmers would be very much alarmed for fear they would destroy their corn. When they started, nothing would change their course. They would climb over mountains and cross wide and deep rivers. When it was known that they were on the go, the hunters and farmers would kill thousands of them. The squirrel was a great tell-tale on other animals. The hunter has often lain in wait for the approaching bear or deer who he knew was coming toward him by the noise of the squirrels as they, up in the trees, could be heard chattering away back on the course the animal had come, and would begin to chatter as soon as it had passed the tree they were on.

RABBITS.

The rabbit is a domestic animal and hardly worthy of mention in the game list. They were very few in Indiana in an early day. Whether the animals which would eat them kept the numbers down or whether they increased more as the country became settled up, is not known, but there are twenty here now where there was one in 1840. They are very poor meat in comparison with the squirrel, and people would not eat them when game was plentiful.

ANTELOPE.

This is a very beautifully formed animal and probably the swiftest of all the deer family. They are very shy and constantly on the watch for an enemy. After the Americans came to Indiana, they were not often seen, as they inhabited the prairie sections around Terre Haute and in the north and northwestern part of the state.

The soldiers on Indian campaigns tell of seeing the antelope in small herds, which were always on the run. In the northwestern portion of the state the antelope was killed as late as 1840, but since that date there is no account of any having been seen in Indiana. The plains of the great west were roamed by thousands of herds of these animals as late as the middle of the '80s. There are yet many herds of them seen on the plains of North Dakota.

GAME BIRDS.

THE TURKEY.

The turkey was the most important of the game birds, and furnished to many families the largest portions of their meat rations. When Indiana was first hunted over by the white man, turkeys were in such numbers that in one day's hunt there would be seen many flocks of these birds, numbering from fifty to seventy-five in each flock. They were continually roaming over the country for their food, and each day would travel many miles, usually in a circular form, at night returning to the same section for roosting in the tallest trees high up from the ground. They gathered all sorts of insects for their food, also the sassafras, dogwood and black-gum berries, which were their choicest foods.

They hid their nests in a secluded spot and laid from twelve to sixteen eggs and were four weeks setting before they hatched. During this period of incubation the old turkey hen did not leave her nest but a very few times, hunting for food and water. When the young birds were hatched, the mother was very careful not to expose them to the wet until the downy stage had passed and they had feathers which would shed the water. This fine game bird was easily domesticated. The wild ones have almost been exterminated in this state.

There is a good story told of how the turkey fooled the eagle to keep from being carried off. The eagle catches its prey on the wing, and as it would swoop down to catch the turkey, it would squat down on the ground and spread out its wings and turn its long tail up perpendicularly. The eagle would hit the tail and fail to strike the body. A hunter related the story of having watched a pair of eagles trying to catch turkeys one evening until they wore themselves out, without succeeding. When hunting for a national emblem, Dr. Franklin expressed a wish that the turkey rather than the eagle should be taken for it.

In hunting for turkeys at certain seasons of the year, they were easily fooled. The hunter, during the molting season, would locate where an old gobbler was gobbling and go as near without being seen as he thought safe, and then would commence to "cawk," using a bone taken from the turkey's wing for that purpose, with which he could very closely imitate the calling noise made by the hen turkey. The old gobbler would go to the sound, continuing to gobble, and when the hunter had thus lured the bird near enough, he would kill it.

The turkey is a high-headed bird and formerly many of them were caught in pens. A trench was dug under the side of the pen and corn sprinkled in the trench. The turkeys would pick up the corn and thus enter the pen, and when he had eaten the corn would elevate its head and try to get out at the cracks between the logs, never thinking of stooping down and going out the way it came in.

THE RUFFLED GROUSE OR PARTRIDGE.

This bird, known to old people in Indiana as pheasant, is a beautiful bird sixteen or eighteen inches long, bulky and heavy to its looks. It is of a brownish color, very much resembling the dry leaves where it has its home. There is a small bunch of dark feathers on each side of its neck called the ruff and a dark band near the end of its broad tail. They are a very shy bird and can easily hide so as not to be distinguished from the general appearance of the surroundings. When disturbed and not finding a suitable hiding place, they will take wing and fly very fast, making a peculiar whirring sound that is so noticeable, that any one ever hearing it would recognize it again.

This fine game bird has no superior when prepared for the table. Like all of its class of birds, one-third of it is breast or white meat. In the spring they make their nests very much the same as the common partridge or quail, as it is now called. When the young birds are hatched, in a very short time they follow the old birds wherever they go. In the springtime the male bird of this species drums on logs with his wings and makes a very loud noise that can be easily heard a mile away. They commence to drum very slowly at first, but soon drum so fast that it is hard to determine if it is not a continuous sound. This noise has often been taken for thunder. There are several theories as to how this bird makes this noise. One is that the drumming noise is caused by the quick motion of the wings against the air. Another theory is that there is an accommodation of nature under its wings that it can inflate with wind at its pleasure and the drumming sound is caused by short and quick strokes with the wings against this inflated drum. To a "Hoosier" who, when a boy, has seen this fine bird on old logs, drumming and thumping with its wings, either of the above theories is hard to accept.

PRAIRIE HEN.

The prairie hen was quite common up to forty years ago in the prairie sections of the state and in the timbered regions for many miles around the prairies, but now there are very few to be seen. They are a very fine bird, about two-thirds the size of the domestic hen, and are of the pheasant family.

THE QUAIL OR "BOB WHITE."

This bird, called in the central western states partridge, is the great game bird now in all sections of the middle west. While not easily domesticated, yet in most cases it makes its home in the grass and weeds on the farms. It supplies its own food from insects of all sorts and from the wild peas and from pulse. When the fields are harvested it raises its family in them by gleaning the scattered grains and heads left on the ground. In winter it lives on the wild seeds of grass and weeds; also on the berry of different sorts of trees and bushes and in the cornfields, gathering up the scattered grain. It can make its own living unless the winter is too severe and the snow is deep. Then the covey will hover together in a round circle with their heads outward, and unless the farmer scatter grain within their reach at such times, many of them will starve.

These birds roost in a huddle under bunches of grass or under a log. They make their nests in grass and lay from ten to fifteen eggs. The young birds in a few minutes after they are out of the shell can run like the wind; in fact, when the nest has been disturbed in hatching, the little birds have been seen running with a part of the shell adhering to them.

THE PIGEON.

In an early day the wild pigeons were so plentiful in the fall of the year in all sections of this state as to be a menace to the safety of those traveling along the narrow road or hunting in the woods. They were after the bitter mast that grew on the red or ridge oak. These trees were mostly of a shrubby growth and the wood was very brittle. At night these birds by countless thousands would roost in these trees. They would settle on their roost in such numbers as to break off large limbs, and sometimes the tree itself would break down. Hunters at times would be after them with torches, and when they would fire at a cluster, the pigeons would rise to fly from the surrounding timber, and there would be a crash of limbs and falling tree-tops such as was never heard only in the most severe tornado. They were also found where there was beech timber, as they were very fond of the beechnut. They would remain in sections until most of the nuts and acorns were gathered and then fly away to other woods to gather food. In many places in Indiana there were what were known as "Pigeon Roosts." where the pigeons, by countless thousands, would gather year after year, covering several miles of territory for their roosts. Two of the largest of these roosts were in Scott and eastern part of Marion Counties. In the fall of the year, as these birds were making their flight from the cold north to the warmer climate of the southland, they were seen in such immense numbers and covered such a large territory in their flight, that the sun would be darkened for an hour at a time. Their meat is not regarded as of much value. It is very dark and has a strong pigeon odor about it that injured its value for food.

THE TURTLE DOVE.

This innocent bird has been regarded as an emblem of constant and faithful attachment, expressing its affection by billing and cooing in the gentlest and most soothing accents. Wilse, the great naturalist, said: "This is a favorite bird with all who love to wander among the woods and fields in the spring and listen to the varied harmony. They will hear many a sprightly performer but none so mournful as the dove. The hopeless woe of settled sorrow swelling the heart of the female, innocence itself could not assume tones more sad, more tender and affecting." There is, however, nothing of real distress in all this. It is the voice of love for which the whole family of doves are celebrated. They are a very tame bird, found mostly near the farms or habitations of man. They have never been charged with doing any harm to the crops or anything else, but they do destroy many insects, and are so constantly about the farm, winter and summer, that they are regarded as real friends.

In making their nests, but little care is taken, as it is quite common to find them on top of a stump or on the end of projecting fence rails. The young birds have but little protection from the elements or security from the hawk or prowling mink. They raise from two to three sets of young birds during the spring and summer months. Some people class these harmless birds with game birds. This certainly is wrong. Anyone who can find pleasure in murdering the innocent doves must have a heart seared with avarice or meanness.

FEROCIOUS ANIMALS.

THE PANTHER.

The panther stands at the head of ferocious animals which inhabited Indiana. They were in such numbers in all the timbered sections that the Indians regarded them as very dangerous. They would attack a man and did kill many Indians, as well as white persons. They were very destructive to elk and deer and would attack the buffalo. Its usual height was about three feet, its length about six feet, exclusive of the tail, which was from two to two and a half feet long. This animal was equipped with a most formidable and sharp set of claws, that it could extend two inches from the end of its toes. Like all the cat tribe, it caught all of its prey by stealing on it unawares. These animals caught most of their food hiding in the trees near a saline lick, and as the elk, deer and buffalo would pass going from or to the lick, it would land on its back. The animal, unless it was a small deer, would run for a long distance with the panther on its back before bleeding to death from the lacerations made with its claws. In color it was tawny to a dark-brown on its back and sides and was of a pale yellow color on its under parts.

They raised their kittens in a large hollow tree or in a cave, from three to six at a birth. It is disputed whether they have more than one set of kittens during the year. DeLome says that he has seen the kittens in the early spring and late fall. After killing a deer or other animal and eating all they wanted, they would drag the carcass to a secluded place, cover it up with grass, brush and leaves and watch it. If any other animal attempted to interfere, it would fight for the carcass to the death. Their hides, when tanned, made good clothing and moccasins.

The panther would not attack a human being as long as the face was toward it, but would stand near, turning its head from side to side as if trying to avoid the gaze, patting its tail cat-like, but the moment the back was turned it would spring upon its victim. When traveling, they went in a long leap as fast as a horse could run, and at short intervals made a whining cry, seemingly not loud, but which could be heard a mile away.

In 1830 in Washington County, Indiana, a dagger trap was set for a small animal. Sometime during the night a panther was nosing around the trap trying to get the bait, when it sprung the trap and the dagger went through its ears into its socket in the trap. The next day the panther was killed about one mile from Sullivan, Indiana with the dagger still fast in its ear.

The Puma of the country west of the Rocky mountains is a little longer in body and heavier than the panther which was known in the central west. The latter was of a darker color and if possible more ferocious and vicious.

THE WOLF.

The wolf is of the canine species and was regarded by the pioneers as a despicable, mean sneaking snarling animal.

They were very prolific and went in large packs, securing their food from the lesser animals which they could run down. When a very large pack of wolves had been together, they have been known to surround a buffalo and worry it until almost exhausted by the continual rushes made by the pack from different parts of the circle, until they killed it. Notwithstanding this they were regarded as very cowardly and would only attack when in large numbers and had the decided advantage. The first settlers in this country who tried to raise sheep, found it a very difficult proposition. They had to pen them every night or they would have been killed by the wolves which would congregate near the farms upon which the sheep had been placed in pens and keep up a continuous howl for hours at a time.

The grey or timber wolf which was a native of the timber sections of Indiana was about as large as a good sized dog, without possessing any of the redeeming qualities of his brother. On the prairie sections of the State were immense numbers of what were known as prairie wolves. These despicable creatures would set up such a noise as soon as night came on, that when near a camp, would drown out all other sounds. They had a kind of tremulo in their voices so that one could make a sound as if a dozen were howling. When the soldiers on Indian campaigns were in the section of the state where these wolves lived, and in camp, the odor of the cooking would gather around their camp hundreds of these animals.

General Scott, of Kentucky, at one time had a camp on one of our prairies. He had his horses picketed out and these wolves set up such a howl that his horses stampeded, pulling their stake pins and it was some time before all of them were found again.

THE BOB CAT OR WILD CAT.

This animal was very plentiful in all sections of Indiana and was not regarded as dangerous to man as it would not attack unless hemmed in; then it attacked with a fury that no other animal ever had. The wild cat has a body about three feet long and a little over two feet high with only a very short tail. The head is short and broad. Its mouth is armed with long and very sharp teeth. Its legs, long for its body, are thick and strong. It is armed with long and sharp claws. This animal has been known to defeat six dogs in a battle, killing two of them and scratching the eyes out of two more of them. It secures food from smaller animals and birds and will carry off small shoats and it is very destructive to all sorts of poultry, chickens, turkeys and geese.

FUR BEARING ANIMALS.

THE BEAVER

The American beaver once dwelt in great numbers in all the rivers, lakes and creeks of North America and in no part of it more than along the many streams and lakes of Indiana. The mound builders in many parts of North America have left monuments to commemorate the beaver, which have stood the test of countless centuries. The Indians who inhabited all parts of the United States have some legend by which their association with this intelligent animal is noted. Bancroft, the historian, said in an article that in cleanliness, thrift and architectural skill the beaver was far superior to the Red Man.

The beaver is an amphibious quadruped which cannot live more than a short period under water. It is asserted they can live without water all the time if occasionally provided with a chance to bathe. The largest beaver is nearly four feet long and will weigh nearly sixty pounds. It has a round head like the otter only larger, small eyes and short ears. Its teeth are very long and so shaped in its mouth as to be best suited to cut down trees and for cutting the logs of proper length for building or repairing a dam. Its fore legs are not more than four or five inches long. The hind legs are longer. The tail of the beaver seems to have no relation to the rest of the body except the hind feet. The tail is covered with skin on which there are scales which resemble a fish and is from ten to twelve inches long and about four inches broad in the middle.

The color of the beaver differs according to the climate in which it is found. Those to the far south are much lighter brown than the ones found in the north, which are almost black. The fur is of two distinct sorts all over the body. The longest is generally about one inch; on the back sometimes it is more than two inches, diminishing in length toward the head and tail. This part of the fur is coarse and of but little value. The under fur is very thick and is really a very fine down, about three-quarters of an inch in length. This is the fur that makes the beaver skin so valuable in market.

The intelligence of this animal in building their dams and constructing their houses and providing their food is wonderful. When they are to choose a place for a new dam, they assemble several hundred, apparently holding a convention. After their deliberations are over, they repair to the place agreed on, always where there is plenty of such timber, needed for the construction of their house, dams, and for their provisions, usually poplar, cottonwood, willow, linden and catalpa, all of these being soft woods. Their houses are always in the water, and when they cannot find a lake or pond, they will supply the deficiency by damming a creek, sometimes good-sized rivers. In this way they raise the water, held by their strong dams to the required depth. They then commence to fell large trees. They cut the trees that grow above the place where they want to build, so they can float them down with the current. From three to five beavers will set about cutting the tree down with their strong, sharp teeth. They select such trees as will fall toward the lake or creek, so as to lessen their labor. After the log is in the water, two or three beaver manage so that it floats to a point where they want to use it. To sink the log into the water, the beaver uses a large amount of mud, carrying it on their tails and piling it on the log until there is a sufficient amount to sink it. When they have it in place and the framework of the dam is completed, they will chinck the opening with rocks, if they can get them—if not, with small pieces of timber and limbs. Then they make a mortar by tramping it with their feet, then plastering the dam all over, using their tails for mortar carriers and trowels until it is strong and water-tight.

In building their houses, after they have the dam completed, they show evidence of great skill. Selecting a place in the water held by the dam, they first make a foundation on the bottom of the dam or lake with logs and poles. Upon this they build their houses, which are circular in shape and oval at the top. There is always enough of the house which stands above any possible overflow of the stream, so that the beaver can have his home always dry and cozy. Each cabin is large enough to hold from six to ten beavers, and built so that they can have easy communication with each others' houses. There are usually quite a number of their houses at each dam. They are so constructed and held together with timber and brush, limbs and rocks, all of which is plastered inside and out as perfectly as the best masons could do it. The entrance to these houses is from below, which they swim to. When these houses are opened they are found to be models of neatness. The floor, which is made with a network of small limbs and twigs, intertwined together and nicely plastered over, is carpeted with dry grass and leaves.

It is said that winter never overtook these intelligent animals unprepared, as their stock of provisions was always securely laid up in their store houses, consisting of small pieces of wood such as limbs and saplings of poplar, willow, asp, and linden. These small pieces were cut an even length and piled so they would retain their moisture. The beaver eats the bark from these sticks and a small portion of the soft wood next to the bark and uses the balance of it for chincking and mending their dams and houses. Volumes could be written about these wonderful animals.

In every part of Indiana where there was water and timber, the beaver was in unusual numbers, and the places where they had dams can be easily traced. About twenty years ago the author was having the spread of a creek, which the beavers had dammed, ditched so that the water would follow the channel, and found the entire distance from where the channel stopped to where it was found again, more than a quarter of a mile, to be a continuous set of beaver dams and houses, made of catalpa timbers which were perfectly sound. The stumps they had cut the trees from were sound, showing the marks of their teeth.

THE OTTER

This animal is aquatic and secures its food from fish. Its body is about three feet in length, from the head to the tail. The tail is about eighteen or twenty inches long and flattened in shape, and is used in swimming. The otter fur is very valuable. It is a brown color, the under part being brighter. These animals are very playful and have slides wherever there is a long sloping bank. They go to the top, spread out their feet and slide head first into the water. When they come up they swim to the shore and are ready for another slide. They have been known to make regular toboggan slides, selecting a place suitable for the slide at a sloping high bank on the river or lake in which they live if one is to be had; if not they select a suitable place as near their home as possible and make a regular toboggan slide of it. As many as four have been seen at a time coming down a long slope enjoying the fun as much as school boys with their sleds. The otter is easily domesticated and when made tame shows more real attachment for its master than a dog. The Indians living near the lakes had many tame otters and would take them where there was the best fishing ground and have the otter fish for them. It is said that a fish very seldom got away from them, having once been sighted.

THE RACCOON.

This valuable animal was in all sections of the state of Indiana in vast numbers. Their skins are covered with a heavy suit of fur of a gray color, much darker in the winter months than in the summer. The length of the body is about twenty-four inches, with a long bushy tail, alternating black and white rings upon it. They are nocturnal in their habits and secure their food from many sources; various sorts of roots that they dig, small animals, frogs and birds, often robbing the nests. They are skillful chicken thieves, robbing the hen roost at night. The coon skin in an early day was a legal tender, and paid for many of the comforts of the home, ammunition and needed articles for the early settlers and also for many thousands of acres of land first entered in Indiana.

They were hunted in two ways. One was to track them in the snow and find a tree in which they had a colony. The other, the one resorted to most often by our fathers, was to hunt for them at night with dogs trained for that purpose. The coon would take a tree as soon as the dogs on the trail got close to it. If there was a good moon and ammunition was not scarce, the hunter would locate the coon in the tree, and going to a point where its body was between him and the moon, he would shoot it. Most of the time the tree was cut down and the dog would catch the coon. Many stories can be told about coon hunting. A laughable one is told by Finley in his "Early Footnotes" on a clerical friend of his who, when a young man, was out with a party coon hunting. The dog treed the coon, and as the embryo minister was known to be good at climbing trees, it was decided that he should climb the tree and shake the coon out. Accordingly he ascended the tree, carefully looking for the coon. Finally he located it high up on one of the topmost branches. Proceeding cautiously, he succeeded in reaching the limb just below the one which the coon was on. Raising himself to a standing position, that he might reach the limb, the limb was heard to crack and began to give way. He was fully thirty feet from the ground, and realizing the danger he was in, he cried out to his companions below, "I am falling." Knowing that it would most likely kill him, they called to him to pray. "Pray!" said he, "I haven't time." "But you must pray—if you fall, you will be killed." He commenced repeating the only prayer he knew, "Now I lay me down to sleep." He could get no further, but called out at the top of his voice, "Hold the dogs, I'm coming." And he did come with a crash that came near killing him. The dogs, thinking it was the coon, could with difficulty be restrained from attacking the coon hunter.

THE OPOSSUM

The opossum is a small animal about twenty inches long, with a long tail that is entirely bare and rough like the common rat tail. It is very destructive to tame poultry. The females have a sack or pocket in which they carry their young before they are able to run about. If you strike at one he will lie down on his side and appear as if dead; as soon as your back is turned, jumping up and hurrying away; hence the expression—"playing 'possum." Their tails are used to make their hold secure when they are climbing along the limbs of small trees. The Indians regarded the 'possum as making one of the best dishes they had. The white people have always used them for food. When dressed they look much like a young pig. When baked with a liberal supply of sweet potatoes it is a dish fit for an epicure. The skin is covered with a fur and long white hair. When the hair is removed it leaves a very nice soft fur, out of which many articles of wearing apparel are made.

THE FOX.

The grey and red fox were two varieties which were very plentiful in the history of early Indiana. There were other varieties on the northern borders of the United States. They are of the canine species and are regarded as the shrewdest of all animals. They are not so tall in proportion to their length as the rest of the canine family. Their usual length is about thirty inches and they are about eighteen inches tall; having a slim, trim body, slender legs, small roundish head, with a sharp nose, short ears, eyes close together and a long, bushy tail. They burrow in the ground and are nocturnal in their habits. They live on small animals and are the worst of the poultry thieves, carrying off full-grown chickens and geese. They can kill and carry away a twenty-pound pig.

These animals have furnished much sport. They will run all day when pursued by a pack of fox hounds. It is known that a large red fox will give a pack of hounds a three days' run. When being pursued they resort to many tricks to lead the dogs from their trail—such as doubling back on their track, then springing upon the top of low bushes where grape vines are matted over them and running as far as the mat extends, then jumping off and running at right angles to their former course. Another device was brought to the author's notice. A red fox in the eastern part of Knox county was, during the hunt, a long way ahead of the dogs. It turned on its trail, ran back to a place that it had chosen, jumped up a leaning log and climbed up for some distance, where it hid among a mat of vines until the dogs and hunters had passed. It then ran down and back on its own trail which the dogs had come over and escaped.

When the water fowls were on the small lakes and ponds which are so numerous in northern and northwestern Indiana, the fox would secure a bunch of large green leaves and vines and so arrange them in its mouth that they would hide its body; then it would slowly swim out to the fowls, letting its body stay low in the water, and when very near them would let the leaves go and sink under the water, catching the duck or goose by the leg, then swim with it to the shore.

Lincoln has related a story, illustrating the fox's cunning, which is as follows:

It seems that the lions, tigers and panthers were killing so many animals it was resolved to hold a convention of all species. In that convention it was agreed that the lions, tigers and panthers would abstain from killing all other animals only when such animals were guilty of such crimes as lying, deceitfulness and slander. As the lion and other animals lived by their expertness in catching such animals as they used for food, the conditions of the convention were hard on them, and seemed to hit the lion worse than the others; so he resolved to see if he could not cause some of the animals to violate some of the conditions of the compact. Stationing himself near a watering place, he waited to see what animals would come. The first was the innocent, unsuspecting sheep. The lion said, "Good morning, Mr. Sheep." The sheep returned the salutation. The lion said, "Mr. Sheep, I am afraid that I am going to be sick, and as a favor to me I wish you would smell my breath and see what you think ails me." The sheep, glad to accommodate his big neighbor, did so, and said, "Mr. Lion, you are in a very bad way. I never smelled so bad a breath and I think you will have to be very careful of yourself. The Lion said, "I will kill you, Mr. Sheep, for being a liar," which he did. He was soon hungry again and the next to come was a cow. The lion accosted her: "Good morning, Miss Cow, I am mighty glad to see you; I feel very bad and I thought I would ask if you could tell me what is the matter with me by smelling my breath." This she did and said, "Mr. Lion, you are certainly not very badly ailing, for I never in all my life smelled so sweet a breath." "That is all right, Miss Cow, but I will kill you for being a flatterer." The lion was soon waiting again, and the next to come along was the fox. The lion put the same question to him as he had to the others and asked him to smell his breath. The fox replied, "Brother Lion, I do feel greatly flattered by your showing me such distinguished attention, and it would afford me the very greatest pleasure if I could in the smallest degree add to your comfort. But, Mr. Lion, the fact is I have been running about so much of late to secure food for my family that I have taken a dreadful cold and it is impossible for me to smell anything."

The skins of the foxes are sold the furriers and are made into caps and other articles of wearing apparel. The fox is a very playful animal and very easily domesticated.

THE MINK.

The mink is a long, slender animal, with a long, bushy tail. It has a gland connected with its system where a substance is secreted that has a very disagreeable odor. They secure their food from small animals, birds and all sorts of fowls, to which they are very partial. Their skin is covered with a rich black fur, which makes a very shiny and glossy garment, and is very high-priced. There are a number of persons engaged in raising them for the value of their fur. The mink is very prolific and the venture is proving to be a valuable one.

THE WEASEL.

This small animal is native to all parts of Indiana. It is covered with a rich brownish fur. It secures its food from mice, rats and birds. They can kill from twenty to thirty chickens in a night, sucking the blood from them by making a small wound just below the ear. Their one redeeming quality is that they are very destructive to rats.

THE GROUND-HOG.

This animal that so many weather-wise persons have taken their cue from as to the condition of the weather in the early spring, lives in the ground by making burrows in the side of a hill, always slanting upward, that they may shed any water that may accumulate. The animal is from sixteen to eighteen inches long, of a dark greyish color above and a pale reddish color below. It has a thick, round body, a broad, flat head. with no neck apparently, short legs and bushy tail. It lives on vegetables and is especially fond of red clover. It spends the winter in its burrow in a lethargic state, and is said to be wide awake only a very few times from the beginning of the first cold weather in the fall until early spring.

THE MUSK-RAT.

The musk-rat is a native to all parts of Indiana, and is very destructive to any sort of vegetables that grow near its den in the bank of a creek or a pond. This is a very peculiar animal and the only one of its kind. In shape it looks much like the field rat. Its head and body together are about sixteen inches long; its tail ten inches. It is covered with a dark-brown fur. In some of its characteristics it agrees very well with the beaver. It is an aquatic animal and seldom wanders far from the creeks, ponds or lakes. Its skin is in great demand in the European market, and countless thousands of them are exported each year from the United States.

It burrows in the bank for a home near where there is plenty of water and it builds itself a sort of house, lining it with grass and making room in each house for two or three musk-rats.

THE SKUNK.

This animal is of the weasel family, but larger than either the mink or the weasel, and in size about the same as a house cat, but of a much more compact build. In color it is black or brown, with white stripes or streaks along its sides. It has a long, bushy tail, which in traveling is extended the full length, straight up. This animal, like the mink, has an offensive odor about it, many times stronger than any other animal. It has a sack near the root of its tail which contains a fluid. When assailed, it will discharge this fluid with great precision at its adversaries, and woe be to a man or dog who receives the full force of the discharge, for the odor is so intolerable it will make one deathly sick. It is a very tame animal, owing to its power of defense. The skins are used by furriers for making many articles of dress.

BIRDS OF PREY, NATIVE TO INDIANA.

THE EAGLE.

The eagle is not only the largest bird native to Indiana, but is the most powerful and courageous of all birds of prey. It has a very strong beak, which is of considerable length, being straight most of the length and curved near the end, making it the weapon for tearing the flesh on which they live. Their legs are strong and covered with feathers to their toes, which have a strong, crooked claw. The bald eagle, the most common in Indiana, the male bird is three feet long and the female three and a half feet. When the wings are outstretched it measures about eight feet across. The female is not only larger, but possesses more courage, if that is possible.

The eagle will soar to great heights. Their enormous strength enables them to withstand the severest storm of wind. This great bird, with its bold and defiant glance, proud aerial flights and strength of limb, combines so many of the qualities which are esteemed noble that it was called by the ancients "The Celestial Bird," and in their mythology was the messenger of Jupiter and the bearer of his thunderbolts. Its figure in gold or silver upon the ends of spears was the military ensign of the Romans and Persians. Young America followed their example and the figure of the eagle was accepted as an emblem of power. It is not a common bird, but it has its home in all parts of the world, building its nest on high rocky craigs, where it is almost impossible to reach them. It makes a very crude nest out of long sticks and limbs covered over with long grass and moss. The mother bird lays two eggs, sometimes three. The young birds are fed on the flesh of rabbits, birds, lambs, fish and all sorts of animals. The young birds remain near their nesting place and are cared for by the parent bird until the next nesting season comes around. Then they look out for their own food and it is three years before they obtain their full growth. The eagle has one redeeming trait which is not followed by the bird family generally; that is, they choose their mates for life.

THE HAWK.

There are a great number of the hawk family that are native to Indiana, but only three varieties that are the most conspicuous of that great family are here given. The largest of the hawks are what is known as the hen hawk. This bird is of a grey color, with a red tinge about its wings and tail. Its breast is of a red brick color; the under part of the body is of a lighter color, with dark spots over it. These large hawks are very common in all parts of our state. They make their nests in trees, using brush and sticks for that purpose. The young birds are fed on the flesh of birds and small animals. The young rabbit is their most common food. These hawks will carry a full-grown chicken away with perfect ease. They will catch a rabbit and carry it to the nest. If the young are large enough they will hold the live rabbits and have the little hawks practice learning how to kill their prey.

A man who raised a variety of rabbits had among them a great many small white rabbits. The hawks began to prey upon them, catching one of his favorite ones every day. He tried in many ways to kill the hawk, but without success. He finally adopted the following plan: He secured several white cats and put them in place of the rabbits. The hawk made its usual trip. Catching one of the white cats in its talons, it started to fly away. All went well for awhile, but presently there was seen a commotion in the air. Hawk feathers were flying in every direction. Finally hawk and cat fell to the earth, the hawk with its throat cut.

THE CHICKEN HAWK.

The chicken hawk was so named because it was so wonderfully adept at catching chickens. These hawks are about half the size of the common large hen hawk, of dark color on their back and wings, and of a light mottled color on their bodies. These hawks can fly very fast and are very brave and determined in their attacks upon chickens and young turkeys. In their attempt to catch young birds, the mother chicken and turkeys have many a battle with them. They knock them down, flop them with their wings and feet, but the hawk seldom fails to secure the young fowl. These birds live on all sorts of small animals and birds and make their nests in the tree tops, living through the winter months sheltered in the timber.

THE SPARROW HAWK.

This bird is of a slate color except on its back, which is a chestnut color. The lower part of its body and under its wings are of a beautiful light-grey color. It can fly very swiftly and lives on field mice and small birds. It will catch any sort of young fowl. As the country grows older they become more plentiful; as they are so small they are hard to hit with target rifles.

THE HORNED OWL.

The great horned owls have large grey eyes, long feathery ears, and are very pretty mottled birds of brown color. The under part of the bird is white, barred with black stripes. The eyes are large, as are those of all owls, and are so constructed that they cannot see in the daytime, but can see at night.

The home of these birds is in the dense forest. From there it visits the farms in the neighborhood around its home and is regarded as a great poultry thief. This bird catches its prey on the wing, and when visiting the old-fashioned hen roost where the chickens roost in the apple, peach and plum trees, it could not strike the chicken while flying on account of the limbs, but would light in the tree and sidle up to a hen and crowd her off the limb and as she fell or flew would catch her. These large birds build their nests in the hollow trees and in the daytime remain in these warm homes. This bird's note of challenge is Who! who! who!—sounded at short intervals. Aside from this noise it can scream very loudly.

THE WHO! WHO! WAH! OWL.

This bird inhabited all sections of Indiana in the orchards and woods and at times would get into the barn-lofts. They would commence their notes with a screaming sound something like Yi! yi! yah! who! who! wah! These birds are not so large as the horned owl. They catch all sorts of birds and prey at night, the field mice and rabbits. They will light in a tree near a chicken roost and set up that screaming noise, which sounds very fierce. They are not large enough to carry away a full-grown hen, but can easily carry off a half-grown chicken. They have been known to light among the chickens and kill a hen, eating what they wanted of her and then flying away to their nest in the valley. They make their nests in hollow trees, the same as the horned owl, and remain in them during the day, only in very dark forests—they hide in the thick foliage of trees and come out at night.

THE SCREECH OWL.

This is a very common night bird of a red hue. It flies at all hours of the night, but remains in its den in some hollow tree during the day. These little birds have tufts of feathers which look like small ears on the side of their head, which,.with their big round eyes, give them a very comical look. They sound a whistling note, and if their nests are approached at night, will fight to the last. They catch all sorts of insects, mice and small birds, but are regarded as harmless and are encouraged to nest in barns.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCHOOLS OF EARLY INDIANA.

Houses—Books—Danger From Wild Animals—Opposition to Free Schools.

The Legislature of 1821, both houses concurring, raised the following committee—John Badollet and David Hart of Knox County, William W. Martin of Washington County, James Welch of Switzerland County, Daniel I. Casswell of Franklin County, Thomas C. Sereal of Jefferson County, and John Todd of Clark County, for the purpose of drafting a bill to be reported to the next Legislature of Indiana, providing for a general system of education. They were particularly instructed to guard well against any distinction between the rich and the poor. The report of this committee was incorporated in the first general school law of Indiana which is a part of the statute of 1824.

There has been a deep interest in the people of the state from its very first organization for the education of rising generations. In one form and another this educational question was before every legislature from the first in territorial days, either asking aid to establish schools or in carrying out the provisions of the incorporated acts by the National Congress for the government of the Northwest Territory or for special privileges to build academies and seminaries in many parts of the state.

Education was a favorite theme with all our legislatures and always commanded attention in both houses of our General Assembly.

The following description of the schools, school-houses, and the school teachers is probably as nearly correct as could be given at this later period. The incidents connected with this chapter were gathered from the personal experience of the author and from incidents which he well knows to be true.

The first schools taught in Indiana Territory from 1805 up to 1815 were very primitive. The country was sparsely settled, in fact in only a few places were there any people. A half dozen settlers located two or three miles apart were considered at that time quite a settlement. In that number of families there was usually some one qualified to give instruction to the children in the first principles of reading and spelling and sometimes could teach writing and the four simple rudiments of arithmetic, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.

The first few years of this period the teacher was employed to go to the houses and spend about one-third of the day with the family instructing the children. In this way with six families he could give three lessons each week to all the children. These circulating teachers as they were called did a good work.

When it became less dangerous from the Indians and wild animals the children would congregate at the home of the family most centrally located in the neighborhood, in a lean-to built at the side or end of the pioneer cabin.

Late in the twenties many neighborhoods became strong enough to support a subscription school of two or three months in the year. The patrons of the proposed school would meet at a site which had been selected if possible near a good spring of water and as convenient to all as possible, and build a school house. These first school houses were very simple and easily built structures and at this date would be a curiosity, but they were up to the times in which they were built.

Round logs were cut and hauled to the site and a rectangular pen usually sixteen by eighteen feet and about eight feet high was raised and covered with four foot boards held in place by weight poles tied to the ridge poles with strong hickory withes. The only opening was the door and about two-thirds of the length of a log cut out of one end of the building for a window. Cross slats were put in that opening and greased paper was pasted on the slats. This kept out the wind and gave light to the room.

A puncheon was hewed out as thin as needed to fit in the window opening. This puncheon rested on pins which were put into the log below the one cut out, and slanting, thus making a good rest to write on, but was usually covered with baskets and reticules in which the scholars had brought their dinners. This puncheon or shelf was made so that it could be fitted into the window opening and when pinned there nothing could get in at it. If the school ran into the late fall or winter months, the openings between the logs were chinked with the hearts of the board cuts and then daubed with clay mortar.

In the other end of the room a very large fireplace was made. In building the house, when the wall at that end was about five feet high a log was put across about three feet from the end wall and short logs were put from this log to the end wall and carried on up to the comb of the house. These short logs were about eight feet apart, making the throat of the chimney, which was drawn in as it was raised higher, so that at the top it was about four feet. Along the end wall under the opening made for the chimney, a back wall of clay was made up about four feet high, then the cracks in the chimney and wall were chinked and daubed. For a floor, sometimes split puncheons were used, but oftener it was made out of mother earth.

The dirt was put inside the room until it was up to the middle of the first side logs that lay on the ground. The dirt was pounded with a mall until it was well packed. For the last two or three inches, clay was made into a thick mortar, then put over the floor and evenly smoothed down. This soon dried and made a good, substantial floor. For seats, a log ten or twelve inches through at the top end and about twelve feet long was split in the middle and the split sides were hewn so as to take the splinters off. Then two auger holes were bored at each end on the round side of the slab and solid hickory pins for legs were driven into the holes, thus making a substantial bench.

I can yet remember that some of the hewing to take the splinters from the top of these benches was not perfectly done, as the seat of many a boy's pantaloons gave unmistakable evidence. The door shutter was made out of split pieces of white oak fastened on hinge buttons.

The teachers were often men of families that had improved the opportunity for an education in the older settled sections before coming to the wilderness of Indiana. Some were young men. The teacher, unless he had a home in the neighborhood, would board around among the scholars, staying a week at a time at one place.

The subscription school was the only kind then taught. Each family would subscribe as many scholars as they thought they could send during the three months that the school was in session. The time that each scholar attended was kept, as some families, having subscribed two scholars, would, part of the time, send three. If, at the end of the term, they had sent more than they had subscribed, the extra time was paid for.

The usual price per scholar, if the teacher boarded around among his patrons, was one dollar and seventy-five cents a term. If the teacher boarded himself, he got two dollars and fifty cents.

The school teachers of that early period deserve more than a passing notice. Many who write about the pioneer schools and their teachers, indulge in unwarranted criticism, asserting they were unqualified and cruel monsters. No doubt, there were exceptional cases, but as a class, these old teachers were a blessing to that generation, and they did the best they could with the very limited advantages it was possible for them to have. They left their impress on the children of the early pioneer who transmitted life to a generation now passing away which has done so much for the betterment of the country in which they have lived and for the advancement in every way of the generation they leave in charge.

The first several years after schools were taught in school houses, books were very scarce, high-priced and hard to get. In many cases where there were several members of the same family who went to school, some of them did not know their letters, others were commencing to spell in one and two syllables, and still others were farther advanced. The parents would take Webster's spelling book and, cutting the leaves out of the first part of it, paste the letters on a board made for that purpose and the words of one and two syllables on another board for the younger members of the family, and then give the balance of the book to those further advanced. In this way many children were taught the first principles of an education.

Many sorts of books were used for readers — the New Testament, the Bible, the English Reader (the hardest to read of all), Grimshaw's History of England, Flint's Natural History, and Emma Willard's History of the United States.

When any of the scholars were far enough advanced and the teacher could teach it, Kirkham's grammar was used. Smiley's Arithmetic was used, but the complicated rules in that work were very hard for a beginner in that science.

Lessons in penmanship were given by the teacher setting a copy at the head of a sheet of fools-cap paper. For this purpose he used a goose quill pen, as they had no other. The ink then used was made from the ooze of different kinds of bark that in that day were used to color thread and cloth black. The ooze from the maple bark was the most used.

In that day every scholar was in a class by himself. If there were twenty-five scholars, there were twenty-five classes, from A, B, C. to those studying Kirkham's wonderful grammar. When one pupil had recited, the teacher called the next, and so on until the entire school had recited. It never seemed to dawn on the teacher's mind that he could group his pupils and that several could learn the same thing at the same time and learn it better by being in a class and hearing each other's recitation.

The spelling lesson in the latter part of the afternoon was engaged in by all the pupils who could spell. Sometimes they had a large and a small class. In studying the spelling lesson the scholars were permitted to "study aloud." At times when this lesson was being learned the noise was so great that nothing outside the school house could be heard.

I here submit a contribution from a friend. With the exception of the Christmas treat, the crazy teacher and the family quarrel, gives a very good description of the schools as they were in the early forties:

"The door was usually on the south side of the building, so as to have the advantage of the sun's heat when the door was open, and that was most of the time, A very large fireplace was in one end of the house. There was a detail of pupils made each day by the teacher to cut and carry wood for the fire when it was cold weather. Wood was very plentiful near the school house. Those detailed were the larger boys, and they looked forward to this recreation with pleasure, glad of a little time away from their arduous studies.

"I will not attempt to describe the school house, but will give some details of the way the first two or three schools which I attended were conducted. They were all what was termed 'loud schools,' the scholars studying their lessons out loud, making a singing sound all over the house—so loud one could scarcely hear one's own voice, especially when it came time to prepare our spelling lessons.

"One Christmas morning our teacher brought a jug of whisky. to which he added some eggs and sugar; he then shook it up and called it 'egg-nog." When noon came he made us a little speech and said that the egg-nog was his treat to us; that we must not drink too much of it and must be good children while he went home to take dinner with his wife and some invited friends. We were good, but we did not leave any of the egg-nog for the teacher and his friends who came to the school with him in the afternoon.

"There were sometimes family feuds which grew out of some things that took place at school. I remember of two families meeting at a school house in front of the door when the school was in session and hearing one of the most terrible quarrels I ever heard. There were several members of each family and they all took part in the fight.

"At another school house another boy and myself were sent for a bucket of water, which we had to carry from a creek a half-mile away. We overstayed the time the teacher allotted us, He was very angry and when we got back gave us a terrible whipping, raising welts on my back as large as my finger. I thought he was very cruel. The teacher was a seceder preacher, who was crazy at that time and afterwards became very violent, burning up several of the scholars' hats."

Mrs. Nancy Gullick related to the author the following incident, showing the danger from wild animals:

In the Major David Robb settlement near where the town of Hazelton now stands, they had built a school house not far from White river and school was being held there. One of the patrons of the school had started out hunting and gone by the school to see one of his boys at the time of noon recess. While there the hunter's dogs treed a young panther, not far from the school house. The children went out to see what the dog was barking at, and the hunter, on coming up, saw it was a panther kitten about one-third grown. He shot it out of the tree and told his boy to drag it near the school house and when school was out in the evening to take it home and save the hide.

A short time after "books were taken up" the teacher and pupils were startled by the awful scream of the old mother panther, as she came bounding along the way the young one had been dragged. They had forethought enough to close the door and put the window bench in place and fasten it there. The furious animal rushed up to the carcass or her kitten and when she found it was dead she broke forth in terrible screams and howls of lamentation. Looking around for something on which to avenge its death, she made a rush for the school house, ran two or three times around it and then leaped on top of and commenced tearing across the roof from side to side as if hunting some place where she could get in to the imprisoned teacher and scholars. After a while she gave three or four most terrible screams; presently the answering screams of another panther were heard some distance off. It was but a short time until her mate came rushing up and the two went to the dead kitten and seemed to be examining it. They then gave several screams, one after another, and made a rush for the building, bounded on top of it and for the next half hour kept up a screaming such as the helpless scholars and frightened teacher had never heard before.

Major Robb had several men working for him at that time. They heard the fearful noise, and by the direction were sure that it came from near the school house. Three men took their rifles and hurried to the rescue. Several dogs had followed the men and they set up a loud barking and rushed at the school house. A panther could easily kill the largest dog with one stroke of its terrible claws, but for some reason they are dreadfully afraid of a dog and could be easily treed by a small feiste. The panthers jumped to the ground and ran up a large tree which stood near the school house and were soon shot to death by the hunters.

The teacher was a full-blooded Irishman, but a short time from Ireland. He had wandered out into the wilds of Indiana. Coming into that neighborhood and learning that Major Robb was from Ireland, he had been staying at his house for some time. Having the necessary qualifications, he was employed to teach the school. After the panthers were killed he dismissed the school and went back to the Major's, but refused to teach any longer. He said he would not live in a country that was on the frontier of "hades" and was inhabited by such pesky, screaming, screeching varmints as this country possessed.

In 1825 a young man by the name of Joseph Breeding, from the city of Philadelphia, came to Indiana, hoping to regain his health. He had been rambling over the wild country hunting and trapping for a livelihood. He made his home at Henry Hopkins' for a time. While there he was employed to teach school in the neighborhood two or three miles southwest of where Lynnville, in Warrick County, now stands.

The school house was not quite finished when Breeding commenced to teach. It had a puncheon floor. One night an old bear and two young cubs were hunting around the house for scraps of food left by the school children. The little bears got under the house and in hunting around smelled some meat scraps which had been thrown down by the children in the house. One of the cubs pushed a puncheon up far enough to get inside, when the puncheon fell back into its place, thus imprisoning the cub. The next morning when Breeding came near the school house he heard a noise in the building. Slipping up, he could see the little bear through a crack. About that time he discovered the old mother bear coming for him in a hurry, and he had only time to climb a small tree a little way from the house. Fortunately the tree was too small for the bear to climb. The teacher kept a good lookout for the children, and when he could see or hear any of them he would call to them, telling them of the danger. Finally one of the large scholars came with his gun and killed the old bear. The cub in the house was killed, as was its mate.

At the county seats, towns, and wherever the country was more thickly settled, there were usually better schools than those I have described, but as a rule I have given a true description of them as they were.

I feel warranted in asserting that our schools have kept well to the forefront as our state has made rapid marches to its present greatness. From these primitive schools have come some of the greatest men this nation has produced.

From the organization of the Territorial Legislature up to 1850 every assembly had a message from the Governor asking that the interest of the people should be well looked after and ample provision made for the education of the children. By the wise provision of the ordinance of 1787 and the laws passed afterwards by the Territorial and State Legislature, the foundation for our large and ever-increasing school fund. The common school fund in 1825 consisted of 680,207 acres of land, estimated at two dollars per acre, making $1,360,414.00.

There are always those to be found who are against any public policy, and this was true when free schools were first advocated by our law-makers. When it was submitted to a vote in 1852 whether we should have free schools or not, there was a strong minority opposed to it. They had many objections to its becoming a law. One was that it would largely increase the taxes to keep up the schools, and another was that it imposed a heavy burden on persons who had used economy and had accumulated property to pay taxes to educate the children of those who were poor, in many cases by their own vicious habits and a want of industry. Those objecting lost sight of the great blessing which would come to all the people by having an opportunity to educate the rising generation. Fortunately, the majority of Indiana's voters were not so narrowly constructed, and the law that placed Indiana in the front rank in educational matters was passed.

Notwithstanding the interest manifested by our law-makers, education in most sections of the state in 1850 was at a low standard. The schools were all subscription or private ones.

After the free school system came into operation in April, 1853, by the election of trustees for each township, which committed into their charge the educational interests of their respective township, the trustees had to organize school districts and then to provide houses to teach in.

In many townships in Indiana there was not a single house of any sort to teach in. Most of the houses used were found to be old, dilapidated buildings that a farmer of this date would not house his sheep in. It took a good while to make all these necessary arrangements, but after a while things began to run smoothly and the townships were tolerably well provided with school houses.

Another serious difficulty was the lack of efficient school teachers. This want was cured by a new law authorizing the appointment of deputy superintendents in each county to examine applicants for license to teach; the deputies by lowering the standard were enabled to secure teachers for most of the schools. The Legislature in 1853 enacted a law that made a standard of qualification and authorized the county commissioners to license teachers, that all schools might be supplied with a teacher, for fear there might not be a sufficiency of properly qualified teachers.

County commissioners were authorized to give temporary licenses to those taking charge of schools that did not require a high grade of teaching. It would seem a reasonable conclusion that all parents would be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of giving their children an education, since it was free, but such was not the case then any more than it is now.

In 1854 our common school fund was $2,460,600. This amount has been increased from many sources, until now we have a magnificent fund of more than ten million dollars and an average school year of six months. All can be educated, if they will, and be sufficiently advanced, free of charge, to enter any college.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NOBLE ACT OF RETURNING SOLDIERS OF THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE — AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY AND THE MISFORTUNES ATTENDING IT — DIFFICULTY OF PROCURING SALT AND DESPERATE BATTLE WITH TWO BEARS — INCIDENTS OF BURR'S CONSPIRACY—GOVERNOR JENNINGS' TEMPERANCE LECTURE — BATTLE BETWEEN TWO BEARS AND TWO PANTHERS—PANTHERS KILLING INDIANS—A HERMIT — PANTHERS KILL A MAN AND BOY — EARLY DAYS NEAR PETERSBURG, INDIANA — PANTHERS KILLING ONE AND DESPERATELY WOUNDING ANOTHER MAN OF A SURVEYING PARTY — WILD HOGS — SHOOTING MATCHES — EARLY DAYS IN DUBOIS COUNTY, INDIANA — KILLING OF EIGHT INDIANS — HUNTING — EARLY DAYS NEAR SPRINKLKSBURG, NOW NEWBURG, WARRICK COUNTY, INDIANA— A YOUNG WOMAN KILLED BY PANTHERS — HUNTING WOLVES — HUNTING DEER — AN AMUSING INCIDENT OF AN IRISHMAN AND THE HORNET'S NEST.

As hunting was the only means of obtaining a livelihood, for there was no money to pay for anything that was to sell and nothing to barter but the venison hams, skins and furs, these were exchanged for a few indispensable articles such as powder, lead, flints and salt, that were bought at a trading post far away.

Later on when more people were here and there was less danger from the Indians, this produce was bought up in large quantities and carried to market at New Orleans in flatboats, where it was sold for Spanish coin. When these traders returned, probably six or eight months after starting, they would pay out the coin for the produce they had bought on credit, thus enabling all who were industrious to have some of the money coming to them.

The hunters would kill many deer, salt their hams and smoke them, thus having them ready when the time came for the produce men to again receive them. They also saved the deer hides, bear skins, and nearly every night went hunting for coons and other fur-bearing animals. By the time the dealers in produce were ready to load their boats, they would find an immense quantity of produce that had been secured by the chase to load their boats at many points; sometimes two or three boats would be laden down. On the return of these produce merchants, they would pay out a large amount of money to their creditors. Many men in each neighborhood would have money to enter forty acres of land; others would have half enough and would commence to prepare produce for the next winter. The greater portion of all the land entered in the settled sections of Indiana from 1815 to 1835 was paid for by money that came from the chase.

After the bear became less numerous, farmers commenced to raise hogs and fatten them on the abundant mast which was everywhere.

They would make the pork into bacon or sell it to be salted the boats in bulk by the produce dealers. After the people in commenced to raise hogs, for several years they had to keep them in close pens at night, as if they were allowed to run at will they would nearly all be killed by bears. The price they received for a hundred pounds of pork was one dollar and fifty cents, net.

When the game in the older sections became thinned out, the men would organize themselves into a party of eight or ten, go to some place where it was known there was an abundance of game and make themselves a faced camp, and have a man to take care of it and cook for the party. Then they commenced in a systematic way to hunt over the surrounding country. Before these men would break camp they would kill several hundred deer and probably fifteen or twenty bears.

Captain Spier Spencer's company at the battle of Tippecanoe was in the thick of the fight. The Captain and a number of the men were killed and wounded. Among the number was a man named Davis, who had moved from one of the older states only a few weeks before the call was made for volunteers. Leaving his family in one of the settlements, he enlisted and was killed at the battle of Tippecanoe.

After the remnant of the company got home, those who were neighbors of the widow of their dead comrade held a meeting and resolved to assist her. They therefore organized a hunting party and sold the results of their hunt for enough to enter forty acres of land, and as they entered land for themselves, kept the widow provided for until her sons were old enough to take their part in the chase and in clearing up the farm.

AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY AND THE MISFORTUNE ATTENDING IT.

In the fall of 1806 a conspiracy was discovered, in which Colonel Aaron Burr was the chief actor, for revolutionizing the territory west of the Alleghany mountains and the establishment of an independent empire, with New Orleans for its capital and himself for its chief ruler.

To this end (it having been contemplated for some time) all the skillful cunning of which Burr possessed so much, was directed. If this project should fail, he planned the conquest of Mexico and the establishment of an empire there. The third project was the settlement of the Washita country which Baron Bastrop claimed. This last was to serve as a pretext for Burr's preparation and allurement, for his misguided followers really wished to secure land for homes. If he should be defeated in his first two projects, he could claim the last as his real object. He and his agents influenced many of the restless and dissatisfied elements which were then on the borders of the settled portions of the United States and of those who were always hunting for adventure, to join his force. Col. Burr, by assuring many well meaning, loyal persons that he had the secret influence of the Government back of him, induced them to leave their homes and follow his standard.

Not alone was Herman Blennerhassett (who possessed himself of a beautiful island in the upper Ohio on which he had builded a palatial home and surrounded himself with all comforts, conveniences and adornments which money could purchase at that day), ruined by listening to the seductive and fascinating address of that arch traitor and the Paradise with which he and his beautiful and accomplished wife had surrounded themselves was turned into a very hell and they fugitives from justice, but hundreds of others were influenced to forsake good homes and follow after this traitor, all of them becoming fugitives, hunted down by officers of the Government.

These people, while floating down the Ohio in boats, learning that they were being hunted as traitors to their country and that the lower Ohio was patrolled by soldiers to apprehend them, left their boats and scattered over the wilderness of southern Indiana. William Henry Harrison, then Governor, had these injured people hunted up and assured them that they were in no danger of arrest, but that they must prepare forts, into which they could repair when in danger from the Indians.

In many portions of southern Indiana these refugees formed the first nucleus around which early settlements were made. They raised families, improved the country, and ever since have added their full portion to the prosperity of the state.

There was a family of five persons connected with the Burr expedition who located in what is now Perry County, Indiana, five or six miles north of Flint Island, in 1806.. It consisted of two large boys, a grown daughter, the mother and father. Through the misrepresentations of Aaron Burr and his aides, these people had been induced to leave a good home in Virginia and go on the ill-fated expedition with the assurance that great wealth and fame would accrue to them for their portion of the gains. These people had come down the Ohio in a boat. When they arrived at Louisville, Ky., they learned that Burr and his followers were being hunted by the Government as traitors to their country. They floated on down the Ohio until they came to the mouth of Oil creek, then ran as far up the creek as they could and sunk their boat. Then taking their plunder, they went some distance farther into the wilderness, where they selected a place which suited their fancy and built their cabins, with a brave determination to start the battle of life over again. Joseph Bowers, who was the head of this family, and his eldest son, James, hunted most of their time, killing much game. They had located at a point which was some distance from any of the traveled traces which the Indians used, and began to feel hopeful they would have no trouble from them.

On one of their hunting excursions the two men had located a patch of hazel brush which was covered over with a thick matting of grape vines loaded with very fine large grapes. The daughter and younger brother accompanied the two hunters, intending to gather the fruit, and in the evening when the hunters returned they would carry it home. They had not been long gathering grapes before they saw a large animal slipping through the brush, coming towards them. The young boy, sixteen years old, had armed himself with an Indian tomahawk. They tried to slip away in the direction of their homes, but got only a short distance when they heard the awful scream of the vicious animal as it came bounding after them. Mary Bowers had heard that a panther would not attack a human as long as they faced it and kept their eyes on the panther's eyes. This she attempted to do, at the same time walking backwards, with the animal slowly following her, patting its tail on the ground at each step. In her excitement she was not cautious of her steps and was tripped by a vine, when the vicious animal bounded onto her prostrate body and tore her into pieces with its terrible claws. The young boy rushed at the beast with his tomahawk and sank the blade into its head, but was unable to pull it out of its skull. The panther caught both of his arms with his fore claws and in its dying agony tore the flesh from his legs with its hind claws. Mr. Bowers and his son were a mile away when they heard the scream of the panther. They ran as fast as they could to the point the children had been left, where they found Mary dead and the arms of Joseph still in the clutches of the dead panther, and it was many months before he was able to walk again.

DIFFICULTY IN PROCURING SALT AND A DESPERATE BATTLE WITH BEARS.

The early settlers in Indiana from 1800 up to 1820 experienced great difficulty in procuring a sufficiency of salt for their culinary purposes and to save their meats. It was high-priced and hard to get, usually selling for twelve to twenty cents a pound in skin currency or backwoods currency, which was all they had to pay with.

A good late fall or early winter bear skin was worth fifty cents, a deer skin twenty cents, and a coon skin from fifteen to twenty cents, in salt. They often made these skins up in packs of seventy-five to a hundred pounds and would carry them from twenty-five to thirty miles to find a sale for them.

They made large meat troughs out of poplar trees. The meat was placed in the trough and salted. After all the salt had gone into the meat that was required, the rest would melt and become brine in the bottom of the trough. After the meat was hung to smoke, every portion of the surplus salt was saved to use again.

Captain Alfred Miler, of Grandview, Spencer county, during the war of the sixties, related to me some early experiences of his people. He said the greatest difficulty they had to contend with was to have salt for their food. They had several boys in the family and they would time about getting all the bear, deer and coon skins ready and going to Louisville—sometimes to Vincennes—and selling them for salt. Sometimes it was too dangerous, on account of Indians, to go to either place, and they would have to resort to many expedients to have salt for their fresh meat.

There was a large deer lick not far from their home. They would gather a large amount of saline dirt from the lick, put in an old-fashioned ash hopper, put water on the dirt and after it had leached through the dirt the salty water was caught in a trough at the bottom of the hopper. Often a quantity of hickory ashes would be put in with the dirt. In this way the substance, after it was boiled down, would become very strong and penetrating.

When there was less danger from the Indians, the people who lived in the southwestern part of the state would go to the saline section of southern Illinois and make salt, but not until after the war of 1812 was over was it safe to make such venture unless in large parties.

In the early winter the turkeys were very fat. Many persons would kill them in large numbers, clean them and split them in halves and salt in a trough. When they were sufficiently salted they were taken out, washed clean and hung up and cured with smoke.

At such times as the hunters were busy the turkey would be cooked with bear bacon, and was rich, wholesome food. For several years after there were no buffaloes in the older section of the state they were seen on prairie lands of northwestern Indiana. Up to 1825 buffalo were found feeding on the rich prairie grasses bordering on the Kankakee swamps. The deer were never so plentiful in that section of the state as they were in the country where the timber and underbrush grew. The prairie wolves were in such numbers in the open country that most of the young fawns were killed by them before they could run fast enough to keep out of the way. The black bear was at home in all parts of the state. The last that were killed in Indiana, in numbers, were near where the city of Hammond is now located.

At a point not far from English lake two young men, named John Miller and Jean Vought (in the employ of Alexis Coquillard, the manager of John Jacob Astor's fur company in the country about the Great Lakes), had a camp and had spent several months at the place. One evening in the latter part of March, 1832, as these hunters were rounding out their very successful winter's hunt, they yet had a large tree which they intended to cut that was in a small strip of timber not far from their cabin and near the border of what is now Starke county, in which they thought a colony of raccoons made their home. They had laid their guns to one side and commenced to chop on the tree, when two large bears came rushing at them. They had no time to secure their guns before the bears were on them. They tried to defend themselves with their axes. At the first pass Miller's ax was knocked out of his hands and beyond his reach. Before he could get away he was caught and came near having the life squeezed out of him by the vise-like hug the bear gave him.

Vought had been more successful in his battle and had crippled his bear so that it was disabled. He ran to Miller's aid and stuck the blade of an axe into the bear's head, when it fell dead, but carried Miller with it, still holding the death-like grip on him, and he could not be released until Vought had chopped off one of the bears' arms. Miller was carried back to their cabin and it was many weeks before he could travel. They found that the tree, instead of being the home of coons, had two large openings in it, one above the other, and the two bears had occupied it for winter quarters, and probably the first time they had been down during the winter was the evening of the battle. The tree was cut down and two small cubs were found. Miller and Vought were old trappers and were well acquainted with the people in the neighborhood of the White river, as they trapped for years on that river and its tributaries before going north. In the fall of 1812 they had a camp about one mile east of White Oak Spring, now Petersburg, Pike County, and had traps set at many places.

Late one evening, while engaged in setting some traps above and between the forks of White river, they heard the chattering of squirrels some distance to the east, which continued to come closer. Soon the squirrels, but a short distance away, set up a terrible chattering. The hunters, thinking it was a bear or a panther that was causing the excitement among the squirrels, placed themselves in hiding to see what was coming. Soon two Indians came out on the bank of the river, one of them on horseback.

The hunters, knowing the Indians were not there for any good purpose, held a whispered council and determined to kill them. Miller killed the one on foot. Vought's gun flashed in the pan and his Indian turned his horse and ran away.

The dead Indian had a scalp in a leather pouch hanging to his girdle; the hair of a beautiful light color, which, unwound, was over four feet in length. They also found a notched stick on him that had several peculiar engravings on it as well as notches, which a friendly Indian afterwards told them meant that he had killed six white persons and four Indian enemies.

AN INCIDENT OF AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY.

The Indian that Miller killed was very fantastically dressed and carried a heavy silver-mounted rifle which had a large silver plate on the side of the breech with this engraving on it:

> "This rifle is presented to James Jones as a small token of my great appreciation of his bravery and for personally risking his life to save mine in a battle with the Indians north of the Ohio river. Louisville, Kentucky, December 12, 1805.
>
> John Caldwell."

The night after the killing of the Indian at the forks of White river, Miller and Vought were in Hargrove's camp showing their trophies. Sergeant Bailey, who was in camp not far from White Oak Springs with Colonel Hargrove, looked at the gun and became greatly excited. When shown the scalp above referred to, his grief was almost heartbreaking, exclaiming: "Mary, Mary, my beautiful twin sister, how I loved you—and when I think of the awful, cruel fate which befell you, it is almost more than I can bear."

Afterwards Bailey, relating this strange story, said James Jones was a brave, fearless soldier, and had been in many engagements with the Indians. In the one referred to by the plate on the rifle, the Indians had cut Jones and Caldwell off from the main army while they were dressing a deer. In the running battle that followed Caldwell's leg was broken by a ball and he could retreat no farther. Jones carried him to a secure position between two large logs and they both used the logs for a breastwork. In this way they killed several Indians and held the others in check until a troop of their company, hearing the firing, came to their relief. In In 1805 Jones was married to his twin sister, Mary, a beautiful woman with a most wonderful suit of light hair, so long that when let down it would veil her person to within a few inches of the floor. An agent of Aaron Burr's had come to their peaceful home on the Monongahela river and persuaded them to go with the ill-fated expedition. In 1806 President Jefferson issued a proclamation against many persons who had attached themselves to Burr's chimerical conspiracy and they fled in many directions. Jones, Bailey and others from that section started down the Monongahela and into the Ohio river.

They had gone one hundred miles west of the falls of the Ohio, when their boat struck a snag and was sunk, settling in deep water. The occupants were landed by the aid of a canoe on the Indiana side about forty miles west of the mouth of Blue river, They went back north into the country about fifteen miles, where they built their cabin. The cabin was about ten miles east of the old Indian trace running north from Yellow Banks, Rockport, Spencer County, Indiana, to White river. After staying there during the winter of 1806-07, Jones and Bailey's sister determined to go back by the Ohio river to Louisville, Kentucky, where they hoped to make them a home. Bailey, a few days before they were to start, went to another band of these refugees where two hunting companions of his were living. He and his two friends were on the first hunting trip when they were found by Captain Hargrove's scouts and went with him to Vincennes and enlisted in the United States army. Bailey remained in the service until after the battle of Tippecanoe. Bailey sent several letters to Louisville, but never received any answer to them, and this was the first time that he had any idea of what became of Jones and his sister. The two hunters offered to give the gun and scalp to Bailey, The scalp he accepted as a precious gift, but said that Miller should keep the gun and he wished he were able to give him a thousand times its value for killing the hated savage who murdered his sister.

GOVERNOR JENNINGS AND TOM OGLESBY.

Governor Jennings used to tell a story of his early electioneering days in which he said that panthers were good temperance lecturers. Once while he was traveling over the thinly settled hills of Dearborn county electioneering for congress, he met a man he was well acquainted with, Tom Oglesby, who was just getting over a protracted drunk. Jennings was up to his work and commenced to electioneer with Tom for his vote. The half sober fellow looked at him and said—"Jen, don't you think that a man just out of a panther fight and getting sobered up for the first time in twelve months ought to be electioneered in a more royal style than this? I am just from the grave. I was awakened a little while ago by a panther putting leaves and grass over me. It kept this up until I was entirely covered. I lay still for a while and then raised up and found the panther gone. I knew I was not safe there so I took my gun and climbed into a tree to see what the panther intended to do. In a short time I heard her coming and she had her kittens with her. Every few steps she would jump as is catching something and the little ones would go through the same maneuvers. She was teaching them how to attack their prey. She kept this up until she got near to the bed of leaves that I had been covered with. She made a spring on the pile and then looked just as I felt when I found I was covered up for dead. She made a mewing noise and the little panthers scampered back the way they had come. She then started in to investigate the cause of my disappearance and before she located me I shot her." Jennings after hearing this said: "Well, Tom, I do believe I should treat you as one from the dead, and since, Tom, we were school boys together in old Pennsylvania and you are a finished civil engineer and very well educated, if you will quit drinking I will see that you have a good place on the surveying corps" Tom Oglesby did quit drinking, Jennings was elected and put his old school mate in a good place in the engineerig department and he became one of the greatest engineers in the United States.

PANTHERS, BEARS AND A DEER IN BATTLE.

In the fall of 1823 David Johnson shot a large deer with a heavy pair of many pointed horns and had followed on its trail for some distance, hoping to get another shot. The deer was not dangerously wounded, but just enough to put it in good fighting humor.

He had followed the deer for some time over the hills in Washington township, Gibson County. The deer had left many signs of its anger by tearing small bushes and saplings to pieces with its horns in the route that he had traveled. Coming to the top of a hill, Johnson heard a loud noise down in the hollow at the foot of the hill that sounded as if many angry animals were in a terrible combat.

Slipping up so he could see what was making such a racket, when within about eighty yards he could see several animals in a regular free-for-all fight. Two black bears (one of them a very large one), two panthers, and a little to one side, his wounded buck. The two bears were standing on their hind feet, dealing blows with their arms, right and left, when the panthers would get in reach of them. The panthers were much more active than the bears, but were careful to keep out of reach of the bears' arms. Every little while they would jump clear over the bears, as if trying to attack them at their back, but Mr. Bruin would turn around as if on a pivot. The deer was standing some little distance away looking at the combatants as if he would like to take part in the fray, but there was so much of it he did not know how to commence. In one of the rushes made by the panthers, in jumping over the bear, one of them attempted to land on the buck's back, but the deer was too quick for it and it fell on the sharp points of the deer's horns, and was evidently injured in the tussle which followed. After the panther got off the horns it ran up a tree which stood near.

Mr. Johnson said the fight was so furious and the noise so terrible that he never was so thoroughly scared in his life before, and did not know what to do. There were so many animals that he could not kill all of them. He was at a loss as to what was the best plan to pursue, but as soon as the panther run up the tree he determined to shoot it. It fell to the ground, not dead, but so disabled that it could not stand on its feet, but tore the ground and growled and snarled. The other animals did not seem to hear the shot. If they did, they paid no attention to it, but kept up the fight. The other panther would every little while spring over the bears, high above their heads. The deer didn't seem to pay any attention to the bears, but followed the movements and kept his horns between his body and the panther. The panther, in avoiding a blow aimed at his head by the smaller bear, got in reach of the big one and received a blow that sent it ten feet away. It was more careful to keep out of reach after this and soon climbed up a tree for thirty feet and lay stretched out on a large limb. Johnson made up his mind that it was more dangerous than all three of the others and shot at it. Instead of falling, it jumped twenty or thirty feet into a thick clump of brush and ran off. The bear and deer stood their ground as if uncertain what to do, but before Johnson could load his gun again they all ran off down the hollow.

He found that the cause of the trouble was that the panthers had killed a small deer, and no doubt the bears coming up at this time determined to take it away from them.

After killing the wounded panther, he then went to where the other had alighted when it jumped out of the tree and found a little blood, but thought the animal was not seriously hurt. He said he could have killed the deer or either of the bears, but was afraid to leave the panthers, as they would have attacked him.

A WOUNDED DEER HORNING OXENS AND A HORSE.

Following is a little story showing the fury of a wounded buck: Major John Sprinkels, who settled Sprinklesburg (now Newburg), was out hunting and wounded a large five point buck and had been following it for some time. Finally the deer came to a cornfield, jumped the fence and was passing through it when it came to an ox team hitched to a wagon with an old North Carolina schooner bed on it. Three men were with the wagon gathering corn. The first they knew of the deer the oxen commenced to run. They found the deer was goring one of the oxen with its sharp horns. In running, the wagon became fast on a stump. The men ran to the oxen, thinking to scare the deer away, but it attacked them and seriously hurt one of the men, who saved his life by rolling under the wagon. The other two got up into the schooner bed. The deer, after trying to get at the man under the wagon, went around and attacked the other ox, goring it fearfully. Major Sprinkles, hearing the bellowing of the oxen and the halooing of the men, went to find out what was the matter and succeeded in killng the deer.

In 1827 Andrew McFaddin, of Posey County, went hunting on horseback. There was a heavy wet snow on the ground and he found that his horse balled so badly he had to leave it, and after securely tying it, he went on hunting.

He shot a large buck, severely wounding it, but it ran away. McFaddin followed it for several miles. The deer commenced to circle around and come back to the neighborhood where it had been wounded. After nearing the place where he had hitched his horse, he heard the horse making a terrible noise as if in distress. Thinking that a panther had attacked his horse, he ran in that direction and found the deer goring it with its sharp horns. McFaddin killed the deer, but found that his horse wes ruined.

PANTHERS KILLING INDIANS.

While three young men from Kentucky, southwest of Louisville, were traveling over the old trace from Clarkesville to Vincennes in 1800, where they intended to enlist in the army, they reached a place in the neighborhood of where French Lick Springs is now located and were ambushed and attacked by seven Indians, two of the young men being killed at the first fire. The other one, named George Davis, was grazed by a ball along his temple and fell to the ground. He was up quickly and attempted to run to cover, but ran into the hands of the Indians and was captured. They took him with them, going in the direction of the head waters of the White river, and reached a country where there were many Indians and Indian towns.

One night as they were lying in camp asleep, young Davis managed to slip his arms out of the buckskin thongs with which they were tied. Waiting until he felt sure they were all asleep, he selected his own gun which was standing with others against a tree near the fire and slipped away.

He started east, feeling sure that the Indians would go southwest on their back trail to hunt for him. The moon was very bright and he made good use of his time before daylight.

About daylight he found a leaning tree lodged against another very large tree which had a hole in it just above where the leaning tree lodged. Going up the leaning one, he found the hole large enough for him to hide in. It no doubt was the winter home of a bear.

Resting and sleeping all that day, as soon as night came on he was down. Shaping his course so as to have the North star at his back, he traveled all night. Being very hungry, he fortunately found a large fat opossum, killed it and carried it with him.

Just before day he found a cliff which had a shallow cave running back twenty feet from the entrance. Securing wood, he went into the cavern. He was at his wits' ends how to get any fire, as he had only the one charge of powder, which was in his gun. He was a backwoodsman and knew a good deal of their craft. Securing two sound, dry sticks, he commenced to rub them together until he brought fire from one of them. Preparing his opossum, he baked it to a nicety and ate it with a relish without salt or condiments.

As soon as night had come again he started and had been traveling two or three hours, when he heard a slight noise behind him as of some small animal running. Stepping out of his course a short distance and into a clump of bushes, he stopped to see the cause of this. He had been in his place only a few moments when he discovered three Indians following his trail. They passed, missing his track, and were running around trying to find it, when a most terrible scream was heard from one of them.

Two panthers were in a tree, and the Indians getting under them, the animals pounced onto them, knocking two of them down and terribly lacerating them. The third Indian killed one of the panthers, when a shot from the other side killed the Indian, and in a short time another shot from the same direction killed the other panther.

In a short time a man with long white hair and beard and dressed in skins came to where the combat had taken place, calling to Davis, whom he had seen slipping into hiding, to come out.

The combat had taken place near a large deer-lick and the panthers had been in the tree waiting for some unfortunate deer. The old man was there for the same purpose and did not know that the panthers were in the tree. He had seen Davis when he stopped and saw him slip into the clump of bushes and saw the Indians coming on his trail. By this he felt sure that he was a white man.

The Indians' guns and other things of value were taken. Young Davis was supplied with ammunition, hunting knife and tomahawk. The Indians lacerated by the panthers soon bled to death. They were dragged to a deep place in a nearby hollow or branch and put into it. Brush was piled over them.

The old man told Davis to follow him and he would have something prepared for him to eat, and after they had gone for about a mile the old man told him to sit down and rest, as they were in no further danger from the Indians. In an hour he returned with plenty of dried venison and fresh bear's meat, which was broiled. After eating all they wanted, they prepared a camp and stayed there for two days. During this period the old man was gone several times for an hour at a time. He would not talk of himself or of what he was doing there. Their camp was near a very large spring of gushing water not far from the Blue river (no doubt the large spring a few miles west of Corydon, Ind.)

After preparing plenty of provisions for the trip, Davis bade his benefactor good-bye and started for the mouth of the Blue river, as directed by the old patriarch, and finally got back to Kentucky.

DeLome, in his interesting narrative of his capture and his life among the Indians, relates the killing of the two men on the old trace and the capture of Davis. He says he was adopted into the family of an Indian, and that one of the men who went back for Davis was his adopted brother. He says the four Indians reached home, but that the three who went after Davis were never heard of afterward. He tells of the old patriarch having a home in a cave not far from the big spring; that no one knew who he was, where he came from or what became of him; but it was believed, from the little information obtained by Davis, that he was a political exile from some foreign country and that he had gone into seclusion in the wilds of Harrison County, Indiana.

EARLY DAYS NEAR PETERSBURG, INDIANA.

In 1807 or '08, James Gurney left Jefferson County, Kentucky, and came to Indiana Territory. He had a wife and two children. They put all their possessions in a large bag made of hemp or flax and fastened it to the back of the horse. The mother and smaller child rode on its back — the father, with his gun, keeping a lookout for Indians. The older boy, twelve years old, led the horse.

Crossing the river at Louisville, they started west on the old Indian trace, which was a regular traveled way from Louisville to Vincennes, most of the way being a good road. When they had traveled some thirty miles they found the road was patroled by rangers under young John Tipton. He furnished an escort as far as his boundary reached, only a little west of the Blue river. They were compelled to remain at that point until the rangers on the western division should come on their regular trip, which was only a day or two. The men on the western division were commanded by Captain Wm. Hargrove. The Gurney family accompanied them on their return trip to White Oak Springs, where Woolsey Pride had a fort. They were instructed by W. H. Harrison to remain in a blockhouse built inside the heavy stockade Pride had built around his fort, until late in the fall. He could then build a house after the Indian raids were over.

Gurney was of a restless, roving disposition, and had but little regard for Governor Harrison's orders. He would not follow the advice of the old hunters at the fort, but left, saying that he was going back to the mud holes, which were near where Portersville, in Dubois County, was afterward located, and they heard nothing more of him for some time.

The winter had gone and warm weather had come again. One day a woman, carrying a small bundle and a little girl, were found by the two McDonalds—John and William—who were early settlers in the mud-hole region. They had been wandering around in the woods. They took them to their home. These two persons were Mrs. Gurney and her little daughter. She said that the fall before, with her husband and two children, she had left the White Oak Springs fort and had gone in a southeasterly direction ten or fifteen miles, when they came upon a place which suited their fancy. Here they built a little cabin and spent the winter in comfort. There was all sorts of game in abundance, and with hickory and beech nuts and white oak acorns, of which they made pones and baked, they managed to live in comfort and were in perfect health. With the coming of spring they commenced to prepare a small patch for corn and vegetables and had a lìttle field brushed off. The horse was kept at night in a pen covered over with bark and brush. During the day he ran out and fed as he could from the range. One morning, along the first of May, Mr. Gurney had started out with his rifle to kill a turkey, and had not gone more than a hundred yards when his wife heard him calling aloud. His wife ran in the direction he had gone, and when she got within sight of his body, which was lying in the edge of the clearing, she saw a large panther spring onto a limb of a tree which stood near him. She did not know what to do, and thinking that the horse would scare the animal away, they led the horse out of the stable and turned him loose, driving him toward the place where the body of Mr. Gurney lay. When the horse saw the body it became scared and ran near the tree the panther was in, whereupon the latter sprang from the tree to the horse's back and that was the last ever seen of the horse.

They buried Mr. Gurney near the cabin and after this they had a very hard time. They could not do anything with the corn patch, as the horse was gone, but they could kill game, as the little boy and his mother could both use a gun.

The spring from which they obtained their water was seventy or eighty yards from the cabin. The boy was carrying water from it early one morning when he was killed by a panther. The mother, hearing his scream, took the gun and shot the animal as it was preparing to spring on her. She buried her boy and then determined to try to find her way back to the road and to Kentucky. She had been wandering around over the woods for more than a week when found by the two men who had killed a bear.

Mrs. Gurney went back to her people in Kentucky. This experience was told to me more than fifty years ago by Elijah Malott, who lived in the same neighborhood as did Mrs. Gurney's people, and he often heard her tell of her awful experience. He said he had been preparing to come to southern Indiana to the neighborhood of White Oak Springs, but after hearing of the terrible experience above related, he had many misgivings. He said it was never known exactly where Mr. Gurney had made his cabin, but eight or ten years after he was killed some hunters found a small floorless cabin near where the White Sulphur Springs are now, near where Velpen, Pike County, Indiana, now stands.

Elijah Malott moved to the neighborhood of Petersburg, Indiana, in 1817. This same Mr. Malott in his younger days was very fond of playing pranks. One evening while hunting he found a large buck which had been killed the day before and was frozen hard. He dragged it up to a sapling, raised it up to a standing position and tied it there. That night he went to see his nearest neighbor, Mr. Jesse Alexander, and invited him to go hunting with him the next morning. They started out and the route Mr. Alexander took brought him in plain view of the dead buck with the large pair of horns. In a short time Mr. Malott heard Alexander commence shooting and he took seven shots in all at the deer. After this he concluded to investigate and found that he had put seven balls into the deer.

In 1850 one of Mr. Alexander's daughters was married. Before the wedding something was said about a charivari. Mr. Alexander said if they attempted it, his two big bulldogs would eat them up. The night of the wedding Hiram Malott, Resin Malott, Captain James E. Chappell and many others, carrying with them three dumb-bulls, as many hickory rattles and many noisy things, and beginning the most hideous noise ever heard, went three or four times around the house, when they were invited in. Mr. Alexander the next morning found his dogs a mile away, at Stanton Lamb's.

PANTHERS KILLING ONE MAN AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDING AN-ANOTHER OF A SURVEYING PARTY.

In 1805 the surveyors were doing some work in town one north, range nine west, in what is now Clay township, Pike County, Indiana, that had been left from the survey in the fall and winter of 1804 owing to water being in the way. The camp was located on section 18, town one north, range 9 west, a little way from Harvey creek and near a pond or bayou that is now owned by Hon. Jasper N. Davidson. They had been in that section for several weeks.

Two young men were camp-keepers, one of them keeping the camp supplied with game. Their names were George Tate and Thomas Shay and they had for some years before this made their home in Clark's Grant, near Jeffersonville, Indiana. The surveying crew had come into camp at noon on Saturday so they could make their field notes and were not intending to go out again until the following Monday.

The two young camp-keepers availed themselves of this opportunity to go to a bluff bank not far away and to endeavor to kill a bear, which, they thought, had its den in the bluff. Just before reaching the den they saw two young animals that were gamboling around over logs and running up an old stump six or eight feet high and jumping off. They were having a lively play and did not see the hunters, who got up as close as they could, and hiding behind trees, they watched their antics for some time. Slipping up still closer, they intended to scare the animals, to see them run, and so rushed at them, making a great noise. The old mother panther was lying asleep only a little way from where the kittens were playing and she at once rushed at the hunters, striking Shay down before he could use his gun and almost severed his head with her terrible claws. Tate, not knowing Shay was dead, would not shoot for fear of hitting him, as the panther was biting and scratching him. He rushed upon the animal and felled it with his gun and then one of the very bloodiest fights ever recorded of this nature took place. The panther, regaining her feet, rushed at Tate, who was trying to shoot, but found that the priming had fallen out of the pan of his flint-lock gun when he knocked the panther down. As she came at him he thrust the muzzle of the gun into her mouth and thus held her at bay for a little while. She tore the gun out of her mouth with her claws and again rushed at Tate. He clubbed his gun and broke one of her fore legs, but she caught one of his arms in her mouth and they both fell to the ground. The hunter as yet was but little hurt, and drawing his hunting knife, he plunged it in the panther's side time after time, but not before she had torn the flesh off his legs in a terrible manner with her hind claws. The men at the camp heard the noise that the panther made as she was rushing at the hunter, and three men, with two dogs, hurried in that direction. They had not gone far before the dogs set up a terrible barking and a large panther sprang into a tree not far off. They shot it to death. Thomas Shay was quite dead and Tate was almost dead from loss of blood. The carcass of the panther that he had stabbed to death was lying on him and the two little kitten panthers were nestled down by the side of their dead mother. The panther the rescuing party had killed was not in the battle, but came in answer to the scream of its mate. It had nearly covered the body of Shay with leaves, as is their habit when killing game. When they have eaten all they want, they cover the remainder until they are hungry again.

They carried Tate to the camp and dressed his wounds as best they could, but it was several months before he was able to go about.

Shay was buried near the place where he was killed and a history of his death was cut by the surveyors with their tools on a beech tree near his grave. The surveyors sent for David Johnson, who had been with them the year before, to hunt for their camp again. While there he had an adventure near where the old Indian road crosses White river. He had shot a small deer and dressed and prepared it so he could carry it shot-pouch fashion to the camp, when he heard a noise of something which was in a tree not far off. Bending down a sapling and cutting off a limb he hung his deer on it and when the sapling straightened up, it went out of the reach of any animal. Slipping up to the point where he heard the noise, he saw a bear cub which would weigh about one hundred pounds. He shot and broke its shoulder. It set up a terrible noise and in a moment out came the old bear from a tree all in a pile. She jumped up and ran to the cub and was trying to get it away by going off and expecting it to follow, but the little fellow could not walk and kept up the squealing noise. Johnson was trying to load his gun but in the hurry, as he was pulling his gun stick out, it went out of his hand and some distance to one side. In stepping from behind the tree to get it, the old bear saw him and came at him full drive. There was a large tree standing but a little way from him. He ran to this and got behind it, intending to finish loading his gun but the bear was after him and he ran around that tree many times, the bear in close pursuit. The little bear commenced to make a very loud noise and the old bear ran to the place where it was, when Johnson finished loading his gun and shot the old bear.

In 1854 when Mr. Johnson told me this story he said that sometime in the early twenties he, with a hunting party, had a camp near the place where the panther fight took place and that while the beech tree had been blown down, Shay's grave was yet to be seen.

WILD HOGS.

When it became so that the people could turn their hogs on the range all the time, some of them would stray off and become so wild, they would run from a man. They were very prolific. A sow would usually raise two litters of from six to eight pigs each year. In a short time the surrounding wood was full of wild hogs. The pigs which were raised in the woods were as wild as other animals and equally as hard to domesticate. An old saying among the early people was, "A wild hog once, a wild hog all the time." The country was covered over with a heavy growth of timber and a large portion of it was nut-bearing and acorn trees. In the more open or barren wood there were immense thickets of hazel bushes and on these bushes a large quantity of hazel nuts were produced each year. In the fall and winter the ground was covered with the different sorts of nuts and acorns. Not one-half of it could be eaten by the animals. All winter, except when there was a deep snow, there was an abundance of food for everything that would eat mast. The hogs would at all times keep in good living order, and in the fall and winter would get very fat. The farmers in early times marked their stock by cutting their ears in many shapes, such as an upper bit in the right ear, and a crop off the left ear; an under bit in both ears, a crop and a split in the right ear, and so on.

These marks were recorded in a book kept by the County Recorder for such records. The law protected them against an infringement on these marks as much as the trade-marks of manufacturers are protected now. There was a sacred regard for the marks of each other's stock by the old settlers. Some of the sows that were marked would stray away and raise a litter of pigs and stay away with them. The owner and others would see them once in a while, and the range she staid in was noted by the hunters, and the hogs in that range of woods were called after the man who owned the marked sow. Nearly all the farmers would have some hogs which became wild, and their claim on the hogs that came from the marked sow was respected.

The old hunter who first settled in this country regarded the meat of the bear as very much superior to that of the hog. It was more easily kept and required less salt and when made into bacon was regarded by him as superior to the best cornfed pork made into bacon. The oil of the bear was much richer, more penetrating and better flavored than hog lard. The time soon came, however, when there were but few bears in the country, then the hog was brought into general use for bacon. When a tracking snow would fall, the farmer would take his boys and some of his hunting companions and go to the range where his wild hogs ran, taking two or three good dogs with them who understood how to guard against the terrible tusks of the old male hogs. When the hogs were found, a regular battle was on, and all that would do for meat were killed. Sometimes the fights between the old male hogs and the men and dogs were terrible. There never was a more vicious animal on this continent than these old hogs. When once attacked, they fought to a finish. They had tusks which were often four inches long sticking out three inches on each side of their mouths and as sharp as a knife. With one stroke of their tusks they could kill a dog, cut a man's legs half off or ruin a horse. Wild hogs have been known to give battle to a dozen wolves and put them to flight. One evening two hunters who had their homes in southern Davis County, not far from White river, had been out hunting and were returning to their homes loaded down with turkeys just a little while before sundown. They found themselves near a large thicket in which hazel bushes were the principal growth. They heard a pig commence to squeal not far from where they were and soon heard hogs making a terrible noise as if they were attacking some animal or were holding one at bay. The hunters, thinking it was a panther or wildcat which had caught the pig, slipped up, intending to shoot it, and they advanced as far as they felt it was safe to go. Owing to the thickness of the brush, they could not see what it was the hogs were fighting, but they could tell there was a desperate fight of some sort on. Not far to one side a dead tree had fallen and lodged in the fork of another tree. They climbed up the log to where it was ten or twelve feet from the ground and saw a large black bear backed up against a log. He was using both arms, boxing right and left, as he was being held at bay by twenty or twenty-five hogs. The hunters said they had never seen such a furious fight and they watched it to a finish. There were several large male hogs with terrible tusks and they would charge in pairs, intending to tusk him in each side, but the bear was on the defensive and would knock them right and left. After a long fight the hogs changed their mode of attack and rushed at the bear four and five at a time. In this way they soon got in their work. They literally tore the bear to pieces and were eating it up when the two hunters were glad to slip away without attracting attention.

SHOOTING MATCHES.

In an early day the rifle was indispensable. It was necessary to carry a gun everywhere. The rifles were very high-priced and it was often very difficult to secure them, and it was many years after this country commenced to settle before any were manufactured in this territory. The guns with which the settlers drove the Indians away were made in Virginia and North Carolina. Some were made in Kentucky. The rifle was naturally regarded as a princely treasure. They became very proficient in repairing their rifles. When they did not shoot correctly, they moved the sights until they were correct.

The men who in this day have high-priced guns and use them only a few weeks in the hunting season can form no idea how the old pioneer hunters regarded their guns, keeping them at all times in perfect order and ready for use at any moment. When in the cabins the guns were hung in a crotch over the door or on the side of a joist, with the point of a deer's horn for a rack. They did not have the percussion caps at that time to fire the powder, but had a gun flint which was fitted between two plates in the end of the hammer of the gun-lock and securely fastened there. When the trigger that threw the hammer was touched, the hammer or flint, in coming down, struck against an upright piece of hardened steel which was fastened to the lid of the pan which covered the powder and threw the pan open. The sparks made by the flint coming in contact with the hardened steel fell in the powder which was in the pan, which was connected with the powder in the gun barrel through a touch hole, and fired the gun. In damp weather the powder in the pan would become a little damp and the gun would make long fire, as it was termed, so the old hunters became adepts at holding their guns very steady, always prepared for the long fire.

The pioneers learned to shoot with great accuracy with these old flint-lock guns. Eight times out of ten they would shoot a panther's eye out sixty and eighty yards away. When powder and lead became more plentiful the hunters would practice shooting at a mark, both with a rest which was lying down and resting the gun on a log or chunk or standing up and shooting off-hand. They made a target by taking a board and blackening a spot on it with wet powder; then two marks were made with a knife that crossed each other in the black spot. Then taking a small piece of paper about two inches square, cutting a square out of the center about one-half inch in size, tacked it on the board so that the cross would be in the center of the small square. It was not considered a very difficult feat for a marksman to shoot the center out five times out of ten, sixty yards off-hand or one hundred with the rest.

The rifle shooting was one of the main sources of amusement that the old hunters had. Shooting matches were very common in all parts of settled Indiana up to the last of the forties.

A shooting match was usually arranged for Saturday. Some one who owned a steer or heifer that was good beef would send out word that on a certain day there would be a shooting match at his place. Everyone who cared to, attended, and there was usually a large number in attendance. The beef was seen and valued at what was considered a fair price. If it were worth twelve dollars, it would be divided into one hundred and twenty chances at ten cents each. The men wanting to engage in the contest could take as many chances as they wanted, so long as it was not more than one-fifth of the whole number. When all had taken and paid for their chances, the next thing to do was to select two men to act as judges who prepared the boards for targets and cut the name of each man who was to shoot on his board. Some times the chances would not all be taken—then the owner of the beef could take the remaining chances if there were not more than one-fifth of them and shoot out his chances, or he could select some one to shoot them out for him. Often some one who had chances of his own would be selected to shoot out the owner's chance. Some times when the owner had one-fifth of the chances and a good shot selected to shoot for him, the whole beef would be won. The judges had charge of the boards and they were placed against the tree that the lead was to lodge in, and when the chances had all been shot out, the judges took each board and made a correct record of the shooting in this manner:

First—So many plumb-centers which were determined by holding two strings over each mark. In this way they could determine if the middle of the ball hit the center. Second—So many centers cut out. Third — So many centers lead, which meant that the ball jnst grazed the center, but did not cut it quite out. Then a record of the distance of the balls which did not hit the center was made by measurement. When the records had been made up, the awards were made by first, second, third, fourth and fifth choices, which usually meant the hide tallow and lead which had been shot into the tree was the first choice; the second choice, one of the hind quarters; third choice, the other hind quarter; the fourth choice, one of the fore quarters; the fifth choice, the other fore quarter. If it were not too late in the day, the interested parties would butcher the beef, hanging up the meat to cool and the next morning send for it.

This gathering of woodsmen was a day of recreation and pleasure, spent in talking over the old hunting experiences they had had together. There was always the most scrupulous exactness by all in determining distances and shooting not to show a semblance of cheating. These men, though rough and uncouth in manner and dress, were the souls of honor.

EARLY TIMES IN WHAT IS NOW DUBOIS COUNTY, INDIANA.

John and William McDonald were the first permanent settlers in Dubois County, Indiana. They moved from Clark's Grant in 1802 and settled near what was then called the Mud Holes, where Portersville was afterwards located and became the first seat of justice for the county. The two McDonalds builded cabins and cleared each a small farm or field. During the summer of 1804 the Indians became so threatening they took their families back to Clark's Grant, now Jeffersonville, Indiana. The two men returned, and while one of them, with his gun, was secreted in a place where he could have a good view of the surroundings, watching for the Indians, the brother cultivated their small fields. They had no feed for their horses, but turned them out at night to graze on the range, hunting them up in the morning to plow.

In the last of the summer, one of their horses took the tires and died; the remaining one was still turned on the range at night. One morning they failed to hear the bell, when William McDonald started to hunt for the horse. After hunting for some time, he found the horse's track and found that it had gone in a southeasterly direction. Following along the track for several miles, the horse having gone in a straight course, McDonald decided some one had stolen the animal. He continued on the trail, coming near the big bend in the Patoka river a few miles west of where Knoxville, Dubois County, now stands. When he got near the bank of the river he could see a smoke across the end of the bend. Creeping up through the underbrush he came in sight of a camp and saw three Indians moving around, and a little to one side his horse tied to a sapling. Secreting himself in the thick brush, intending to watch awhile and see what the Indians were doing there, he had not long been in hiding when he heard the voice of a woman crying and pleading with some one not to kill her child. Getting in a position to see the camp again, he saw a burly Indian holding a little child two or three years old by the hair with one hand and a club drawn back in the other as if to strike it and making pretended blows as if intending to kill the child, the poor mother all the time pleading for its life. Another Indian came to them and said something in the Indian tongue, when the little child was restored to its mother. There seemed to be several persons around a bark shed or camp, but McDonald did not dare expose himself so he could get a good view of them. He quietly slipped back the way he had come until he was out of sight of the smoke and then hurried back to his cabin. When he arrived there he found eight men eating their meal around a fire built a little way to one side of the cabin. McDonald hurriedly told his brother of his discovery. When the other men were informed of it they became greatly excited and asked William McDonald to pilot them to the place where he had seen the Indians. They started, taking the trail made by the horse and followed it to about one-fourth of a mile of the place at which McDonald had left them three hours before. It was then about one o'clock in the afternoon. They held a consultation, agreeing that McDonald should pilot them to a point as near the Indians as it was safe to go, if they were still there, which he did. They were still in camp and the horse was tied to the sapling. Several persons were seen, some of them walking around, others lying on the ground.

The Kentuckians said there were seven Indians and that the leader or chief was very large, nearly twice the size of an ordinary man, and that they had two women and two children prisoners whom they had captured six days before about thirty miles south of the Ohio river, crossing the river at Yellow Banks, now Rockport, Indiana, and they had followed their trail about twenty-five miles north on the trace which led to the old Delaware town at the forks of White river. Two nights before they had traveled all night on that trace and had lost the trail of the Indians. They had been to White river and up and down it, but failed to find any trace of them. The Kentuckians held a final consultation and it was agreed they would circle around the camp, which was near the bank of Patoka river, leaving the men so there would be a space of about seventy-five yards between them. The leader, Captain John Enloe, when he should get into a position near the river on the opposite side of the camp so he could keep the Indians from passing between him and the river, was to imitate the scream of a panther, which he could do to perfection. This would bring the Indians to their feet. Then they were to shoot at every Indian in sight. They were about a half an hour getting around the camp and slipping up to it before the terrible scream was heard. The Indians rushed for their guns and started to find the animal, when the rifles of the Kentuckians commenced to crack. There were four Indians in sight with guns. Three of them were killed and the fourth ran down the bank of the river, when young John Risley rushed up to the bank of the river to keep the Indian in sight until he could load his gun, but he was shot through the thigh and badly disabled. Captain Enloe ran up and killed the Indian before he could get out of the water. After the battle was over the men cautiously advanced on the bark tepee. One of the white women came running to where the men were and told them that three Indians were in the bark hut; that an Indian doctor was giving them a sweat bath; that the three men were desperately wounded, but the doctor was unhurt. The men surrounded the hut and tore it down. They found the Indian doctor dressed in the most outlandish apparel they had ever seen and the three wounded men, one of whom was the big chief. The woman said that two nights before they had camped in a rough place where there were many deep gorges and that during the night several panthers had attacked the party while they were asleep, terribly lacerating three of the men before they could beat them off. They had carried the three wounded Indians some distance to that place, made a camp and sent a runner for an Indian doctor, who had arrived that morning riding McDonald's horse. There were two brothers of the women prisoners in the rescuing party and they were determined to kill the Indian doctor and wounded Indians, which they did. The eight dead

Indians were thrown into a gulch that ran into the Patoka river and covered with rocks, logs and brush. The rescuing party then went back to McDonald's cabin and remained over night. Young Risley rode McDonald's horse and it was several months before he was able to walk again. During the night the shoe pacs of the women and the moccasins of the men were mended and put in good shape, and next morning they took their departure for their Kentucky homes. The two women were widows, living together, their husbands having been killed the year before in a battle with the Indians. There was a young lady friend visiting the widows who was not in the house when the Indians came. She hid in a thicket until the Indians were gone, then hurried to the nearest neighborhood and gave the alarm. It was a day before a sufficient number of men could be gotten together to follow so large a number of Indians.

HUNTING WOLVES.

The sneaking, snarling wolves were the most despised of all animals by the old hunters. They were treacherous and cowardly and never could be seen unless they were in such numbers as to have a decided advantage. They seldom attacked a larger animal than a deer or a calf, but when hungry, they would attack a cow and kill her.

A farmer who lived on the head waters of Pigeon creek, in Warrick County, Indiana, turned his horse out to graze at night. The next morning he found the bones only a little way from his stable.

Often when following a wounded deer the hunter would find a dozen wolves had cut in on the trail ahead of him. They were such a menace that the hunters induced the county commissioners to offer a reward for each scalp, big or little. This soon thinned them out and provided a source of revenue to the hunters. Many of them would have ten or fifteen scalps at a time. Early in the forties Jacob W. Hargrove found a wolf den in the hollow of a large tree in western Pike County near the Patoka river. There were six puppies in the den. He had watched several days for a chance to kill the old ones, but could never see them. He went to the bed one evening and marked the puppies' ears with his mark. That night the old wolves moved them and the next day the two old ones were killed on Smith's Fork of Pigeon Creek, at least ten miles as the bird flies from their den on the Patoka river. They were killed by Jacob Skelton and his son John. They found the puppies, scalped them and took the eight scalps to Princeton, where they received eight dollars for them. Then they went to the Recorder's office, found the marks of Mr. Hargrove recorded, took out one dollar for their trouble and sent five dollars to him for the scalps of the six puppies which he had marked.

David Bilderback and Peter Ferguson, who lived in Monroe township, Pike county, went to a wolf's den they knew of, intending to kill the puppies and get the reward then paid for them. Bilderback stationed himself beside a tree at the entrance of the den, to shoot any old wolves should they be attracted by the cries of their puppies. Ferguson entered the den and began the work of killing the puppies and cutting off their ears. The old wolves came at him in a terrible fury, having heard the puppies' cries, but no shot was heard, and Ferguson barely escaped with his life. He rushed for his gun, standing against a tree, and saw Bilderback up a sapling calling to the wolves, "Be gone! Be gone!" They drove the old wolves away without succeeding in killing any of them. Ferguson finished scalping the puppies and received the reward.

Along in the "forties" there was a class of hunters who took to the sporting side of the chase. In every neighborhood someone would own a pack of long-eared fox hounds. In hunting with them a large number of men and sometimes women, too, would follow the hounds, imitating the old English fox hunt. On the trail of the red and grey fox the dogs would continuously give vent to the old hound "balloo!" which could be heard for miles. Many of these hunts would take in a large territory. The dogs would run thirty or forty miles in a zig-zag direction across the country. These dogs were used for coon-hunting in the night and the woods were in an uproar almost every night. The dogs would often go out of their own accord and chase deer, foxes and other animals for hours at a time. It was not long after these dogs became common in this country until the deer were all gone or nearly so. The incessant noise in the woods drove the deer back to the wilder sections of the country. The hounds thinned out the foxes, to the great advantage of those raising chickens and geese, which was a very difficult proposition at that time. People did not house their chickens at night, as they do now, but let them roost on the fence, in the apple trees and other places, as they chose.

At this time geese were raised. Nearly every family in the country would have from twenty to fifty head, and unless they were penned up every night, the foxes and wildcats would carry them off. At that date they were very valuable property in several ways. Their feathers were in large demand and they yielded a large amount each year. Every six weeks they were ready for plucking, and many a woman carried black and blue marks on her arm from one plucking to the next, pinched there by the goose as he was being robbed of his downy coat. The feathers brought a good price at the trading places. In remote sections the peddlers carried their wares around in wagons and exchanged their goods for feathers. Many families purchased the greater portion of their needed supplies with them. Transition from the leaf, brush, straw and skin-covered couches to the soft feather bed, the most luxurious couch man ever lay on, was a great advancement in the comforts of life. At an earlier date there were a great many of these people who resorted to many expedients to have a better bed than was in general use, and in some cases they succeeded very well.

Mrs. Nancy Davis, who lived to be more than a hundred years old and resided in Pike County, Indiana, tells how she obtained a good bed in the early days. After she moved to the section where she raised her large family, they had nothing but brush and skin beds. There were five boys in the family, who spent most of their time during the fall and winter in hunting, and each day, by agreement with their mother, would bring home one or more turkeys. The mother picked the fine feathers off and in a short time had several good beds for her family. In after years, when they could raise geese, she had as many as two hundred at a time, and with the money she received from the sale of the feathers, entered three forty-acre tracts of land.

EARLY DAYS AROUND SPRINKLESBURG, NOW NEWBURG, INDIANA.

Major John Sprinkles made the first settlement in southwestern Warrick County in 1803. At that time there was a settlement at Redbanks, now Henderson, Kentucky, and a few people scattered along the south bank of the Ohio river in Kentucky. A little above where the Major settled was a Shawnee Indian town which was scattered for several miles up and back from the river. This band of Shawnees was under the control of Chief Seeteedown, who, for an Indian, was very well-to-do, having large droves of horses and cattle. These Indians at that time were very peaceable with the few white persons who lived in that section. During the year 1807 two young cousins of the Major's came down the Ohio river in a boat. intending to make a visit and then go on to the Illinois country. The two young men were there for some time with the Major, roaming through the woods. They had come from the old settled section of Pennsylvania and everything seemed new and strange to them.

In the fall, when the deer were at their best and the bear fat upon the mast, the Major and his two kinsmen went a little way back from the river and made a camp, intending to have a week's hunting. They had been hunting two or three days when the two boys had an experience, the marks of which they carried to the end of their lives. They had been following a drove of deer for some time, when they came upon an old bear and two cubs eating acorns under a white oak tree. One of the boys shot one of the small bears, knocking it down. The old mother and the other little one ran off. It seemed that the little bear was only stunned and was not fatally injured and was soon up, staggering around. The young men ran up to it, intending to finish it with their hunting knives. They laid their guns down, but had not quite reached the place where the young bear was until the old mother came at them savagely.

They attempted to get their guns, but before they succeeded, the old bear knocked one of them down. The other got his gun, but it was empty, and rushing at the bear that was fighting his brother, he struck it on the head with the gun barrel. The bear knocked the gun out of his hands with such force that it broke his arm. The other brother, though badly wounded, got his gun and attempted to shoot the bear in the head as it was biting his brother, but his aim was so bad that he only slightly wounded it, and it then turned on him and knocked him down, biting his legs in a fearful manner. The boy with the broken arm stabbed the bear many times with his hunting knife and finally hurt it fatally. It started, however, to follow its two cubs, but had gone only about a hundred yards when it laid down and died. The young men were found by the Major and taken to camp and then to his cabin, where they were for several months before they were able to be out. This experience satisfied them and cured their roving dispositions and they returned to their Pennsylvania homes.

In 1812 the Indians were very bad and everybody had to live in forts. The one which was in the neighborhood where Major Sprinkles lived had a number of families in it, consisting of the Hayes, Lynns, Sprinkles, Alexanders, Darbys, Frames, Wests and Roberts—in all, more than thirty-five persons. It was not regarded as safe for any to live outside of the forts during that year from the first of June to the last of November.

There was a young girl who lived with one of these families who was expecting a sister from central Tennessee. She was very uneasy about her, fearing she had been captured by the Indians. Late one evening, just before dusk, a whining, piteous cry was heard, which did not seem like the scream of the panther, as it was continuous. This girl heard the noise and declared it was the cry of her sister, and nothing could stop her from going out to it. Before the men in the fort realized her intentions, she was running in the direction of the noise. Three of the men got their rifles and hurried after her. They were uncertain what it was, thinking it might be the ruse of the Indians trying to imitate the cry of a woman or child to draw some of the people into an ambush. The men had gone nearly a quarter of a mile when they heard the most terrible scream of a panther mingled with the outcry of the unfortunate girl. Hurrying as fast as they could, when they located the scream, they were very cautious in their advance. Coming to an open space, they saw several animals which were biting and scratching at the body of the girl they had killed. The men killed the old panther and two of the young ones that she, no doubt, was trying to teach to scream, which was the cause of the peculiar noise they heard. After she had killed the girl, she was teaching the young ones how to attack their prey, and she would bound onto the prostrate form and bite and scratch it. The kittens would go through the same motions, and thus had torn her to pieces.

In 1816 Major Sprinkles laid out the town of Sprinklesburg, which is now known as Newburg, Warrick County, Indiana.

HUNTING DEER.

The deer were so plentiful that they were to be seen every little distance in passing through the forest, sometimes in large droves. The reason they were not exterminated sooner by the hunters in the rush to secure their hams and hides, as were the buffaloes on the open plains of the northwest, was that the greater portion of Indiana was a dense wilderness, having many thickets of underbrush so dense that they could safely hide in them. There was great skill in hunting them. Some would kill three deer to his neighbor's one, who hunted equally as faithfully.

Early in the twenties Andrew McGregory moved to the neighborhood of what is now Somerville, Indiana. The next year the two oldest boys, George and John, put in all their time hunting. That winter they sold enough venison hams to come to $75.00. The hams at that time were worth only twenty-five cents a pair. They entered forty acres of land and had enough to purchase their ammunition, salt and other indispensable supplies for the family.

The next year George, the oldest son, killed deer, caught coons and paid for eighty acres of land, for which he was nicknamed "George, the Deer Killer." The father of these boys was from Ireland, coming to this country after he was sixty years old. The old gentleman could never become used to the many strange things he found on every hand.

After his son John had a family, the father, who lived to be nearly a hundred years old, made his home there. He was a very industrious man and wanted to be at work all the time. When there was nothing else to do he would wander through the surrounding forest looking at the many strange things so different from his old home in the north of Ireland. In his wanderings one day he saw a hornets' nest hanging to the under side of an elm limb some twenty feet from the ground. The old man thought it was a jug and made up his mind that he would have it. Relating the experience himself, he said: "Now, just look there—see what strange kind of people we have in this country, go and hang a jug way up in a tree. Maybe it has a nip of the creature in it; I will see." Pulling off his shoes, he climbed the tree like a squirrel, and when he got out on the limb over the nest and was reaching under to get the jug, the hornets swarmed out and stung him fearfully. The old man let all holds go and fell to the ground, which came near killing him. Dinner time came and the old man had not yet returned. His son, becoming uneasy at his absence, started out to find him. After a long hunt he found him near where he had fallen, sitting against a log with his shoes off and badly battered. His son, on coming up, said, "Father, what in the world is the matter?" The father said, "John, this is a fine country. Just see that fine jug hanging up there! John, I saw it and I thought it such a pretty jug and that it might have a wee drop in it, I climbed up to get it, and while reaching under the limb I pulled the cork out and a lot of nasty little varmints bit me all over my hands and face and knocked me off the limb.

Here, John, is your old dad, all battered and bruised. Just think what a mean country this is—some joking fellow to play such an impish trick on a poor old Irishman!"

All hunters at this time had dogs, usually of the cur breed. When on hunting trips the dogs would go with their masters and were used to slow-track the game, but never made any outcry and would only go as fast as the hunter when slow-tracking. In this way they were very useful, and often, in a bear fight, indispensable.

About eighty years ago a man named Grigsby was returning from a hunt to his home in the northeast part of Spencer County. The pigeons were settling on their roosts on the low scrubby ridge oak timber, the acorns of which was their food. As he was passing along he heard, a little way off, pigeons, rising and flying and the timber crashing, their weight causing large limbs to break off, and sometimes tree tops. As Grigsby got nearer the noise, he heard the whining cry of some animal. Going quietly up, he saw an old bear and a cub which seemed to be trying to move a heavy limb that had fallen. He shot at the bear, but only hit her in the top of the shoulder, not disabling her. Before he could reload, she came rushing at him. His dog caught the bear by the hind leg, but only stopped her for a moment, and then she came at the hunter with all the fury that a wounded bear could. The hunter clubbed his gun and there was a battle royal for some time, the dog doing his best to help his master in the fight.

Finally the bear knocked the dog down and attempted to catch him by the throat with her mouth, when the hunter thrust his hunting knife into her heart.

Jacob Zenor, an early settler in Harrison County, went to watch a lick for a deer in the early part of the night, leaving his two large cur dogs at home. Selecting a location in a thick cluster of saplings a short distance from a bushy beech tree, he took his stand to watch. He had been there but a short time when a panther sprang from the place where it was watching the lick in the beech, intending to light on the hunter, but the saplings were so thick that its body was stopped before reaching the hunter. At that instant his two dogs came up, having followed his tracks. They rushed at the panther, which sprang back into the beech tree, and was killed by Mr. Zenor. Had it not been for his two faithful dogs, the hunter would have been torn to pieces.

CHAPTER XX.

FLAT-BOATING.

After produce of any amount was raised in this country it was sold to produce merchants, who took it to New Orleans on flat-boats.

To make one of these boats was quite an undertaking. The first thing to do was to procure two gunwales. They were usually made out of large poplar trees and were from sixty to eighty feet in length. A fine large, straight tree was selected, and after it was cut down, two faces of it were hewn, leaving it about twenty-four inches thick. Then it was turned down on large logs and split in halves, hewn down to from twelve to fifteen inches in thickness, thus making both the gunwales out of one tree. The two ends were sloped from six to eight feet, so that when the bottom was on, it had a boat shape, that would run much faster in the water. The gunwales were then hauled to the boatyard and placed on rollers. The distance apart which was wanted for the width of the boat was usually from fourteen to sixteen feet. Strong sills or girders were framed into the gunwales every eight or ten feet and securely fastened there by strong pins. Small girders or sleepers, to receive the bottom of the boat, were pinned into the cross sills or girders every eighteen inches and even with the bottom of the gunwales. The bottom was made of one and a half inch lumber, the length to reach from outside to outside of the gunwales, where it was securely nailed and then calked. The old Indiana flat-boat builders used hemp for calking, driving it into the cracks between the edges of the planks with a calking chisel made for the purpose. When this was done, another bottom of inch lumber was made over this that held the calking in place and made the bottom stronger. When the bottom was finished, it was ready for launching. This was done by having large auger holes in the round logs the bottom rested on and turning them with handspikes. The ground was always sloping toward the river and it did not require much turning until the logs would roll down the slope and carry the boat into the water. The boat, having been made bottom-upward, had to be turned. A large amount of mud and dirt was piled on the edge of the bottom, which was intended to sink it. Then a check line was fastened to the farthest edge and near the middle the line was carried over a large limb or the fork of a tree and two or three yoke of oxen hitched to it. When everything was ready, the boat was turned right side up. It was then full of water, which had to be baled out. The upper framework for the body of the boat was made very securely and well braced and the siding was nailed on. Strong joists were put on top of the framework from side to side to hold the decking. A center girder ran lengthwise of the boat and this rested on a post every six or eight feet. This girder was a little higher than the outer walls, so that the water would run off the deck. A strong post was fastened in a framework made on the false bottom which came up through the decking about three feet near each end of the boat. Holes were bored in these check posts, so that it could be turned around with long wooden spikes. The check rope was securely fastened to these posts and one end of it was carried to the bank and fastened. By using the spikes the check post would take up the slack and the boat could be securely landed as near the bank as wanted. There were three long oars, the steering oar had a wide blade on the end and was fastened to a post near the back of the boat. This oar was used as a rudder in guiding the direction of the boat. The other two oars were used as sweeps to propel the boat and to pull her out of eddies. This crudely fashioned boat would carry a large amount of produce. The pork was usually packed in the boat in bulk; flour, wheat and corn were stored on raised floors so as to keep them dry. On small rivers when the water was at floodtide, two hundred thousand pounds of pork, one thousand bushels of corn and many other articles of produce would be carried.

The pioneers made their location where there was plenty of good spring water, but at a later date they had two objects in selecting their homes: First, to be near a mill or a place where there was a good mill-site; second, to be not far from a river where a flat-boat could be loaded with produce. The money paid for the produce to load the boats brought great prosperity to the country, On the lower Mississippi, where the great sugar plantations were, there was a great demand for this provision. A boat would tie to the bank near one of these immense plantations and would sell the owner a half boat-load of meat, corn and flour.

It took one of these boats a month to run out of the Wabash down to New Orleans. They would sell their load of produce and then sell the boat. These old boatmen were a jolly, generous, light-hearted set of men, and would often lash their boats together and float for several days and nights in that way on the lower Mississippi.

This description does not apply to the Pittsburg flat-boat men or those from the upper Ohio, running coal barges down the river. These were, in many instances, a lot of desperadoes.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL JOSEPH LANE—A SHORT BIOGRAPHY—LETTERS.

General Lane contributed his full share to the military glory which has been won by Indiana soldiers. He was born in North Carolina in 1801 and removed with his father to Henderson, Kentucky, when he was six years old. Here he remained for several years, helping his father. In 1818 he, with his father, moved to Vanderburg County, Indiana. They settled on a farm up the Ohio river not far from the town of Newburg. Young Joseph was hired by Judge Glass to take charge of a store for him at Rockport, Indiana. He was a very popular young man and made friends with every one. He had a very kind, genial disposition, and understood the rules of business very well for that day. After remaining there for a while he purchased a keel-boat and cut cordwood, which he loaded into the boat and sold to steamboats. The passing boat would take his keel-boat in tow and haul it up or down the river until all the wood that was wanted was taken off and then the boat was cast loose and rowed to where he wanted it anchored.

He engaged extensively in farming, stock raising and stock buying. His produce he sold in lower Mississippi and in New Orleans, carrying it there by flat-boats, of which he ran a great many out of the Ohio river. He carried on farming and stock dealing until the Mexican war. He, with others, raised the Second Indiana Regiment. The regiment was placed in a division commanded by General Zachary Taylor and went with that division to Mexico and was there engaged in several battles of the Mexican war.

For gallantry and meritorious conduct he was made a brigadier-general. After the war he was appointed Governor of Oregon. From that state he was elected United States Senator. He was also a candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Breckinridge ticket in 1860. He died at Roseburg, Oregon, in 1881.

Three letters are here introduced from General Lane which will be of interest, it is thought:

ROSEBURG, OREGON,
May 15, 1878.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Ind.

DEAR SIR: I don't remember of ever having seen you, as you must have been a very small boy the last of the thirties and up to 1842, the last time I visited your father at his Eastern Gibson County home.

After the war with Mexico I was never in Indiana except short periods at a time. As I read the Indiana papers, I know of you and that you won an honorable title in the war of 1861 and '65. Your father and I were friends—yes, real chums. I recall so many things of his life and worth that it affords me real pleasure to thus bear testimony to his noble manhood and integrity. Many times we have run side by side with our flat-boats lashed together, in the lower Mississippi, for days at a time, having a real, old-fashioned social visit. We were not of the same political faith, but I don't know that politics were ever mentioned when we were together. I was on the boat at the time you ask about. The cause of the contention was about a bill due the boat for freight from New Orleans for the Davis plantation. As I now recall, it was owned by two brothers, Joseph and the Honorable Jefferson Davis. The man who caused all the trouble was a hot-headed manager of the plantation for the Davis brothers.

There was a wood-yard on the plantation and your father's boat, the Otsego, had taken on wood, and when the bill was presented the clerk for payment, the freight bill was given in part payment. This manager was a very important fellow. He raved like a maniac, saying that it was an insult to thus force collection for any of their bills and he intended to see that the boat did not loose her cable or raise her stage until the bill was paid in full and they would pay the freight bill at their pleasure.

About this time your father, who was captain of the boat, ordered the mate to loose the cable and raise the stage. The fool manager was rushing up and down along the side of the boat and on the stage with a Daringer pistol in his hand, ordering his wood-yard slaves not to allow the men to loose the cable. The Colonel came running down to the lower deck with a monstrous gun in his hand, and leveling it at the threatening fellow, ordered him to put up his weapon and leave the gangway, which, after looking into that gun, he concluded to do. All the history of myself that would be of importance to the general public is easily secured by you and you can use such of it as will be in line with your work. The other questions you asked about, I will answer in the near future.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH LANE.

ROSEBURG, OREGON,
June 21, 1878.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Ind.

DEAR SIR: The first time I was ever on the site of where the city of Evansville now stands, was in 1815. Col. Hugh McGary lived there in what was called a faced camp. Soon after this he built a hewed log house, which was a very good one for that day. The Colonel was a very generous man and his latch-string hung on the outside at all times for everybody.

I spent hours going over with him what he was pleased to call a fine town-site. At that time the evidence of there having been a large Indian town at that place was very plain. The ground on which the tepees stood was plainly marked. At Sprinklesburg, now known as Newburg, there had been another Indian town. The Shawnee Indians, who were under Chief Seeteedown, had a scattering town farther up the river. The western end was just above the Newcome coal mines and there were wigwams over a considerable territory up and back from the river.

There was no cause, except treachery, which all Indians were full of, for the Shawnee Indians murdering Althea Meeks. He was a very harmless man. It was always believed by those in a position to know that the murder was done by a few discontented members of that band, aiming to remove all trace of that family. At the time Chief Seeteedown heard of the murder he had a large herd of cattle and horses on the range about where Boonville now stands, which were all left in their hurry to get away.

A runner was sent up the river to a keel-boat crew for help and they volunteered to a man. Bailey Anderson organized a posse and Ratcliffe Boone was put in command of both detachments. The Indians were encumbered with their women and children and could not make the speed the well-mounted soldiers could, and it was generally believed that but few of them ever lived to cross White river. There was always an undertalk that Boone did a good deed and the country was well rid of the lazy vagrants. For months after the hasty retreat of the Indians, horses and cattle were found near old Seeteedown's home. On the return of the soldiers all the cattle and horses that they could round up were gathered and thirty-five head of cattle and ten ponies were given to the widow of Althea Meeks.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH LANE.

ROSEBURG, OREGON,
June 27, 1878.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Ind.

DEAR SIR: The adventure you asked me about that had been told you by your father was one of many which I told him, and I yet remember many of a like character which he related to me during our long acquaintance.

At an early day — I think it was in 1817 — I, with several other young men, took a contract to raft several hundred logs down the Ohio to Mr. Audubon, who afterward became the great ornithologist. He had a steam sawmill at Henderson, Kentucky. It was said that this mill was one among many other failures that put him out of a business life, and he turned his attention to the branch of science and literature in which he afterward became so famous.

We had landed a fine raft of poplar logs near the mill. Dinner time came on before the logs were measured. We all left the mill—went up to a little boarding shanty to get our dinners. Mr. Audubon was to measure the logs when he returned from dinner. As he came back and got near the mill, two large black bears and a small one ran out of the mill and into a clump of bushes nearby. The engineer started the mill up. The saw was of the old sash frame kind, making its strokes up and down, governed by the gear attachment to a large wheel. When the men got ready to commence sawing, they discovered that a young bear was under the carriage with its head fast in a pot, which was much smaller at the top than in the middle. This old dinner pot had grease in it to grease the machinery. The bear got its head in the pot by crowding and could not get it out. One of the men attempted to catch it by its leg, when it set up a screaming, strangling noise. In a minute here came the two old bears, full of fight at the men in the mill. They first passed near the engineer, when he struck out for a safe place. All of the employes made it convenient to get out of danger. I recollect yet that I climbed up a center post to a cross-beam, which was ten or twelve feet from the floor. The bears had the mill all to themselves. They tried to get the young bear away, would roll it and try to make it go, without much success. The engine and saw were running, the sash going up and down as when sawing. In their efforts to get the cub away, the larger bear was rubbed by the sash. As soon as it touched him he turned around and threw his arms around the sash and the frame it ran in, and such a pounding as that bear got! He kept his hold until almost exhausted, fell down near the saw blade, when the back of the saw was rubbing against his shoulder. He got up and made a grab for it, as if intending to hug the saw. In less than a minute his life was sawed out of him. The old mother was frantic in her efforts to release the little cub, pushing it and trying to get it out of the mill. Finally she pushed it off the platform where the logs were put when being brought in to saw. The bear fell three oı four feet onto a pile of logs and broke the pot. The little fellow jumped up and ran off with the top rim of the kettle around its neck.

Mr. Audubon was a very just man. In measuring our raft, he was very careful to see that every inch in it was given us. The sawmill venture was a failure, but he paid every farthing which was due and then commenced his lifework which was so successful. If it had not been for his failure in that sawmill, the world might have been poorer by not having the many works of the great naturalist.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH LANE.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE STATE BANK AND OTHER INTERESTING MATTER—COUNTIES ORGANIZED — MICHIGAN'S ATTEMPTED THEFT — SPEECH OF HON. ISAAC MONTGOMERY—LAND SHARKS—LAND SPECULATORS—BRAVE WOMEN.

In 1828 the following counties were organized:
Hancock County, containing 308 square miles.
Warren County, containing 360 square miles.
Carrol County, containing 376 square miles.

Cass County was formed in 1829, containing 420 square miles.

The following counties were organized in 1830:
Boone County, containing 408 square miles.
Clinton County, containing 432 square miles.
Elkhart County, containing 460 square miles.
St. Joseph County, containing 468 square miles.

In 1831 Grant County was organized, containing 416 square miles.

In 1832 the following counties were organized:
Huntington County, containing 384 square miles.
LaGrange County, containing 396 square miles.
LaPorte County, containing 562 square miles.
Miami County, containing 384 square miles.
Wabash County, containing 420 square miles.
White County, containing 504 square miles.

The population of the State in 1830 was a little over 343,000.

The expenditures up to 1830 to 1835 to carry on all interest of the State of Indiana, were so small in comparison to the extraordinary expenses that are now made, that it is often brought into question whether the appropriations made for the legitimate expenses were not better applied then than now. True, the expenses for the Legislature of Indiana in 1817 were only a little over $7,000.00. This amount covered all the expenses of the first General Assembly. More particularly itemized, there was $5,220.00 for the pay and mileage of forty members; $1,157.00 for clerks, fuel and stationery, and $947.00 for printing and distributing the laws. The cost of the session in 1818 (the same number of members) was $10,054.00; the next General Assembly in 1819 was $4,350.00 for the same number of members. In 1825 the total expenses of the State Government were $16,000. The expenses for the members of the General Assembly for sixty days, 1903, were very near $120,000. These statements are not made in the way of criticism, but show the great increase in expenditures. What the expenditures for that last named Legislature were is not known by the author, but probably more than all the expenditures for the ten first Legislatures in Indiana.

MICHIGAN'S NULLIFICATION.

In 1834 Michigan, led by some of her very smart set, attempted to steal a strip of Indiana, ten miles wide, which lay along the southern border of Michigan, thus attempting to take from Indiana her very valuable harbors on Lake Michigan. This claim was set up long after the constitutions of Indiana, Illinois and Ohio had been accepted and approved by the National Congress. This was kept up by Michigan for more than two years, until one of the principal agitators, while making a furious speech against Indiana and breathing out many threats of what he intended to do, became so wrought up and so angry that the blood rushed to his head and he fell dead. In this attempted steal, a few hot heads caused the State of Michigan to act equally as badly as South Carolina, except there was a slight difference in their attempted nullification.

In 1836 the following counties were organized:
Brown County, containing 320 square miles.
DeKalb County, containing 365 square miles.
Fulton County, containing 357 square miles.
Adams County, containing 336 square miles.
Jay County, containing 378 square miles.
Kosciusko County, containing 567 square miles.
Marshall County, containing 441 square miles.
Noble County, containing 432 square miles.
Porter County, containing 415 square miles.

In 1837 the following counties were organized:
Blackford County, containing 169 square miles.
Delaware County, containing 394 square miles.
Jasper County, containing 975 square miles.
Lake County, containing 468 square miles.
Stark County, containing 432 square miles.
Wells County, containing 272 square miles.
Steuben County, containing 324 square miles.

STATE BANK OF INDIANA.

This bank was established in 1834. Its charter was similar to the old United States Bank in many particulars. It was adapted to the local conditions of the State. There were twelve districts, all having branch banks in Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Ft. Wayne, Michigan City, Richmond, New Albany, Madison, Lawrenceburg, Evansville, Lafayette, Vincennes and Bedford. The bank was a State institution and the president was elected by the Legislature to serve five years, with a salary not less than one thousand dollars or over fifteen hundred. The time the charter was to run was until the first of January, 1859. The capital stock was $1,600,000.00, divided into fifty dollar shares. One-half of the stock was subscribed for by the State. The branches were each to have a capital of $160,000. One-half of this was subscribed by the State. During the life of the State Bank there would not any other banking institution be permitted to be incorporated by the State. The charter provided that every stockholder who would pay eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents on a fifty dollar share of stock, the State (if he wanted it) would loan him $31.25 on each share of stock, so that the stock would be paid up. This loan was secured by good collateral security. The stockholder borrowing to pay his stock was charged by the State five per cent on the amount borrowed and was credited with whatever dividend there was declared on the stock. In this way the loan was paid back to the State and the stock was free to those subscribing it, less $18.75 on each fifty dollars. After it had paid out, the dividend was paid directly to the holder of the stock. Not only did the stockholder receive the dividends, but was paid his share of the surplus which accumulated.

The bank loaned money on real estate at its appraised value for taxation. This was always safe, as real estate was rapidly advancing in value. To enable the State to pay for its share of the stock and to enable it to make advances to the stockholders, the State issued five per cent bonds, to run for as long a period as the banks were chartered for. These bonds were very favorable security and were sold in all the money markets of this country and in Europe.

The State Bank and its branches were soon established. All the stock that each was entitled to was subscribed and they went on their mission of great prosperity and did untold good to the people of the State of Indiana. The management was so perfect there was not a single dollar lost by an individual during the long life of the banks. Those owning stock or having money deposited in the bank were perfectly secure. The confidence that this security brought about in all business circles added greatly to the rapid strides made by the people in advancing the interests of our State on every hand.

STATE BANK, WITH ITS BRANCHES AND THEIR OFFICERS, ORGANIZED IN 1834.

Indianapolis Branch—Harvey Bates, president; Bethuel F. Morris, cashier.

Lawrenceburg Branch—Omer Tousey, president; Enoch D. John, cashier.

Richmond Branch—Achilles Williams, president; Elijah Coffin, cashier.

Madison Branch—James F. D. Lanier, president; John Sering, cashier.

New Albany Branch—Mason C. Fitch, president; James R. Shields, cashier.

Evansville Branch—John Mitchell, president; John Douglas, cashier.

Vincennes Branch — David S. Bonner, president; John Ross, cashier.

Bedford Branch—William McLane, president; Daniel R. Dunihue, cashier.

Terre Haute Branch—Demas Deming, president; Aaron B. Fontaine, cashier.

Lafayette Branch—T. T. Benbridge, president; William M. Jenners, cashier.

Fort Wayne Branch—Allen Hamilton, president; Hugh McCulloch, cashier.

Michigan City Branch (organized February, 1839)—Joseph Orr, president; A. P. Andrews, Jr., cashier.

There was a provision in the laws authorizing the State Bank of Indiana to appropriate the State's surplus of the proceeds of the bank for a school fund. "This wise legislation," so says Gen. John Coburn, of Indianapolis, "was proposed by John Beard, of Montgomery County, and has yielded many millions for the permanent school fund of our State." The interest on this fund has added untold blessings to the youths of our State for the last sixty years.

Another wise legislative provision was, that the fines for misdemeanors should be appropriated to the same noble purpose. Those who violated the laws paid for the violation in building up a fund to educate the young and influence them to become law-abiding citizens instead of law-breakers. From these two sources above named, and from many others which have favorably come to Indiana in the interest of education, our immense school fund has been secured.

The banks were authorized to issue notes and the property of all the banks was responsible for the redemption of these notes. The law governing the management of these banks was such that only five hundred dollars could be loaned to any one person, and before the loan of this amount could be made it had to be recommended by five of the seven directors which each branch had. The banks were specie paying institutions, and it was in direct opposition to their charter not to do so. When the volume of business that each of these banks transacted and the small amount of specie which was in circulation at that time is noted, one is forced to conclude that the bank notes were regarded as good as specie, which at that time was mostly silver.

In 1837, when the hard times came, the banks for several years had to suspend paying coin, but this was not regarded as a hardship, for the bank notes were so well secured, and notwithstanding the uncertainty of the times, people regarded them as good.

The United States Government in 1836 directed that after a certain period in the near future, nothing would be received at the land office but coin or Virginia land scrip, except from those purchasing the land to settle and improve. The pow-wow made by the Federal authorities against United States banks was the real cause of the financial trouble all over the country, at least adding much to it.

HON. ISAAC MONTGOMERY.

(The speech of Hon. Isaac Montgomery, delivered in the State House at Indianapolis, on the 8th of January, 1841, while he was representing Gibson County in the State Legislature, was sent to the Southwestern Sentinel, published at Evansville. Whether it was published or not, I do not know. John Hargrove was a Democratic member of the Senate at the same time, and most likely furnished this copy to the Sentinel, as his name, in his handwriting, is on the lower corner of the old manuscript):

"For the Southwestern Sentinel.

Mr. Editor: On the 8th of January, 1841, the Hon. E. M. Chamberlain delivered a very able but offensive address to the Whig party in the State Capitol at Indianapolis, in consequence of which the Whigs met at 6 o'clock P. M. same day, to make a rejoinder, called the Hon. S. R. Stanford to the chair as president of the meeting. The Hon. R. W. Thompson of Lawrence county was called on to address the meeting by way of reply to Mr. Chamberlain. After two long hours of denunciation and abuse of the most bitter kind against the administration of Pres. Jackson and VanBuren, he finally came to a close, when on motion the Venerable Isaac Montgomery, representative from Gibson county was called to the chair as vice-president of the meeting, in consequence of his age and having served with General Harrison in the Tippecanoe campaign. On being conducted to the chair he addressed the meeting in the following language:

" 'Gentlemen: I am an old man and no great speaker, having but little learning. I was raised in a time and country where there was a bad chance to get learning. I was raised partly, gentlemen, in the State of Kentucky. Yes, gentlemen, I was there in an early day when the Indians were as thick as seed ticks and we had to fort up and get along the best way we could for a long time before we got rid of them. There was no time nor chance, gentlemen, to get schooling.

" 'But gentlemen, if I am no great speaker, I know one thing. I am as true a Whig as ever breathed the breath of life and in an early day I moved to this state, then a wilderness territory, in 1805 with my wife and a few little children and I brought with me all the way here in my pocket a recommendation from Col. Crockett, my mother's brother, to General Harrison, then the governor of this territory calling on him to give me some assistance in purchasing a piece of land.

" 'I showed my recommendation to the General (then Governor) and he promised that he would give me some help when the land came into market but through my own integrity and strict economy, yes, gentlemen, by my own sweat and labor I procured enough money to buy me a quarter section of land near where I now live, and have raised a large family, six sons and with one exception all larger men than I am. Yes, gentlemen and every one of them honest men and as true Whigs as ever walked on earth or ever the sun shown upon and who are ready and willing at any time to lift up their hands high to heaven and swear by Him who lives forever and ever, that they would do nothing wrong. No, gentlemen, nothing wrong, and who are as good marksmen as ever pulled a trigger. This thing of being called tories and cowards, gentlemen, there is nothing of it with them. As old as I am I am now ready and willing to march out in defense of my country.

" 'Gentlemen, we have heard a great deal said about the battle of Tippecanoe and about the Indians choosing General Harrison's camping ground. Now, gentlemen, I was there myself, on that very same spot, and I know all about it. I know there have been a great many things said that are not so. Now, gentlemen, I can tell you all about this matter.

" 'General Taylor and General Clark are the very men who picked out that camping ground. General Harrison sent them ahead about one hour by the sun in the evening. Now, gentlemen, I know this to be so for I was with General Harrison and by his side at the time. These men, after being gone ahead about a half an hour returned and reported that they had found a very suitable place to camp, and a prettier or more suitable place could not have been found, I know. So we went into camp and it was a dark, drizzly night. Yes, gentlemen, you could not see your hand in front of you, only as the burning of the powder gave light from the guns of the enemy's fire, which was squirting and streaming out in almost every direction and the bullets would whiz and whistle all about in every direction, and they would just as soon have shot us right in the head as any other place.

"Yes, gentlemen, there was no time there for dodging. Many brave and good men there fought and died in defense of these principles which we now advocate and defend. Yes, gentlemen, the very identical things which we as a Whig party now hold to.' "

Honorable Isaac Montgomery was a lieutenant in Captain Wm. Hargrove's company which took part in the battle of Tippecanoe on Nov. 7. 1811. Lieutenant Montgomery and Captain Jacob Warrick who was killed at the battle of Tippecanoe were brothers in law, Warrick having married Jane Montgomery in Kentucky in 1795. On the march from Vincennes to the Tippecanoe battle ground, the day before the battle, Capt. David Robb's company had the advance, the army had halted in some prairie land for dinner. Three Indians on horse back were seen manoeuvring back and forth some distance in front of the advance. Each time they circled a little nearer to the army. Several shots had been fired at the three without any effect.

Finally Lieutenant Isaac Montgomery was sent for to try the range of his heavy rifle, which he had had made on purpose to kill bear with. The Lieutenant had the reputation of being the best shot in Gibson county. When he came up he took deliberate aim and fired without any visible effect. He then loaded his gun with an extra charge of powder and taking careful aim, fired again. One of the Indians was seen to pitch forward off his horse. They all soon disappeared. From two Indians captured late that evening it was learned that the last shot killed one of the Indians.

The General Clark referred to in the speech was not General George Rogers Clark, but General Maston Clark, who was one of General Harrison's aides on this campaign.

LAND SHARKS.

The first settlers who came to Indiana were here before the land was surveyed. They selected such places as pleased them and built their cabins with the intention of purchasing the land when it was for sale. In most cases the settlers had an understanding with each other as to the land each wanted and mutually agreed to protect each other in these rights.

Most of the people secured the land which they had settled on but there were cases where great injustice was done by those who were able and had the disposition to be mean. This meanness was always resented by the old pioneers in a way that those who purchased the homes of others were looked on with contempt.

A man named McCoy had squatted on a nice piece of land in the eastern part of Warrick county and had made substantial improvements, but up to that time had been unable to secure all the money needed to pay for the first forty acres of the quarter section which he wanted. His wife went a long way to an uncle of hers and borrowed the balance needed to make fifty dollars. The husband went to Vincennes to purchase the forty acres.

When he got there he found that a man living about two miles away had purchased the land that his improvements were on. He went home with the sad news to his wife. The neighbors found out the mean treatment that had been imposed on him, and a number of them went in a body and told the man that one of two things would have to be done. He had to then and there deed the forty acres to McCoy for the fifty dollars or they would give him such a thrashing as he would never forget and gave him two hours in which to decide what he would do.

The fellow was so avaricious that it was hard for him to give up the nice property he had so wrongfully entered, but his determined neighbors were so threatening that he made the deed. McCoy paid the fifty dollars and finally bought the quarter section. This fellow was treated with such contempt by his neighbors that he sold his property and moved to the Illinois country.

Two farmers in Gibson county coveted a forty acre tract that lay between them. Neither of them had the money to enter it but both were working hard to secure it. One of the men owned one-hundred and sixty acres and his neighbor only forty but was intending to buy the forty referred to and finally the balance of the quarter section.

It finally came to the ear of the man owning the forty acres that his neighbor had gone to Princeton and intended to go to Vincennes the next day to enter the land. He did not know what to do as he only had part of the money. A neighbor advised him to go that night to Major David Robb's, who lived near Hazleton ferry over White river, and he felt sure the Major would lend him the money. To make it sure the neighbor, who was a friend of Major Robb's, would go with him and go his security if needed. This they did and Robb let him have the money and had him ferried over and on his way to Vincennes two hours before day the next morning.

The land was entered and when he got to the ferry coming home he found his neighbor on the south bank waiting to cross. When the man learned that the land was purchased he showed that he had some good traits in him by proposing to his neighbor that as he had procured the land, there was another forty of the quarter section which he had better enter and then the last forty was not so desirable and he could purchase that at his leisure and that he would loan him the money to make the entry. This offer was accepted. He took the money and went back to Vincennes and entered the land. These two men lived on adjoining farms the best of friends. Their families intermarried and their descendants are among our best citizens.

LAND SPECULATION.

Along in 1832 there was a flood of land warrants and land scrip which had been bought up by an eastern syndicate. The syndicate had a large number of agents in the settling portions of Indiana and Illinois, selecting the land they wanted. There were usually quite a number of these agents together. If there were not a sufficient number of agents, they hired men to go with them so they would be in sufficient numbers to defend themselves. There was not thought to be much danger from Indians, although there was quite a stir in Northwest Indiana and many reports about the Indians.

There was a neighborhood in western Montgomery County which had a fine body of land that fifteen or twenty men had settled on, and all of them had purchased part of the land that they wanted and built their cabins and cleared up a portion of the land, with a view of purchasing the rest of the land which each had selected.

It was found out there was a number of men who had been at Crawfordsville hunting for lands which were located in neighborhoods that were being settled. This news alarmed the men who had settled in the western part of Montgomery County, and they sent several parties to find out what they could about these agents and to keep a watch on their proceedings.

One of these spies learned of them that they were intending to purchase a large body of land in the immediate vicinity of every settlement in that section of the country. He also learned they had already examined several pieces of land in neighborhoods southeast of where he was located, and he further learned that in obedience to the instruction of their employers, every piece of land they recommended had to have their personal examination and they had to describe it so minutely as to timber, springs, branches, hills and hollows, that it could be easily located. The spy also learned that these agents intended to be in his neighborhood at a certain time a few days off. He agreed to show them the land in his part of the country, telling them he was well acquainted with all the land in that section. Hurrying home, he told the neighbors of the danger they were in. They got together and canvassed many plans of how to best get rid of these obnoxious agents. They sent to their surrounding neighbors and procured all the help they could and determined to give the agents a scare, or try it.

The day the agents went to the settlement, they met their pretended friends, who were showing them the land outside of their neighborhood. They had been some time engaged in going over the land, when behind the party several Indians were seen coming on their trail. This startled them. Soon on the north another party appeared, on the west another party—in all, thirty or forty full-dressed Indians. Giving a blood-curdling war-whoop, the Indians started for the agents, who made a rush for the south to get out, as they were surrounded on every other side. The guide lying down on his horse led the party. The Indians were shooting and whooping at a fearful rate, the balls whistling uncomfortably close around their heads. The Indians made it a point not to overtake them, but to keep up the running fight, and every now and then a party of Indians would dash around the side as if they intended to surround them. This running fight was kept up for several hours, the guide leading them out of Montgomery County and down into Park County. They kept up a good gait until they reached Terre Haute.

The excitement created by this Indian scare raised a wonderful excitement all over that section of the State. The alarming reports of the speculators were the cause of Governor Noble ordering General Walker to call out his command. In that command were several companies from Montgomery County. Among these companies were a number of our land friends, and they were very loud in telling about the attack of the Indians on the land agents. This taking place at about the same time that Black Hawk was raising trouble in the Illinois country not far away, raised a tremendous excitement all over a large part of Indiana. Some of the citizens went to repairing old forts and building blockhouses, and it was many weeks before things quieted down. It is not known whether the men who organized the Indian scare got the land that they wanted or not, but they certainly deserved it.

BRAVE WOMEN.

Many startling incidents grew out of the Indian scare when the defenders of the land, disguised as Indians, drove the agents out of the country, as recorded in a previous chapter, and some of them were really amusing. Hundreds of persons flocked into Lafayette and Crawfordsville and other towns near that section. The people of Tippecanoe, Vermillion, Fountain, Montgomery and Warren counties and parts of other counties were in a great state of excitement. The militia were heroically preparing for war.

A family which lived several miles west of Lafayette had seven children. The man had married a woman who had been reared in southwestern Indiana and had been used to false alarms about the Indians, but her brave husband had not been so accustomed to these blood-curdling scares. He was out shooting prairie chickens when a neighbor, with his wife riding behind him on horseback and a small child in arms, came hurriedly up to the chicken hunter and told him that all the country west of there was being scalped and that the Indians were headed in that direction.

Hurrying to the house, he told his wife the awful news and commenced to get things in shape to go to Lafayette. Bringing the horse and cart to the door for that purpose, he was met with the greatest surprise of his life. His wife refused to budge an inch, saying that she had lived all her life among just such alarming reports and had been dragged out of bed at all hours of the night and hurried, half asleep, to a fort, and all these scares had been false alarms, and that she was not going to be made a fool of in any such way. She told him if he wished to, he could go, but that he would find her at the same old cabin after he recovered from his Indian scare. The husband did not feel any of the grit his wife possessed, so taking the six oldest children, he loaded them into the chart, bidding his wife an affectionate good-bye, saying he felt almost certain he would never see her again alive, and if it were not for their fine children he would stay and die with her, but he felt that it was suicidal to dare danger as she was doing. She said, "You take the children and go. If I never see you again, I shall die with the satisfaction of knowing that I had a husband who thought too much of his scalp to permit any Indian to have its black glossy locks as an ornament to his helmet."

The husband and children remained away two days and nights. No Indians having been seen or heard of, he concluded to return. Loading his six children into the cart, he drove home, where he found everything looking much the same as he had left it. Old Bowser and Tige were there to pay the proper welcome to the home-coming family. On going into the house, he found his wife sitting by the little wheel, one foot on the treadle, while both her hands were busy evening the tow that she pulled from the distaff before it entered the flyers and was spun into thread. With the other foot she was rocking a sugar trough in which her small child was soundly sleeping She was singing:

Rock-a-bye, O, Baby,
  Your daddy's gone a-hunting
To get a big Indian skin
  To wrap the Baby Bunting in.

Looking around the house, the brave man saw a fine, fat gobbler, dressed and ready for roasting, and on the wall was a large fresh coon skin. "Mandy, why in thunderation have you been using my powder so free?" She replied, "Never mind, Ebenezer, there is plenty left. If you hear of an Indian crossing the Mississippi river, you won't need it, for you'll be on the go to Lafayette again."

In a section of southern Indiana in Switzerland County, not far from the Ohio river, a very quiet and inoffensive man lived with his wife and two children. They owned a very nice, well-improved farm and had plenty of everything. There were persons living in that section who wanted their nice property, and attempted to drive them away from it in order that they might purchase it at a very low price.

One morning they found a bundle of switches near their door, with a notice on it from some unknown party telling the man there was one of two things that he had to do leave that section and never return or they would whip him so that he would be convinced that he was no longer wanted in that section. This was very alarming to this inoffensive man, who could not understand why he was so treated, but as he had always been a peaceable man and wanted to avoid all trouble, he thought it would be best for them to sell their home and move to some other place.

His wife, who was made of very different sort of mettle, declared that she would not go and would live on that farm or die in the attempt. The notice gave a certain time for him to be gone. It so worried him that it was feared he would lose his mind. It was decided that he should go back to Ohio for awhile and leave the home with his wife and the two small children, thinking that no man would be so lost to manhood as to attack a woman. After the husband was gone, a sister of his wife's came to live with her.

The day before the time given the husband in the notice expired, there was another bundle of switches found at a spring near the house and a note threatening to whip and tar and feather the two women if they did not leave by a certain time, only a few days off. They determined to put everything in the best condition for defense and await the coming of the threatening fellows. They had a large dog which they kept in the house every night. The time arrived as stated in the notice and a loud knock was heard at the door. The woman warned them to go away, saying that if they attempted to come into the house, they would regret their actions. As there were seven or eight men in the party, they laughed at her. Securing a heavy rail, they broke the batton door down. The younger woman was on the other side of a table from the door and had an old musket loaded with slugs lying across the table and pointing at the door. As several men attempted to rush into the house, this old gun was fired into their faces. There was a loud howl of pain. Two men were seen to be carried away. Soon the clatter of horses' hoofs were heard going down a nearby road and there was no further trouble. Two men were missing out of that section who, it was said, had gone down the river; but they never returned.

The man returned from Ohio to his family and they continued to live upon the farm and raised a large family of respected and honest children, whose descendants today own a large amount of territory in the immediate vicinity of where this incident took place.

CHAPTER XXIII.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

CANALS — RAILROADS — STATE DEBT — TURNPIKE ROADS — WABASH RAPIDS — POTTAWATTAMIE AND MIAMI INDIANS REMOVED FROM THE STATE.

If the wise counsel given by Governor Hendricks in his message to the Legislature in 1822 had been followed, a great misfortune to the financial interests of the State would have been averted and a great many of the attempted improvements would have been finished and become paying properties, from which the State would have derived a handsome revenue, as other States which were more careful in the construction of their public works, did. Instead of attempting to construct ten or twelve expensive works at the same time, if there had been two or three of these carried on and finished and placed in condition to be operated, all that was needed of the many which were attempted to be constructed would have been finished. It was proved to the satisfaction of all that many of these properties would have been made paying investments.

Governor Ray, in his first message, considered the construction of roads and canals as necessary to place the State on a financial footing equal to the old States. In 1829 he added: "This subject can never grow irksome since it must be the source of the blessing of civilized life. To secure its benefits, it is a duty enjoined upon the Legislature by the obligation of the social compact."

In 1832 internal improvement works were put under way. That year the Asiatic cholera had caused many deaths in various parts of the State and the corn crop was a partial failure all over the State. Notwithstanding these distressing circumstances, the canal commissioners completed their surveys and estimates and had prepared the bonds for the construction of the work, which they sold in the city of New York to the amount of $1,000,000.00 at a large premium. During that year there were $54,000.00 spent in improving the Michigan road and $52,000.00 was realized from the sale of land appropriated for its construction. In that year thirty-two miles of the Wabash and Erie canal were placed under contract and the work was commenced. In compliance with the request of the Legislature of the State of Indiana, where permission was asked to extend the canal from the Ohio State line to Lake Erie, the Governor of Ohio laid the subject before the Legislature of that State and a resolution was passed declining to undertake the completion of the work within her limits before the time fixed by the act of Congress for the completion of the canal. She would, on just and equitable terms, enable Indiana to avail herself of the benefit of the lands granted by authorizing her to sell them and invest the proceeds in the stock of a company to be incorporated by the State of Ohio and that she would give Indiana notice of her final determination on or before January 1, 1838.

The Legislature of Ohio authorized and invited the agent of the State of Indiana to select, survey and set apart the lands lying within the State. In keeping with this policy, Governor Noble in 1834 said: "With a view of engaging in works of internal improvement, the propriety of adopting a general plan or system having reference to the several portions of the State and the connection of one with the other, naturally suggests itself. No work should be commenced but such as would be of acknowledged public utility. In view ot this object, the policy of organizing a board of public works is again respectfully suggested."

In 1835 the Wabash and Erie canal was being rapidly constructed. The middle division from St. Joseph's dam to the Wabash river, thirty-two miles, was completed at a cost of $232,000.00, including all the expenses of finishing up the work which had been washed away by the heavy rains. By the middle of the summer, boats were running on this part of the line.

In 1836 the first meeting of the Board of Internal Improvements was convened and entered upon its responsible duties. Each member was assigned the superintendency of a portion of the work. There seemed to have been a lack of engineers, there being so many works in progress, and a number were imported from other sections of the country. Under their management the work progressed favorably. The canal was soon navigating the middle division from Ft. Wayne to Huntington. Sixteen miles of the line from Huntington to LaFountain creek was filled with water this year and made ready for navigation. The remaining twenty miles, except a portion of the locks from LaFountain creek to Logansport, was under construction. From Georgetown to Lafayette the work was put under contract.

That same year about thirty miles of the Whitewater canal, from Lawrenceburg to Brookville, was placed under contract, as was twenty-three miles of the Central canal, which passed through Indianapolis; also twenty miles of a southern division of this work, extending from Evansville into the interior, was placed under contract, and the cross-cut canal from Terre Haute to where it intersected the Central canal, near the mouth of Eel river, was all under contract for construction. That same year the engineer examined the route of the Michigan and Erie canal and reported the expediency of constructing the same. A party of engineers was fitted out and entered upon the field service of the Madison and Lafayette Railroad and contracts were let for its construction from Madison to Vernon. Contracts were let for grading and bridging the New Albany and Vincennes road from New Albany to Paoli. Other roads were also undertaken and surveyed. Indiana evidently had an immense amount of work upon her hands.

Governor Noble said: "On these vast undertakings Indiana has staked her fortune and she has gone too far to retreat."

In 1837 David Wallace was inaugurated Governor of Indiana. At that time the vast amount of work in progress and the immense amount of money needed to carry it forward was becoming a severe burden in many parts and the internal improvement scheme was being felt by all the people. The State debt was so rapidly increasing, that they had fears that it could never be paid. The Governor did all he could to keep the citizens in good cheer by explaining the astonishing success the State had made far surpassing the hopes of the most sanguine, and the flattering prospect for the future. This should have dispelled every fear. Governor Wallace was a very popular man, but the rumblings of the coming disaster were too plainly heard by the sensible business people for his encouragement to have the desired effect of quelling all their fears.

During the several years that so much work was in progress in Indiana, wages were high and all kinds of produce, forage and provisions were bringing good prices, and the vast amount of money that was paid out for this labor apparently made good times in all parts of the country where this work was being done, but this was a fictitious appearance. The people had run into extravagance and engaged in many speculations for which future promissory note were given. The retail merchants contracted debts with their wholesale merchants and had sold vast quantities of goods to their customers, who were wholly depending on these works for the money to pay for them. When the crash came as it did, there was a general suspension of every sort of business.

The State's financial ruin was very great. Thousands of men who were on the road to fortune could do nothing but stand idly by and see their fond hopes in ruin. So wide was this disaster in the country, more particularly bordering on the works of the various undertakings which the State was trying to put through, that it was indeed distressing. In 1838 there were many more individuals involved in the ruin which was so disheartening to all the people.

At the meeting of the Legislature that year, Governor Wallace in his message said: "Never before—I speak advisedly—never before have you witnessed a period in our local history which more urgently calls for the exercise of all the soundest and best attributes of grave and patriotic legislation than the present. The truth is, and it would be folly to conceal it, we have our hands full—full to overflowing—and therefore, to sustain ourselves and to preserve the credit and character of the State unimpaired and to continue her hitherto unexampled march to wealth and distinction, we have not an hour of time nor a dollar of money nor a hand employed in labor to squander and dissipate upon mere objects of idleness or taste or amusements."

In the last of the summer of 1839 work was suspended on most of these improvements and the contracts were surrendered to the State. This action was taken by the direction of an act of the Legislature providing for the compensation of the contractors by issuing treasury notes to pay them. The Legislature of 1839 had no arrangements for the payment of the interest on the State debt incurred for the internal improvements.

The State had borrowed $3,827,000.00 for internal improvements; $1,327,000.00 was for the Wabash and Erie canal and the balance for the rest of the works. The five per cent interest on debts which the State had to pay, amounting to nearly $200,000.00, had become very burdensome, as it had for this purpose only two sources besides direct taxation—the interest on what was due for canal land and the proceeds of the third installment of the surplus revenue, both amounting in 1838 to about $45,000.00. By the the first of August, 1839, all works ceased on these improvements.

It had become evident to all that the State could not finish all these works. The Legislature of 1841 passed the law authorizing any private company to take charge of and complete any of the work except the Wabash and Erie canal. It was thought that by the aid of the Government the State could finish that in the next several years. The State had much to gain by turning these works over to private companies, as these corporations agreed to pay to the State in its bonds an amount equivalent to what the State had paid on the work turned over to the private companies.

The company that took the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad and completed it, after paying the State back what it had expended on that work, the second year after its completion, paid to its stockholders a dividend equal to eight and a half per cent upon their investment.

When the operations ceased, the people were left, in a great measure, without any means whereby they could secure money to pay their debts. This condition of things rendered direct taxation inexpedient, hence it became the policy of Governor Bigger to provide some way to pay the interest on the State debt which would not increase the rate of taxation.

In 1840, in the internal improvement system, of which there were ten different works, by far the most important was the Wabash and Erie canal. The length of the lines embraced in the system was 1,160 miles. Of this, all told, 140 miles were completed. The amount that had been paid out for this work was $5,600,000.00, and by estimates it would require more than $14,000,000.00 to complete the works.

In order that the reader may understand the magnitude of this immense undertaking by the State, a statement is here given showing the expenses incurred on the work and the amount completed:

1. The Wabash and Erie canal, from the State line to Tippecanoe, 129 miles in length; completed and made navigable the whole length at a cost of $2,041,012.00. This sum included the cost of a lock for steamboats which was afterwards completed at Delphi.

2. The extension of the Wabash and Erie canal from the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to Terre Haute, 104 miles. The estimate of this work was $1,500,000.00 and the amount expended for the same was $408,855. The work was opened from Tippecanoe down as far as Lafayette.

3. The cross-cut canal from Terre Haute to Central

canal, 49 miles in length. The estimated cost was $718,672.00. There was paid on this work $420,679.00.

4. The Whitewater canal from Lawrenceburg to the mouth of Nettle creek, 76 miles. The estimated cost was $1,675,738.00. The amount expended was $1,099,867.00. Thirty-one miles of the work was navigable, from the Ohio river to Brookville.

5. The Central canal from Wabash and Erie canal to Indianapolis, including the Feeder Bend at Muncie, 124 miles in length, to cost $2,299,853.00. Amount paid on construction, $568,046. Eight miles was completed at the date of this statement and other portions near completion.

6. Central canal, from Indianapolis to Evansville, 194 miles in length; total estimate, to cost $3,532,394.00. Amount paid on construction, $831,302.00.

7. The Erie and Michigan canal, 182 miles in length. Estimated cost, $2,624,823.00. Expended on construction, $156,394.00.

8. Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, 85 2-3 miles in length. The estimated cost for construction was $2,046,600.00. Paid on construction works, $1,493,013.00.

9. Indianapolis and Lafayette turnpike road, 73 miles long. Estimated cost, $593,737. Amount paid for works, $72,118.00. The bridging and most of the grading done on 27 miles.

10. New Albany and Vincennes turnpike road, 105 miles long. Estimated to cost $1,127,295.00. Amount expended, $654,411.00. Forty-one miles macadamized from Paoli to New Albany.

11. Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville road, 164 miles long. Estimated to cost $1,551,800.00. Amount expended, $372,737.00.

12. To improve the Wabash rapids. Work to be done jointly by Indiana and Illinois. Indiana's amount of the cost to be $102,500.00. Expended by Indiana, $9,500.00.

The length of roads and canals, 1,289 miles, 281 of which had been finished. Estimated cost of all the works, $19,914,400.00. Paid out for construction of the works, $8,164,528.00.

The State at that time owed in round numbers $18,500,000.00. On this vast sum of money the interest ranged from 4 per cent to 7 per cent.

The State made several attempts to finish the Wabash and Erie canal. In 1841 it was successfully operated from Ft. Wayne to Lafayette and paid a fair revenue to the State. Congress in that year made the second grant of lands to aid in the construction of the canal, and in 1845 made the third grant, which embraced half of the Government land which at that time remained in the Vincennes district. All these efforts were futile. There was such a vast expense with a very small income, that it was impossible to carry on the work.

Everything lay quiet until 1846, when Mr. Charles Butler, who represented the bondholders, offered to take the canal, with its lands granted for the construction of it, for one-half of the improvement bond debt. The State was to have the right of redemption. The canal under this management was completed to Terre Haute in 1844 and to Evansville in 1852. The entire length in Indiana was 375 miles, also it extended 84 miles into Ohio, making a total length of 459 miles. This enormous work, which cost so many millions of dollars, only lasted for a few years, owing to its being paralleled the entire length by railroads, but it caused a large emigration to sections for many miles on both sides of it throughout its entire length and gave employment to many thousands of laborers and furnished good markets for a large amount of produce at fair prices.

The Legislature of Indiana requested the Congress of the United States to extinguish all the Indian titles inside of the State. The request was granted and a treaty with the Pottawattamie Indians ceded to the Government of the United States six million acres of land, being all they owned. A little later the Miami Indians through the good offices of Col. A. C. Pepper, the Indian agent, sold a considerable part of the most desirable portion of their reserve to the United States.

In July, 1837, Col. A. C. Pepper had a meeting with the

Pottawattamie Indians at Lake Kewawna for the purpose of removing them to the west of the Mississippi river. That fall George H. Prophet, of Petersburg, Indiana, conducted to the west of the Mississippi river a portion of the Pottawattamie Indians. The next year Colonel Pepper and General Tipton, with a body of United States soldiers, conducted about one thousand of these Indians to the west of the Mississippi river.

"It was a sad and mournful spectacle to witness these children of the forest slowly retiring from the home of their childhood, which contained not only the graves of their revered ancestors, but also many endearing scenes to which their memories would ever recur as sunny spots along their pathway through the wilderness. They felt that they were bidding farewell to the hills, valleys and streams of their infancy, the more exciting scenes on the hunting grounds of their advanced youth, as well as the sturdy battlefields where they had contended in riper manhood, on which they had received wounds and where many of their friends and loved relatives had fallen covered with gore and glory. All these they were leaving behind them to be desecrated by the plowshare of the white man. As they cast mournful glances back to these loved scenes, which were rapidly fading in the distance, tears fell from the cheek of the downcast warrior, old men trembled, matrons wept, the swarthy maiden's cheek turned pale and sighs and half-suppressed sobs escaped from the motley groups as they passed along, some on horseback and some on foot and others in wagons, sad as a funeral procession. Several of the aged warriors were seen to cast glances toward the sky as if they were imploring aid from the spirits of their departed heroes, who were looking down upon them from the clouds, or from the Great Spirit, who would ultimately redress the wrongs of the red man whose broken bow had fallen from his hand and whose sad heart was bleeding within him. Ever and anon one of the party would start out into the brush and break back to their old encampments on Eel river and on the Tippecanoe, declaring they would rather die than be banished from their country.

Thus scores of discontented emigrants returned from different points on their journey, and it was several years before they could be induced to join their countrymen on the west of the Mississippi."

These two nations of Indians, the Pottawattamies and Miamis, were the proudest and most determined of all the Indians who inhabited northern Indiana.

In 1839 Pulaski County was organized, containing 342 square miles.

In 1840 Benton County was organized, containing 360 square miles.

In 1842 Whitney County was organized, containing 324 square miles.

In 1844 the following counties were organized:
Howard County, containing 279 square miles.
Ohio County, containing 92 square miles.
Tipton County, containing 264 square miles.
Newton County was organized in 1859.

In 1840 the population of Indiana was 685,000, lacking 1,000 of doubling itself since 1830.

James Whitcomb was elected Governor in 1843.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PENAL, BENEVOLENT AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

STATE PRISON—ASYLUM FOR DEAF AND DUMB—ASYLUM FOR BLIND—HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE—STATE UNIVERSITIES—STATE LIBRARY.

THE STATE PRISON.

Prior to 1822 the convicts of the state for misdemeanors or violation of the law were held in the county prisons. In some desperate cases Indiana had to borrow from other states a place where they could be safely held. In 1822 the Indiana State Prison was located at Jeffersonville and four acres of ground was secured for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings. It was supposed that the labor of the convicts could be advantageously employed in constructing a canal around the Ohio Falls and this was urged very strongly to the committee which was appointed to select a site for the prison and had much weight in the selection of Jeffersonville for that purpose.

On this location strong buildings were erected in which secure cells for the convicts were made. The buildings were made as near fire-proof as possible. Within the grounds several other extensive buildings were erected, such as cooper shops, wagon shops, iron foundries and shops for the manufacture of many sorts of articles. All this material was sold in the interest of the State and applied on the prison expenses, thus making the violators of the law, while they were held in prison and securely guarded, become self supporting by their own labor.

ASYLUM FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

The initiatory step toward establishing this benevolent institution was taken by the State Legislature in 1842-'43 by levying a "tax of two mills on each one hundred dollars worth of property in the State for the purpose of supporting a deaf and dumb asylum." At the same session an appropriation of two hundred dollars was made to James McClain, who had for several months been instructing a school of deaf and dumb in Park County. A committee was appointed and selected a location near Indianapolis, where the buildings were erected. The length of the main building, including the wing, was two hundred and sixty-three feet. There was another building erected on the ground in which the class-rooms were situated. This initiatory step of Indiana for the protection of the unfortunate mutes, by providing a fine home for them and at the same time furnishing them with a good education, was in the line of progress which has ever been the watchword of the rulers of Indiana since the organization of its territory. The great blessings to humanity and the individual blessing given to so many of its people is something that every citizen of the State should feel proud of. This benevolent institution is just in its infancy, but judging the future from what has recently passed, it will prove one of the greatest blessings to the State and to thousands of its unfortunate people. Pupils are received into this institution between the ages of ten to thirty years. They are boarded, clothed and cared for by the State without charge to the pupil.

INDIANA'S INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF ITS BLIND.

In 1847 the Legislature by an enactment resolved to erect buildings suitable for the care and education of the blind inhabitants of the State. The committee appointed located that institution at Indianapolis. This institution has for its object the moral, intellectual and physical training of the blind youths of both sexes. The building was erected and obedient to the requirements of the acts of the Legislature, by which the trustees of the institution were appointed, they put an advertisement in the leading papers all over the State that they were ready to receive application from those who had blind youths in charge who wished to take advantage of this opportunity to educate them. At the same time they sent out circulars to all the county officers and to the judges of the various courts, notifying them that the institution was ready to receive pupils, setting forth the conditions, etc. Those received into this institution were educated at the expense of the State. The institution was open for the reception of pupils in the fall of 1847. At that opening there were nine pupils and at the next opening of the school in 1848 there were thirty pupils.

The untold blessings that the work of this noble institution has brought to that unfortunate class of humanity of our State is beyond estimate. Were it not for this effort in the interest of those whose eyes are darkened to the beauties of this world, their minds would forever remain in the same darkened and benighted condition, but this institution has taught them that by one of the five senses, the touch, the mysteries of this beautiful world are unfolded to them and the history of all countries revealed to them by raised letters and figures which the fingers spell out, and they are enabled to understand the beautiful creation of all the natural things of earth and to learn of the world beyond, and all things which have been hidden from them on account of their dimmed vision are made as plain as if their eyes had been open and they could see. This noble work will go on shedding its great blessings to humanity in every section of our State.

THE INDIANA HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE.

In 1843 the Legislature by enactment resolved to establish a hospital for the insane. Selecting a commission for the purpose of locating a site for this benevolent institution, they secured for that place one hundred and sixty acres of ground within two miles of Indianapolis, for which the State paid $5,500.00. The cost for erecting the building was $51,500.00.

This building was designed to accommodate two hundred patients, with officers, attendants, nurses, etc., to take care of them. The applications for admission into that hospital were in four classes: First, where cases of disease had been for less than one year's standing. These should have preference before others in the county sending them. The second, chronic cases presenting the most favorable condition for recovery. Third, the case was taken from those whose applicant had been longest on file. The fourth case was from counties in proportion to their population. These patients are cared for by the State without charge.

The State, by providing for this helpless and unfortunate class of our citizens, has done credit to herself, as well as added a great blessing to many communities and to families which hitherto had to care for their own unfortunate insane. There can be no question as to the State's duty in this matter. When reason is dethroned and the subject becomes insane, there is no security for those who come in contact with him. The unfortunate and humiliating position which so many families of the State have been placed in by being compelled to care for the demented members of their family, and in many cases they were ill-prepared to care for them. Many of these poor unfortunates they have been compelled to place in buildings securely erected for that purpose, where they were tied. In many cases, members of families have not shown the human sympathy they should for those of their own blood, but these unfortunates have been tied and compelled to remain, day in and day out, in the places prepared for them, the condition of which it is not best to mention here.

The State has the means and can care for these unfortunates, and it should relieve the families of this burden, thereby adding a blessing to society and doing a noble act of humanity.

STATE LIBRARY.

The first appropriation for a State Library (which is in the Capitol Building of the State) was in 1825, when there was an appropriation of fifty dollars made for binding the records of the State. There was also a thirty dollar appropriation to be made annually thereafter for the purchase of books.

From that small beginning the library of the State has rapidly increased in number of volumes until it has grown to such proportions as to fill a very large room, with a most excellent set of reference and historical works which are a great credit to the State and is destined to become of great advantage to all literary students who are seeking information which has not been carefully preserved in the private libraries of our country. The incidents of history which are of daily occurrence taking place are regarded as of little note and as commonplace things, but when a generation has passed and these then little noticed incidents are wished to be recalled, as a rule there is nothing but a traditional history of these occurrences except they are preserved in such places as this State Library. It is to the credit of those having this grand work in charge that they are making every effort to secure a complete record of the many historic and heroic actions of her people in an early period of this State's history. If this is carried out as it should be, and no doubt will be, this institution will become to all lovers of their State's history a place of resort when in search of information, second to no other in Indiana.

STATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Soon after the organization of Indiana Territory a township of land in Gibson County was granted to that territory for the establishment and endowment of a college. About four thousand acres of this land was sold by the authority of the Territorial Legislature and the proceeds applied to the benefit of the Vincennes University. In 1816 the second township of land situated in Monroe County, Indiana, was granted by Congress to the State, which, with the unsold part of the township in Gibson County, was directed to be held by the State for the purpose of establishing a college or university. In carrying out this trust, the Legislature appointed a board of trustees and authorized them to sell a part of the land and erect suitable buildings and to establish a seminary of learning. This was carried out in 1824, when the State University at Bloomington first opened its doors for the reception of students, in charge of a president and two professors. From the time of its first start the institution was well patronized. In 1838 this institution was chartered as a university. In the meantime the number of professors was increased, a library and philosophical apparatus were procured and an additional building was erected. To meet these accumulated expenses, the balance of the land situated in Gibson County and that in Monroe County was sold and the surplus of the money, amounting to about $80,000.00, was put into an endowment fund, from the interest of which the expenses of the University were to be paid. Since these institutions were authorized and endowed by the State, the citizens in many other portions of Indiana have built and endowed many private institutions of learning.

These two State institutions were created at an early period and were fostered entirely by the State. The building of the University at Bloomington and the appropriation of the township of land in Monroe County for that purpose would seem to be a just measure, but how the controlling authorities of this State could have so far been influenced by those in high political stations as to have taken a township of land out of the best portion of Gibson County, that is today worth two million dollars, and sacrificed it at a nominal price for the benefit of a State University in Monroe County and the University of Vincennes in Knox County is, at this time, hard to account for.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE MEXICAN WAR.

INDIANS IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

In 1800 Moses Austin went to Texas and from that time to 1820 was engaged in lead-mining. While at Bexar, Texas, at one time he met with the Mexican Governor of that province and they became good friends. He often applied to the Governor for concessions which amounted to a large territory of land where the city of Austin, Texas, now stands, and received permission from the Governor to colonize his new possessions with people from the United States, consisting of three hundred families. Austin started this work, but before he had the settlement completed he died, and his son, Stephen Austin, was made head of the Texan colony. Though much annoyed by Indians, he was very successful in his colonization scheme and received a great many accessions, amounting to many times more families than the agreement between him and the Texas Governor specified. There were so many Americans, they concluded to form a government for themselves, making such laws as would be suitable for their interest.

In the spring of 1833 they called a convention and framed a code of laws and adopted them without paying any attention to the Spanish population. They sent a commission to the City of Mexico, asking the Mexican Government to ratify their actions. Mexico was at that time in a revolution and paid but little attention to the commission. While in Mexico, Austin sent a letter back to Texas telling the Americans to organize all of their settlements and form a State. For this advice the Mexican authorities made him a prisoner and held him for three months in a vile prison and a much longer time than that he was held under close scrutiny of the Mexican police. He returned to Texas in 1835 and at once organized a revolutionary army. He induced Sam Houston, who had recently emigrated to that section (after having resigned his governorship in Tennessee in disgust) to take command of his army, while he (Austin) went to the United States as a commissioner for the purpose of creating an interest among the people to espouse the cause of the new Republic of Texas, which had adopted the "Lone Star" as the emblem of the Republic.

Austin did not succeed in his mission as well as he expected. He returned to Texas in 1836 and died very soon afterward.

After the death of Austin there was no head of the Texan army. The members of the provincial government held a meeting and elected Houston as Commander-in-Chief of the Texan army. Soon after this he received a letter from Travis from the Alamo notifying him that they were besieged by a large army of Mexicans. On the sixth of March a letter received from Colonel Travis was read in the convention and was the last express which ever left the Alamo. Houston, with a small force, immediately started to reinforce the besieged army, but when he arrived there, the Alamo had fired its last gun and its brave defenders had met their fate, among whom were some men of national reputation.

Soon after this, Houston, with his army, was attacked by a well-appointed army under General Santa Anna at San Jacinto. After a desperate battle, the Americans fighting the enemy ten to one, routed the Mexican army and captured Santa Anna and his chief officers. An agreement was made with Santa Anna and his officers, who were prisoners, that the Mexican army should evacuate Texas, and the independence of the Republic of Texas was granted by the fallen chief of the Mexican army. The Mexican Congress ignored the action of Santa Anna and its provisions were left unratified on the part of Mexico, but the action of the Mexican Republic, after having to submit to the heroic soldiers of Texas, was recognized by the powers and the new Republic of Texas was recognized by many nations, and subsequently by an annexation became a part of the United States. This action enraged the Mexican people and they sought by many means to annoy the people of Texas, which had become part of the United States.

President James K. Polk, being aware of the trouble in Texas by the threatening attitude of Mexico, sent General Zachary Taylor, in command of a small army, into the southwest and to post his army in Texas on the Mexican border. At the same time the American war vessels were sent to the Gulf of Mexico.

In November, 1846, General Taylor had taken his position at Corpus Christi, Texas, with about four thousand men. He was ordered to advance his force to the Rio Grande. Accordingly he proceeded and stationed himself on the north bank of that river within cannon shot of the Mexican town of Matamoris. General Taylor had actually invaded the Mexican territory.

INDIANA OFFICERS IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

First Regiment—Colonel, James P. Drake; Lieutenant-Colonels, Henry S. Lane, Christian C. Nave; Major, William Donaldson; Surgeon, Caleb V. Jones; Assistant Surgeon, William Fosdick; Adjutant, William E. Pearsons.

Second Regiment—Colonels, William A. Bowles, Joseph Lane; Lieutenant-Colonel, William R. Haddon; Major, James A. Cravens; Surgeon, Daniel S. Lane; Assistant Surgeon, John T. Walker; Adjutants, Lucien Q. Hoggatt, David C. Shanks.

Third Regiment—Colonel, James H. Lane; Lieutenant-Colonel, William M. McCarty; Major, Willis A. Gorman; Surgeon, James S. Athon; Assistant Surgeon, John D. Dunn; Adjutants, Herman H. Barbour, Harrison Daily.

Fourth Regiment—Colonel, Willis A. Gorman; Lieutenant-Colonel, Ebenezer Dumont; Major, William W. McCoy; Surgeon, Isaac Finley; Assistant Surgeon, J. M. Brower; Adjutants, Edward Cole, Martin M. Van Deusen.

Fifth Regiment—Colonel, James H. Lane; Lieutenant-

Colonel, Allen May; Major, John M. Myers; Assistant Surgeons, Philip G. Jones, R. A. McClure; Adjutant, John M. Lord.

—From History of the Mexican War,
By Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox.

The brilliant career of General Taylor and his many victories over the Mexicans will be left for the reader to find in the histories of the United States.

The United States declared war with Mexico in May, 1846. Placing $10,000,000.00 at the President's disposal, authorizing him to accept 50,000 volunteers. The greater part of the summer of 1846 was spent in preparations for war, it being resolved to invade Mexico at several points.

It was during Governor Whitcomb's administration that a call was made for five regiments of infantry to serve for three years or during the war. The record made by the soldiers of Indiana in that war was honorable. General Joseph Lane, the commander of one of the regiments, was made a Brigadier-General and by brevette a Major-General for gallantry, and after returning home was made Governor of the State of Oregon. He was elected United States Senator from that State for one term, and in 1860 was nominated for Vice-President on the ticket with John C. Breckinridge from Kentucky for President. He died in 1881.

In the first of 1848, on the part of the United States, war with Mexico was brought to a close. The President of the Mexican Congress assumed provincial authority and on February 2d that body at Guadalupe Hidalgo concluded peace with the United States. With slight amendments, that treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States on the 10th of March and by the Mexican Congress at Queratero on the 30th of May. President Polk on the 4th of July following proclaimed peace. The Americans, under the terms of the treaty, were to evacuate Mexico within ninety days of that date and paid the Mexican Government $3,000,000.00 in cash and $12,000,000.00 in three annual installments and assumed debts for $3,500,000.00 more, due from Mexico to American citizens. These payments were made in consideration of new accessions of territory, which gave the United States not only Texas, but Arizona, New Mexico and Upper California. The war had cost the United States, approximately, $25,000,000.00 and 25,000 men.

While these negotiations were under way, Colonel Sutter had begun the erection of a mill at Calona, on the American branch of the Sacramento river. On the third day of January one of his hands, named George Marshall, who was engaged in digging a race-way for the Colonel's mill, found a metal which he had not seen before. On testing it, he found that it was gold. This was sent to Sacramento and tested and found to be pure gold.

As soon as these discoveries became known, throughout the country there was a great emigration started for that part of California, and in a short time after that they were arriving in vast multitudes from all parts of America and from many places in foreign countries. Many thousands crossed the great western plains and the Rocky mountains with ox teams and on foot, and yet many more thousands crossed the Isthmus of Dairen. All of these emigrants encountered extreme difficulties before they arrived in that far-off country. While these emigrants were arriving, there was a steady procession of ships full of emigrants, provisions and supplies passing around the horn and up the coast of South America and Mexico to the Eldorado. In less than two years the population of California increased 100,000, and still they were coming in vast numbers.

During these exciting days from 1848 to 1852 there were more than 4,000 strong and sturdy men from Indiana who went to seek their fortunes in California. Many of them underwent great privations and many others lost their lives in encounters with the wild savage on the plains. In the latter part of the fifties, the old "forty-niners" who had gone to California from Indiana were found in every town, mining camp and on many ranches in California and Nevada. Many of these men were successful in their search for gold, and every part of Indiana has men yet or can recall those who returned home with a competency and invested their means in farms or business ventures, while perhaps a majority of those who went from Indiana were unsuccessful or spent their hard-earned means in dissipation or gambling, as every other house in the towns of California and Nevada in that early day was a gambling den.

This new acquisition of Territory opened the slavery question, in which Governor Whitcomb expressed himself as opposed to any further extension of slavery. Governor Whitcomb's administration was in the interest of good government, and his wise actions in the affairs of State did much to redeem the public credit, and his management of the compromise where the State turned over the incomplete public works in payment for claims against the government, was so well managed that the State was again placed upon a sound financial footing in the nation. Governor Whitcomb in December, 1848, was elected to represent the State in the United States Senate, and Lieutenant-Governor Paris C. Dunning was Acting Governor until December, 1849, when Joseph A. Wright was inaugurated. During his administration the incompleted public works which the State retained were again pushed forward with vigor.

In 1850 Governor Wright indorsed the compromise measure on the slavery question, and in his message that year said: "Indiana takes her stand in the ranks not of southern destiny nor yet of northern destiny. She plants herself on the basis of the Constitution and takes her stand in the ranks of American destiny."

It was during his administration that the second Constitutional Convention was held and a new Constitution adopted. Governor Wright's administration ranks with the best of Indiana's Governors. During the time he was Governor many important measures were placed on solid footing that have proved a great blessing to Indiana. The free school system, by enactment of the new Constitution, was started on its great mission of usefulness.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INDIAN BARBARITY AND THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN — THIS CHAPTER IS GIVEN TO SHOW ONE OF MANY SPIES THAT THE ANTI-SLAVERY PEOPLE HAD ON ALL STRANGERS DURING THE FIFTIES.

INDIAN BARBARITY.

In 1798 a party of Kickapoo Indians had been on a raid to Kentucky and captured two young men and a negro man who belonged to one of the white prisoners. On their return to the Kickapoo town, near the Wabash, they had camped at night near a small creek, which was a fork of Harvey's creek, a short distance north of where Union, Pike County, now stands, During the night a large hunting party of Shawnee Indians came into the Kickapoo camp. The next morning the Shawnees, being much stronger, demanded that the negro be turned over to them. There was a long wrangle about this. Finally the Shawnees agreed if they would burn the two white men they would let them keep the negro. This the Kickapoos consented to do, but it was stipulated that they should have charge of all the ceremony which was used when the prisoners were burned at the stake. The prisoners, by sign, were informed of the ordeal which they had to undergo. It was decided that the two men should run the gauntlet, and if they got through alive, they would then be burned. The sub-chief of the Kickapoos in charge acted as master of ceremonies.

The two white prisoners were taken out some distance from the camp, untied, and were informed by signs that they had to run between the two lines of Indians formed and to a tree near the camp. Newton Bowles was the first to run.

After being severely switched, he succeeded in getting to the tree. The other young man, who was an athlete, was ordered by motions to run. He made two or three bounds toward the line of Indians, then sprang to one side and ran as swift as a deer, outdistancing the Indians and got home. After the angry Indians returned from the chase, his partner in misfortune was burned at the stake by a slow fire.

The negro was sold to the British in Canada, made his escape and returned to Kentucky.

Some years afterward John Conger, with the negro who had been given his freedom and with James Bowles, came from Louisville on the old Indian trace. Arriving at White Oak Springs, now Petersburg, Indiana, he induced Woolsey Pride, a Mr. Tislow and a Mr. Miley to go with them and locate the Indian camp where the young man, Newton Bowles, was burned. After getting into the neighborhood they spent some time before they could locate Harvey creek, then went up the creek to a fork which ran to the west; then up that to another fork not far from where Bethlehem Church is now located. They found a camp and the negro showed them the place where Bowles was burned.

The writer came into possession of this data showing the creek and the place of execution, and by the request of some persons at Evansville, Indiana, attempted to locate the exact spot, so that the relatives could erect a monument to the memory of Newton Bowles.

"THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN."

In 1858, in company with Mr. Solomon Peed, the writer went to the Bethlehem Church and was several hours in that neighborhood looking over the country, and found a place which corresponded with the drawing, but could not find anything which located the exact place. They were resting and sitting on a log when Mr. Peed related to the author this story:

Many years ago James Crow, who was an old Indian fighter, settled on a small tract of land near the farm of James Oliphant, now belonging to Col. W. A. Oliphant, near

Union, Pike County, Indiana. They had several children, and sometime in the forties James Crow died, leaving a son and three daughters. Young Jim was a shiftless sort of say-nothing boy and did not provide much for his mother and sisters.

In 1849 the California gold fever ran high and many went from all sections of the country. One morning Jim was missing. No one knew where he had gone; no word was heard from him and the family mourned him as dead. One Saturday in 1854 an elegantly dressed stranger, with a black glossy beard which came down to his waist, came to the widow Crow's house and asked for lodging for the night. After some parleying he was permitted to stay. He was very silent and did not say anything about himself. The next morning he asked permission to remain until Monday. The Crows were devoted church people and they invited the stranger to accompany them to Bethlehem Church to hear Rev. Louis Wilson preach. He consented to go and went along with the girls, not selecting any particular one of them to walk with. After church was out all the people shook hands and inquired after each other's health (as persons did in those days). Many inquired of the girls who the handsome stranger was, to which they answered that they did not know. They started along the path, the stranger walking along by the side of the youngest girl, who was about sixteen years old.

At that time there was great excitement in southern Indiana about the fugitive slave law and about many southern people who were constantly coming to Indiana hunting for their negroes. The Rev. Wilson was a very strong anti-slavery man and suggested to some of his friends that the stranger was a negro hunter and it would be well to keep a watch on his actions. Two gentlemen volunteered to look after him. The stranger, with the youngest of the Crow girls, had arrived at a point in the path opposite the house of Colonel Oliphant's father. He took this time and opportunity of telling her that he was her brother Jim and reminded her of many things which took place when she was younger. This convinced her that it was her brother, and with a cry she caught him around the neck and kept on calling out that it was her brother. The two older girls came running back and the two men who were to keep watch over the stranger hurried up. The girl was so excited that she could not tell anything and the gathering crowd became very threatening. One man took a hand-spike and was in the act of striking the supposed stranger, when the young girl caught his arm and prevented the blow. The young man finally oonvinced all that he was the long lost Jim. That day at the widow Crow's the fattlings were killed and the young prodigal was welcomed home and feasted on the best that could be procured. He gave each of the girls two fifty dollars, eight square gold slugs, and to his mother he gave six of the slugs. He remained at his mother's a month or so and as quietly as before slipped away and never was heard of again. No doubt he met the usual fate of young men of that period, either being killed by Indians or murdered for his money.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE EXPERIENCE OF TWO YOUNG BOYS WITH TWO BEAR CUBS—THE AMUSING STORY OF HOW HOGS WERE INDUCED TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN RANGE.

In the early twenties two young boys, one sixteen and the other fourteen years old, came to Princeton with their uncle, Robert Stockwell, from Pennsylvania, as he returned from one of his trips after goods.

Mr. David Johnson was often about Stockwell's store and the boys became greatly attached to him, as all boys did. He told them of many hunting adventures. The boys would go home with him and stay for weeks at a time. They always wanted to go on a hunting tour with him, but he kept putting them off. Finally he told them that if they would wait until the mast fell and the bears became fat, they should go with him on a regular bear hunt.

The time came at last and the three started, taking two horses. Uncle Dave rode one and the two boys the other, double. They had gone five or six miles away, when a large bear was seen running away from them. Uncle Dave told the boys to go to a place in sight and not to leave there under any circumstances until he returned. They tied their horse and had been waiting for a long time when, on walking around, they saw two little animals wrestling much as boys do, rolling and tumbling over each other. They did not have the least idea what they were, but slipped up as close as they could and made a rush to catch them, which they found hard to do, as the little cubs were much more nimble than they looked. They chased them around over chunks and brush. Finally one of them ran into a hollow log and the little boy crawled in after it. The older boy was still chasing the other little bear and finally caught it, when it set up a whining noise and the same time scratched and bit him. In a few minutes he heard the brush cracking, and looking up, saw the old bear coming at him with full force. He let the cub go and climbed up a little tree, fortunately too small for the bear to climb. She would rear up on the tree as though she intended to climb it and snarl and snort at the boy, who was dreadfully scared. About this time the boy in the log had squeezed himself so he could reach the cub, whereupon it set up another cry. The old bear left the treed boy and ran to the log and over and around it, uncertain where the noise came from. She commenced to tear away the wood, so she could get to her cub, but she was too large to get more than her head in the hole. The boys were thus imprisoned for more than two hours, when a shot was fired not far off. The boy up the tree set up a terrible hallooing, and it was but a little time until Uncle Dave came in sight. The boy explained the situation to him and soon a second shot killed the old bear. The young bear was caught and tied and the little boy came out of the log, dragging the other cub, which they also tied. They were taken home and the boys made great pets of them.

Mr. Johnson understood the ways of animals other than bear or deer. About sixty years ago there was a great amount of mast in his neighborhood and he was fattening a hundred head of hogs on it. A Mr. Young, from near Princeton, was in that section hunting and saw this abundance of mast and determined to have the benefit of some of it. He went home and brought a large drove of hogs and turned them loose by the side of Mr. Johnson's farm. This was a little more than Uncle Dave would put up with, so he determined to get rid of the hogs without killing them, for he and Young were friends, as all old settlers were. The hogs bedded on a hill not far from the house, so he watched them until he found out that a large sandy sow was the leader of the gang. Nicholas Warrick, a boy whom he had brought up, John C. White and William Skelton were working for him. Late one afternoon Uncle Dave went to the place where the farm hands were cribbing corn and told them that they need not go out for another load that evening. He said, "Nick, you know that old blue-spotted hound, Bounce, has been sucking eggs all summer, and your mother has complained to me several times, so I have decided to kill it. You and John will take him back of the barn and after you have killed him, you skin him as carefully as if you intended to stretch and dry the hide. Be sure that you leave the long flap ears and tail on the hide.' Bill, you go and make me a good number of strong wax ends and bring the sack needle."

After everything was ready, the boys with the dogs caught the old sow and sewed the dog skin on her hard and fast. When completed, Uncle Dave said, "Boys, turn her loose." She made a rush to get away, with her hound ears and tail flopping. She ran to the hogs and they became frightened and ran away and the transformed hog after them. The next morning Mr. Young found his hogs at home.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KIDNAPPING FREE NEGROES — KIDNAPPING OF REUBE AT PRINCETON — LIBERATING TWO NEGROES NEAR PRINCETON, INDIANA—KIDNAPPING TWO FREE NEGROES THREE MILES WEST OF PRINCETON — ATTEMPT TO KIDNAP A BARBER AT PETERSBURG, INDIANA — SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TO KIDNAP NEGROES — DR. JOHN W. POSEY AND REV. ELDRIDGE HOPKINS LIBERATING TWO KIDNAPED NEGROES — A SLAVE HUNTER DEFEATED AT KIRKS MILL BRIDGE IN GIBSON COUNTY — AN ATTEMPT TO CATCH RUNAWAY NEGROES ENDING IN A DESPERATE BATTLE WITH WILD HOGS — JERRY SULLIVAN RAID AT DONGOLA BRIDGE—KIDNAPPING THE GOTHARD BOYS—REV. HIRAM HUNTER RELIEVING KIDNAPED NEGROES.

In all of the territory of the free States adjacent to the borders of the slave States during the time after the passage of the last fugitive slave law in 1850 up to the commencement of the War of the Rebellion, there was great excitement, and many thrilling experiences between those having pro and anti-slavery views. This was eminently true along the southern borders of Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. The fugitive slave law of 1793 was similar to the agreement made in 1787, when the compact was accepted to forever exclude slavery from the Northwest territory. At that time it was considered a just agreement, permitting the owners of slaves who lived in any of the thirteen colonies to reclaim their slaves who had run away from any place to the territory that the votes of the South had made it possible to be forever free from slavery. But the law passed in 1850 which gave the slaveholders or those aiding in catching their runaway slaves, the power to organize a posse at any point in the United States to aid them in this work and made it the duty of police and peace officers, from United States marshal down, to at any and all times assist them in running down their slaves and imposing heavy fines and penalties on any one who would refuse to do their bidding. This was so repugnant to many persons that it raised a great commotion and there was a determined effort made by those opposed to slavery to defeat the enactment of this obnoxious law.

The anti-slavery league of the East had many of the shrewdest men of the nation in its organization. They had a detective and spy system to help those who were assisting the runaway slaves to reach Canada.

The last three years before the rebellion of the South, slaveowners rarely ever captured a runaway. These young men had various occupations at which they worked, mostly book and other sort of agencies; some were school teachers. They always had the same political opinion as the majority had where they were assigned. Those who were regular spies were apparently intensely pro-slavery and made up and were yokefellows with all the negro hunters in the territory in which they worked. The Southern slavedrivers, with their whips and handcuffs in evidence of their occupation, were so often seen passing through the country that our people became familiar with their bantering, haughty actions and the loud and swaggering manner of their dress. Their handbills were posted at every crossroad, with the picture of a negro with a budget on his back, giving a description of his age, height and special marks, and offering a reward for his capture.

About the year 1851 an old negro man named Stephenson came to see the author's father, who was largely interested in farming, to have him keep his boys, one fourteen, one twelve and the other ten years old, for him until he could make arrangements to start for Liberia. This my father agreed to do. It was spring time and the boys helped with the work. Things went on that season and the old man had no chance to get away and work was well under way for the second season. Old man Stephenson had come to this country from South Carolina with Dr. Samuel McCullough about the middle of the forties. He was a free man, but married a slave and bought her freedom. They had lived in the same neighborhood for several years, until his wife died. One evening, just as the work was over for the day, the colored boys were doing up the work around the barn. Two men rode up to the front of the house and called to the author's father, who was sitting on the porch, saying that they wanted to see him. They told him they had a description of three colored boys who were born in South Carolina who were slaves, and had called to see him about it, as they had learned he had three colored boys working for him.

These two fellows, no doubt, had a confederate in the neighborhood who had given them a perfect description of the boys. My father talked to them awhile, not having the least idea who they were, and evidently they did not know him, or they would have been the last fellows to come there on such a mission. He excused himself to go into the house for something. They waited for him to return, which he did with his bear gun, "Old Vicksburg," in his hands.

They commenced to plead with him to let there be no difficulty. He told them that there was not the slightest danger of any trouble. He wanted them to see what sort of a machine he guarded the boys with, and said to them, "Do you see that little house?" pointing to a room in our yard. "The three boys sleep there, and if they are disturbed, I will kill fifteen such worthless vagabonds as you are before you get them, fugitive law or any other law. And I want to say, before I get mad, that you had better go, for you may get into danger." He cocked the big gun and said, "I feel it coming on—go and go quick."

They took him at his word and they went in a hurry. He waited until they had gone about seventy-five yards away, when he turned loose at them, intending to shoot just above their heads. At the crack of that monster gun they lay down on their horses' necks and made as good time as did the best mounted F. F. V. when Sheridan's cavalry was after them.

The boys remained with us for nearly three years before they got away to Liberia, and that was the last we ever heard of the men hunting for them.

The next year my father made the race for the Legislature. One of these fellows — who was a hotel-keeper at Petersburg, Indiana — went into Gibson County to work against him. He told the people that father was a bloodthirsty man and that he did not regard the life of a man more than he would the life of a bear. It was evident he had struck the wrong crowd. They demanded that he tell them of one instance where he had shown such a disposition. He told them that two friends of his had gone to father's house to see about some runaway negroes and that he threatened their lives, and as they went away shot at them. This disgruntled fellow was laughed out of the township for his meddling.

THE KIDNAPPING OF REUBE AT PRINCETON, INDIANA.

In 1817 William Barrett moved to this state from Tennesee and settled in what is now southwestern Columbia township, Gibson county, Indiana. He had formerly lived in the state of South Carolina and moved from there to Tennesee in 1804.

Some years after they reached Indiana, a negro man named Reube, who had formerly been a slave of Mr. Jacob Sanders (but had been freed for having saved his master's life) came on from South Carolina with a relinquishment paper for Mrs. Barrett to sign for her part of her father's esestate. Reube remained for nearly a year; the winter weather was too cold for him and he had determined to go back before another winter set in. John W. Barrett, a son of William, at that time a large, gawky boy about eighteen years old and six feet eight inches tall, went with Reube on many a fishing and hunting adventures. When it came time for Reube to start back John took him over to Princeton and led the horse which he had ridden back home. Reube intended to go from there to Evansville with the first passing team that went that way.

The act which gave Reube his freedom was a heroic one. There was a maniac in that section of South Carolina who at times became very desperate and was kept in confinement in such a place as the authorities had for that purpose. He was very sly and cunning and stepping up back of Mr. Sanders pinioned his hands behind him and threw him on the ground and with a large knife attempted to cut his throat. Reube, being in the garden nearby saw his master's peril and running up behind the maniac struck him at the butt of his ear with a hoe and felled him to the ground. Mr. Sanders said "Reube, from this day on you are a free man and I will at once make out your free papers." He told him to stay on the place if he wanted to for as long a time as suited him and he would pay him for all the work he did. The papers were made out and in giving him his freedom a full history of the reason was given and they were recorded. To make it certain that no one would disturb Reube, Mr. Sanders had a full history of the case engraved on a gold plate; also had a gold chain attached to the gold plate that went around his neck so that it was easy at any time if the patrols stopped him to show the certificate on the plate. Mr. Barret's family heard nothing of Reube for two or three years. Finally Mr. Sanders wrote to his niece Mrs. Barrett, asking her why Reube did not come back.

In 1832 Col. James W. Cockrum bought the steamboat Nile and intended to run her up the Yazoo river and other small rivers to bring the cotton out and carry it to New Orleans. John W. Barrett, a brother-in-law, was made clerk of the boat and had charge of the freight. At one landing on the Yazoo river there was a large quantity of cotton to be loaded and the planters were still delivering from the farms. Young Barrett was on the deck tallying as the mate and deck hands were putting the cargo aboard when a colored man came near him and said: "Mr. Barrett, don't you know me? I am Reube who hunted with you in Indiana. Don't let on you know me." Barrett did know him and was greatly surprised at thus meeting him. Finally he got a chance and told Reube to roll a bale of cotton behind the cabin stairs.

Reube told him that his master was on the bank and it was not safe for them to be seen talking together. The planter whom Reube called his master had a large amount of cotton and was watching the count of the bales and his slaves were helping to load it in order that they might finish before night. During the loading Barrett had several chances to say a word to Reube. There was a wood yard some miles below where the boat would stop to take on wood. Reube said he would be down there when the boat came as it would be some hours after night and when the boat rounded to Reube was ready to load wood as soon as it was measured. Barrett watched his chance and took Reube down in the hold and secreted him there and looked after him. They got to New Orleans, unloaded the cotton and took on a lot of government freight for the upper Arkansas river to one of the military outposts. Reube was still in hiding. no one but the clerk being aware of his presence on board.

While they were unloading the government freight Barrett went to the commander of the fort and told the history of Reube and all about his being kidnapped and being sold into slavery to a Mississippi planter on the Yazoo river. As fortune would have it the commander was a New England man and felt indignant at the outrageous treatment the poor negro had received and assured Barrett that he would keep him in his employ at good wages until he had an opportunity to send him back to South Carolina, which he did. About a year afterward the Barrett family received a letter from Mr. Sanders telling of Reube's arrival home. Mr. John W. Barrett told me in 1854, the last time he was ever in Indiana, that after he left Reube at Princeton he had no opportunity to get away to Evansville until about the middle of the next day. He was making inquiry of some people if they knew of any team which was going to Evansville. Reube was very fond of showing his gold certificate of freedom; finally two men told him they were going to Evansville that evening but they could not get away before the middle of the afternoon and made an agreement that he could go with them by cooking for them on the road and after they got there. Reube readily agreed to this since they told him that they had some thought of going on to Tennesee.

They finally started, and after staying a day or so at Evansville (which then was only a small place), they started on the Tennessee trip. They made it convenient to go west in Tennessee and on to Memphis. They told Reube, whom they had been very kind to, that in a day or so they would go to North Carolina, and in doing so would pass near his home if he wanted to go with them, but the next place they went to was the Yazoo river. There they took Reube's gold plate and papers from him and sold him to the planter with whom Barrett found him.

(The data for the following story was furnished by General Neeley):

Harvey Montgomery was the seventh child of Judge Isaac Montgomery. Why James T. Tartt, in his Gibson County History, failed to give his name when giving the history of the rest of the family, I do not know. I want to record it here that he was a noble-hearted, pure man.

I was a young boy when I knew him best, and he was my ideal of an upright, Christian gentleman. Early in life one of his legs was broken, and in setting it, was left in such a shape that it became very crooked and he was never able to do heavy work. He lived with his father at his home two miles southeast of Oakland City, Indiana, until he married. He then settled on a quarter section just north of his father, where he spent his life.

The Judge owned a farm near Princeton at the time he lived on his farm in eastern Gibson County and cultivated both farms.

At one time Harvey and Joseph, who was the third child of Judge Montgomery, and a hand working for them named McDeeman, had two loads of produce—venison, hams, hides and bear bacon—which they were taking to Robert Stockwell at Princeton. Joseph at that time lived on what was afterward the Richey farm, about one-half mile west of his father. He was a very large man and was known far and near as one of the strongest men, physically, who ever lived in that section.

As they were getting within about two miles of Princeton and after climbing a hill, they stopped to let their ox teams rest and heard a loud noise as of men in a wrangle. Joseph Montgomery and McDeeman left Harvey with the teams, and taking their guns, went to find out what the noise was about. When they got to the parties making the noise, they found two negroes handcuffed together and a white man was beating one of the negroes with a heavy stick.

Montgomery, who was as fearless as strong, with McDeeman, rushed up to the place where the trouble was and asked the man with a club what in "hades" he meant by beating the man with such a bludgeon. There were two white men and one of them became very insulting, telling Montgomery they were beating their own property and it was none of his business. One of the negroes cried out, "Oh, that is Mr. Montgomery! Don't you know me? I am Pete, who kept your camp at the bear's den."

Montgomery did know him. The bully had the club drawn back to hit Pete, when Montgomery leaped like a panther and hit the fellow at the butt of the ear and completely knocked him out. At this the other kidnapper started to draw a large knife, when McDeeman, who was a full-fledged Irishman, raised his gun and said, "On your worthless life, don't move your hand. If you so much as bat your eye, I will shoot it out of your head." They took the key away from them, freed the negroes, put the handcuffs on the kidnappers, gave the two negroes the clubs and marched the two men up to the wagons and on into Princeton. Montgomery tried to have the kidnappers put in jail until court would set. The old Justice before whom they brought the proceedings was thoroughly in sympathy with slavery, and he virtually there made the same decision that Chief Justice Tanny did thirty years afterwards. It was as follows:

"There is no evidence that the two men kidnaped the negroes except the statement made by the negroes. The evidence of a negro has no force in court which could affect a white man."

They were set at liberty. They were so much elated over being freed from the charge that they proceeded to fill up with whisky and hunted up Montgomery and raised a quarrel with him, but he gave both of them at the same time such a thrashing that they were glad to get away.

Along in the twenties a man by the name of Sawyer, from North Carolina, laid a lot of land warrants on some rich land west of Petersburg, in Pike County, Indiana. Soon afterward he died. A year or two later the family moved to the land and brought with them a negro, who had always been in the family with them, and who cleared up a portion of the land and raised corn on it. This negro became acquainted with a negro woman who lived with the family of Judge Montgomery at his eastern Gibson County home. After a time the two colored people were married, but continued to live at the homes of the white people they were with, with the exception of a weekly visit made by the colored man to his wife.

One day this man went to a mill some distance away for the Sawyers and was never seen afterward. He was kidnaped and sold into slavery at Natchez, Mississippi. Thomas Montgomery, a son of the Judge, went down the river to New Orleans some years after this and he was told by some negroes at Natchez that the negro lived for only about three years, but during that time he was ever lamenting the loss of his wife, who, he said, lived at Judge Montgomery's.

About 1825 Mathias Mount settled on a farm near Petersburg, Indiana. He brought a little colored girl with him to his new home, where she remained about three years. She was sent to the house of a neighbor on an errand and was never seen by the Mount family afterward. No doubt she was kidnaped by some of the human vultures who were always on the watch for such a chance. About Petersburg and the country south of there to the Ohio river, there were many of these slave-hunting hounds in human form always watching for a "runaway nigger," as they termed them. The long-haired gentry from the South, with their whips and shackles, were yoke-fellows well mated with these Northern confederates.

In 1822 two negro men came to what is now the city of Princeton hunting for work. They were hired by General Wm. Embree to work on a farm two or three miles west of Princeton that he owned. They were good hands and worked on the same farm for two years, living in a small log cabin on the farm and doing their own culinary work. One of the men could read and write and often borrowed books from people in Princeton to read. When the work season was over they put in most of their time before corn would be ready to gather in hunting for game, which was very abundant.

The summer's work for the second year was over and the men were gone hunting. One morning late in the summer some one found tacked on the cabin door a short note saying they had gone to the Ohio river to cut cord wood until the corn would do to gather and this was the last time they were ever seen on the farm.

Some years later General Embree was in the city of New Orleans and found these two men working on the levee rolling freight. They told him that two men whom they had seen several times in Princeton came to their cabin early in the evening and handcuffed them and by daylight the next morning they were at the Ohio river, which they crossed on a raft into Kentucky, going down to Henderson. After waiting a few days a boat came and they were carried to New Orleans where they were sold into slavery.

Mr. Embree went to a lawyer and told his story and had proceedings brought to liberate the two negroes. The investigation developed that they were sold into slavery to James Lockwell by two men named Absalom Tower and Thomas Slaven and they had been for more than three years the property of Lockwell. As no complaint had been made during that time the judge refused to release them.

Dr. J. R. Adams, of Petersburg, tells this story of a barber who came to Petersburg and opened a barber shop. One of the human vultures who were ever ready to kidnap the poor negroes, sent off and had a correct description of the barber made and sent back to him. He and another confederate at Washington, Indiana, who brought a stranger with him who claimed to own the barber and who said he was his negro, producing a handbill that gave a perfect description of the barber in which a reward of two hundred dollars was offered for his re-capture, claiming that he had run away from Tennessee some three years before.

These villains were preparing to start for the south with the poor barber when Dr. Adams brought proceedings to liberate him. The doctor through an attorney delayed proceedings until he could send a runner to Vincennes and get Robert LaPlant, who swore that the negro was born in a small house in his father's yard in Vincennes, that the mother and father were in the employ of his parents at that time and continued to work for his father until the barber was nearly grown. Dr. Adams swore he had known him as a free negro for ten years. On this strong evidence the young barber was liberated. But owing to the prejudice of the time all the white villains who tried to do this great wrong were allowed to go free.

In 1822 a negro named Steve Hardin, who had worked with Major Robb about his mills for some time was kidnaped by a Kentuckian named J. Teal who was visiting south of Vincennes, and carried to New Orleans and sold into slavery. Two years afterwards a man named Pea who lived west of Petersburg, Indiana, went down the river and at New Orleans met Steve Hardin, with whom he was well acquainted. Pea went with the negro to a lawyer's office and told him the negro's history and that he was born in Indiana Territory after 1787. Suit was brought and the negro was given his liberty, the judge holding that those who were born in the Northwest Territory after the ordinance of 1787 were free.

In 1807 John Warrick, Sr., brought from Kentucky to Indiana Territory a negress. When the state constitution was adopted Warrick sold this woman to a Kentucky friend, who kidnaped her near Owensville, Indiana, and took her to his Kentucky home. Parties from the section where she was kidnaped instituted proceedings in a Kentucky court for her freedom. The court held that it could not recognize the theory which held one to be a slave and free at the same time and further held that the negress was free by being taken into Indiana Territory for a residence after the ordinance of 1787.

In 1784 John Decker brought from the state of Virginia three slaves to Indiana Territory and located just south of White river a little east of where the town of Hazelton is now situated. These slaves were held by Mr. Decker as his property at that point in northern Gibson county and other places in that neighborhood until a few days before the adoption of the state constitution in 1816, when they were kidnaped and hurried to the Mississippi country and sold into slavery where they were found by friends who knew them and aided them in securing their emancipation. The judge before whom the proceedings for their emancipation was brought owned 100 negroes but he decided that the residence the negroes had in Indiana Territory made them free. It may be proper to note here that these southern decisions (and there were many such) were made long before there was any excitement between the southern slavery and northern anti-slavery people.

In 1813 John Judson came to Indiana Territory and brought with him two able bodied negro men. Judson made a temporary settlement near where the town of Patoka is now located. Judson's father had died two years before in middle Tennesee and as part of his last will it was stipulated that his son John who was his only heir should take the two negroes to the territory that was under the ordinance of 1787 and to leave them and to each he was to give $100.00 and a note or contract which called for $100 to be paid annually to each of the negroes so long as they lived. The money for these payments was to be sent to the land office at Vincennes every year.

Young Judson left the two men and before the year was out they were missing and were never heard of afterward. They were undoubtedly kidnaped and sold into slavery. The deposit was made at the land office for several years and was finally returned to Mr. Judson.

DR. JOHN W. POSEY AND REV. ELDRIDGE HOPKINS

Along in the early part of the fifties two free negro men who lived in northern Kentucky, not far from Rockport, Indiana, had been working on the Wabash and Erie canal between Washington and Terre Haute for some time and had determined to go to their homes and had gotten as far as Washington on their way there, when they fell in with a man who seemed very friendly to them asking them where they were going. When they told him, he told them that he and a friend of his were going in the same direction nearly to the Ohio river in a wagon and that if they wanted to they could go with them and it would not cost them anything for the ride; that they would have provision with them for the trip and they could assist in preparing it but that they would not be ready to start before three or four in the afternoon.

The offer was a very favorable one to the two negroes and they gladly accepted it and said they would be at an agreed point at the south side of Washington, where the two men with the wagon found them.

They took the Petersburg road and it was late in the evening when they crossed the White river at the ferry. Mr. John Stucky, who crossed at the same time, knew one of the white men and at once suspected what he was up to, but could not draw him into a conversation and could not get a chance to talk to the colored men, as he had to hold his horse. He heard them tell the ferryman that they would stay all night in a wagon yard in Petersburg. After they were over, the wagon traveled pretty fast. Mr. Stucky did not keep up with it and reached Petersburg some time after it had put up at the wagon yard. Stucky hunted up Dr. John W. Posey, who was the father of Hon. Frank B. Posey, and told him about the white men and negroes that were stopping at the wagon yard. The doctor at once understood the situation and sent a spy to the wagon yard to see what he could find out. The spy soon reported that he found them eating supper and that a noted hotel-keeper was some distance away engaged in conversation with one of the men.

He talked with the negroes, who said their homes were in Kentucky and that these men were letting them ride in the wagon most of the way. They had no evidence, but the doctor decided to have a watch kept and have the wagon followed to see what developments might come. About two hours before day the guard who had been on watch came hurriedly to the doctor's home and told him they were getting ready to start and had their team hitched to a three-seated express wagon and that the hotel man was with them and two other fellows whom he did not know. The doctor had three horses saddled and sent for a neighbor to ride one of them and one of his hired hands rode another and the doctor the third one. All three were armed. They sent the guard back to watch and report, but the express and men had gone. Mr. Posey and other men hurried on after them on the Winslow road, but did not overtake them, as they had passed through Winslow a little after sun-up and thirty minutes ahead of the pursuing party. They followed on after them, meeting a man about two miles south of Winslow who said he had met the express about one mile south of where they were and that they had two runaway negroes tied together. As there were only three of them and four of the kidnappers, and it was supposed that men on such a business would go well armed, they felt as if they did not have an equal chance, but they knew that justice was on their side, so they resolved to follow on, and when the kidnappers stopped, they would find some one legally qualified to try the case and liberate the poor negroes.

About this time they met Rev. Eldridge Hopkins who told them that he passed the express but a short mile south of where they were and the men inquired of him if he could tell them where there was a spring as they wanted to eat an early dinner and feed their horses as they were getting fatigued. Hopkins thought nothing of it as men with runaway negroes were a common occurrence in those days. Dr. Posey told Rev. Hopkins, with whom he was well acquainted, the situation and Hopkins, who was in favor of justice and was good grit all the way through, offered to pilot them around the men if they stopped to feed so that they would be in front of them and could go to a Justice on the road a few miles ahead and have papers prepared to stop them and release the negroes.

Coming to the road at the point Hopkins intended, they found that the express had not passed, but they learned that the squire they wanted was away from home and before they could find a legal light who could give them the right to stop the kidnappers they got into Warrick county, where a writ was secured. When the express came up a constable halted them and marched them into a Justice's court. At first the kidnappers were disposed to threaten but by this time quite a number of men had gathered around in front of them. These fellows were completely nonplussed by the action of Dr. Posey. The two negroes were brought into court and told their story. Dr. Posey retold what the colored men told his man the night before while one of the while men was eating supper with them. The crowd was very much in sympathy with the two unfortunates.

The man who claimed to own them showed a hand bill giving a perfect description of the two men and offering a reward of two hundred dollars for their recapture dated at a point in Tennessee some weeks before. (This hand bill was no doubt printed at Washington the day before, while these negroes were waiting for their new found friends.) Things now began to look pretty bad for the poor negroes. Hopkins was a ready talker and he volunteered to defend them and made a telling speech in which he had the sympathy of all not interested. The old justice was against the negroes and he decided that they were nearly all slaves and those who claimed their homes in a slave state were all slaves and whereas their owner had produced a notice of them that had a perfect description and dated several weeks before he would let him (the supposed owner) go with his property.

This infuriated Hopkins and he told Dr. Posey that he would see that the men did not get over the Ohio river with the negroes. While Mr. Hopking and Dr. Posey were having a consultation, Mr. Hopkins discovered that he had his foot on the hub of a wheel of the express the kidnappers had come in and saw that the wheels were held on with linch pins and that he could easily get one of them out, which he did and put it in his pocket. It was decided that it was best for the doctor and his two men to return home. Hopkins said that in that crowd he could find all the men he wanted to go with him on the raid, so having chosen them, they secured arms and were soon on the go.

Starting off in an easterly direction, they soon found a road which brought them to the Boonville road and found that the express had not passed. They took powder and made themselves as black as Nubians; no one would have recognized them. Mr. Hopkins thought that the express might get some distance before the wheel would come off.

They waited for a time, but finally started up the road and saw the express, with one wheel off, about one mile south of where the old squire lived. When they got close to the express, they rushed up hurriedly and demanded to know what they had the negroes tied for. The negroes told them that they were kidnaped. The rescuing party leveled their guns at the three white men and made them hold up their hands. One of them had gone back to look for the linch pin. The negroes were untied and the white men searched for guns. They found three old pepper box revolvers of a pattern of that date and several knives. They also found a fine rifle in the bottom of the express. The negroes were made to tie the three men and they all sat down out of sight until the fourth man came back, when he was also tied. They then organized a stump court-martial to try the kidnappers.

The negroes first told their story as above related. The four men were told that they, one at a time, could tell their side of the case. The would-be owner produced the handbills that Dr. Posey told Mr. Hopkins were made in Washington. Mr. Hopkins, who was the leading spokesman, told them that this was the case and said that that was the worst feature in it.

The court, after hearing all the evidence, decided that all four of them should die, for such villainy was a menace to good order and the peace of society, but told them that any one of them who would tell the whole truth should live. At this one of the men commenced to weaken, when the leader told him to remember the oath he took when he was hired and the penalty if he violated that obligation. At this Hopkins took the fellow who seemed ready to tell something away from the rest and where they could not hear, and told him that if he would tell the whole truth, that his life would be spared. On this assurance, he told all he knew. He said that the pretended owner lived at Washington, Indiana, and that it was intended to carry the negroes to the Mississippi country and sell them; that they had agreed to pay him and another man whom they hired at Petersburg one hundred dollars each to go with them and watch the two negroes until they were sold, and that the team belonged to the leader who pretended to own the negroes.

Mr. Hopkins took the man back to the party and put the negroes guard over them. He then reassembled the court-martial and they held another consultation, after which he told the white prisoners that they deserved to die for such villainy, but they did not want their blood on their hands and had decided not to kill them, but they intended to give them an object lesson they would remember all the rest of their lives.

Hopkins took the leader and the two negroes out in the woods some distance west of the road, cut two good-sized hickory gads and told the negroes to give him twenty-five hard lashes each, which they did with a will; then he untied the fellow, who was evidently well whipped, and told him to go in a northwest direction and not to stop or look back. Then he took the other man from Washington and the two negroes to the east side of the road, cut two gads and gave him fifty lashes, untied him and told him to go to the northeast and not to stop or look back under penalty of being shot. The two men who had been hired they gave ten lashes each and then turned them loose toward Evansville. Mr. Hopkins and his party held a final conference and then had the negroes put the wheel on, having given them the linch pin.

They decided to turn the team over to the two negroes, with the pepper box revolvers and the rifle to defend themselves, deciding that they had undergone enough torture to have all the spoils. By this time it was an hour after dark. The two darkies drove away and these rude, but just judges went to their homes.

Some ten days after the events above recorded, Mr. Hopkins went to Petersburg and visited Dr. Posey. They sent a man to Washington to find out what he could about the two villains who attempted the kidnapping. He learned that they had got back the day after they were so soundly thrashed and reported they had fallen in with a band of horsethieves, who had beaten them fearfully and taken their team and everything else they had.

Some time after this Mr. Hopkins was working for the company that built the first steam mill in Oakland City, getting out rock for the foundation. In tamping a charge of powder it went off prematurely and came very near putting his eyes out. He remained for three weeks at my father's home perfectly blind, but otherwise in the best of health. During that time he related this story to my father, giving all the details except the names of any but Dr. Posey. My father and Dr. Posey were friends and he asked the doctor about it. The doctor said that it was the best planned expedition of the kind that he had ever heard of, and to the Rev. Eldridge Hopkins three-fourths of the credit was due for its successful ending.

A SLAVE HUNT TO WATCH THE KIRKS MILL BRIDGE.

Some time late in the summer of 1852 a man rode hurriedly into Princeton, Indiana, covered with dust and his horse in such a lather of sweat it showed evidence of hard riding. Tied to the back of his saddle were a large whip and several cords and hanging to the horn were several pairs of handcuffs and a brace of heavy revolvers belted around his waist outside his dusty coat. Altogether he was a fierce-looking fellow.

Dismounting, he tied his horse to the court-yard rack, and hurrying to the south door of the old court-house, put on the bulletin board a notice of three runaway negroes, offering a reward of five hundred dollars for their capture. After doing this he inquired for the best tavern and had his horse taken to the livery stable. He made inquiry if there was anyone who would be willing to help him catch the runaways. Some time after he got to the tavern two gentlemen who were always boasting of the many times they had engaged in such work, called on him, offering their services to help him catch the runaways. The slaveowner inquired about their experience in such business and they informed him that they had been in many such hunts. He told them they would do and if he got the negroes he would divide the reward, which was offered between five men; that all he wanted was their help in catching the rascals. He asked them who the other three men would be. There were several names mentioned to him of those who would be good help in such an undertaking. They mutually agreed on the three men, when he enjoined them to secrecy. Only those going on the raid should know anything about what they intended to do. After this was arranged, it was agreed the first two men should come back to the tavern not later than four o'clock to let him know if the three men selected could be depended on to go. By that time he could secure some needed rest and they would mature a plan of action for the coming night.

The slaveowner said that he felt certain the runaways would pass somewhere near Princeton during the early part of the night and aim to cross the Patoka river and get as far on toward White river as they could before daylight. He thought it best to guard one or two bridges over the Patoka and should they fail in capturing them he would organize a posse and picket White river at every point where it was thought likely they could cross. Pulling a small map from his pocket and looking over it for a short time, he pointed out a route which he thought they would be most likely to follow. He pointed to Wheeling (Kirksville) as the place he thought the would try to cross the Patoka river, and said that he would go to that point with the five men selected and watch that bridge.

He authorized the two men if they could find any reliable persons to guard the Columbia bridge, for them to do so, as it might be possible they would go that way. Bidding the two men good-bye, he asked them to be prompt and report at the time named.

That the reader may understand, I will state that the slave-hunting bullies had made themselves so obnoxious to many good people in and around Princeton, that this bogus slave hunt was inaugurated to teach them a needed lesson. The pretended slaveowner was none other than an anti-slavery spy and he had five confederates who were well acquainted with the country and the people. The ones selected to guard the Wheeling bridge were the most offensive ones in that business. The anti-slavery confederates had eight heavy bombs made at Kratz & Heilman's foundry in Evansville, which would hold about three pounds of powder, each with a screw attachment so that a time fuse could be put into the powder.

As soon as it was dark the five men, carrying the bombs, started two hours ahead of the brave negro catchers. The first two bombs were placed near the side of the road in a deep hollow about two and a half miles northeast of Princeton, the next two were placed about three-fourths of a mile from the Wheeling bridge, and the other four, two on each side of the bridge about sixty or seventy yards away. A man was left at each station to fire the fuse at the proper time, and the extra man nearly a hundred yards from the bridge down the river to command an imaginary battalion. These bombs were the real thing for a great noise.

At four o'clock the two men were on hand and had the names of three men who would go out and watch the Columbia bridge; also said that the other men of their party would be ready at any time set for the start. The slaveowner said that he did not care to see the three men who were to go to the Columbia bridge, as he thought they had but little chance of success, and he authorized the two men to see that they went, and for them and the other three of their party to meet him on the north side of the seminary at one hour after night and they would go to the Wheeling bridge.

The party all assembled on time and then took the Wheeling road to the northeast for the bridge. There had been an agreed signal between the pretended slaveowner and his confederates with the bombs, so he could locate their places, and when the bridge-watching party got to the deep hollow, Indian creek, a deep, loud voice some way to one side said, "Who goes there?" The men stopped and listened for some time, but nothing more was heard. The leader turned to his posse and said, "Did you let it be known that we were going on this hunt?" They all said that they had not. He rode around and called several times, but there was no response.

They then rode ahead and after passing several miles came to where the second station was located, when from out of the woods to one side of the road, in a deep-sounding voice, came the second challenge, "Who goes there?" The party stopped and the leader said in a loud voice, "Who are you, that you demand who we are?" He waited for some time, but there was no more sound heard. The leader, after locating the place well, turned to his men and asked if they thought it could be possible that the abolitionists would attempt to defeat their plans. They all said they did not think they had any idea of their movements. The leader said it was strange indeed that they should have been twice stopped by such an unearthly sound.

They rode on in silence to the bridge, crossed over it and went on watch on the north side, keeping their horses close at hand so they could mount, if they needed to, in a moment, as the slaveowner told them the slaves would run and that there were two desperate characters in the lot. The brave slaveowner had them watch closely. He would walk up and down both banks of the river, pretending to be watching everything. Finally he came running up the bank and said, "Boys, get on your horses. I am certain there is something going on. I heard a noise as of men slipping through the brush." At this time one of his confederates called out, "Halt! Dismount; let two men hold the horses; get into line. Shoulder arms!" At this time one of the bombs near the horses went off. The leader called, "Get over the bridge, boys; the abolitionists will blow it down." At this another bomb exploded near them. This put the horses in a fearful panic and they went across the bridge at a great gait.

Soon the two bombs on the south side exploded. The men were on the go and it was a half mile before the leader could stop them. Shaming them for such cowardice, they stopped and listened, and hearing nothing, marched on to where the last voice was heard as they went to the bridge, and were listening there when the two bombs at this point were exploded within a few feet of them. After this there was no more halt, and the man who fired the two bombs at Indian creek said he could not tell that they went any faster, as they were at top speed when they got to him. The leader tried to keep up calling to them to stop. They did not heed him, for they had seen and heard enough for one night and ran all the way back to Princeton.

In 1865 a captain of the 143d Indiana Regiment, who for years after the war lived at and near Francisco, Indiana, and later moved west, while seated on the capital steps at Nashville, Tennessee, gave me the data for the above story. He said he was never so thoroughly frightened in his whole life as when the big bombs commenced to go of; it sounded as though the infernal regions had broken loose. Who the five men were who had charge of the bombs he never could learn, but always believed that they lived in the'Stormont and Carithers neighborhood northeast of Princeton. There is one fact certain, as he expressed it, it broke him of "sucking eggs," and if any of the other four men ever attempted to catch a runaway negro afterward, he never heard of it.

AN ATTEMPT TO CATCH RUNAWAY NEGROES WHICH ENDED IN A DESPERATE BATTLE WITH WILD HOGS.

In 1850 Joseph Stubblefield was hunting some cattle which had strayed away from John Hathaway's works on the old Wabash and Erie canal just north of the Patoka river opposite the town of Dongola. Finding that the oxen had crossed the river, he followed on after them until he came to what was then known as the Hazel rough, a large body of land which had but little timber on it, but was completely covered with hazel brush, matted together with grapevines, running in every direction all over the top of the low bushes. At that time there were many wild hogs running at large in all this section, and that large body of wild tangled brush was an ideal home for them and offered them a bountiful supply of food from September to winter when there was other mast they could get in the timber around the edges of that immense thicket. In tracking the cattle it was found they had gone to the bottoms of Buck creek, which was a short distance west of the rough, where he found them, and in attempting to drive them back they made a rush to get away by going into the edge of the rough. Following on after them some distance, he came to a camp with a bed of leaves that looked as if it had been recently used, as bones of animals and a piece of cornbread were found near the bed, which was completely covered with grapevines and could not be seen unless one should happen on to it as Stubblefield had done. He did not understand what this meant, as he had seen no one. But when he got back with the cattle he related his find to some of the men on the works and learned that it was a bed made by runaway negroes and that a posse had been there that morning inquiring for them and had left a handbill giving a description and offering a reward for their capture.

It was soon noised around that their hiding place had been found by Stubblefield and there was a posse organized to go back with him and capture the negroes. Mr. Hathaway learned what was up and sent for Joe and interrogated him about the bed and where it was. Mr. Hathaway was a just man, and believed if the poor runaways could elude their masters and gain their liberty, that it was right that they should do it, and told Stubblefield, who at that time was not more than twenty years old, that he thought it wrong for him to pilot those human hounds so that they could capture these poor unfortunates. Joe at once took the same view of the matter and it was arranged between them that he would do all he could to keep the men from finding the negroes by taking them to a wrong place and fool them all that he could until night would come, and the negroes would then be on their way north. It was arranged that they would start about two o'clock. When the time came Stubblefield, who was equal to any emergency, pretended that he had sprained his ankle very badly and that he would have to bathe it for a while before he could go. In this way he put in as much as an hour, and when he had gone some distance on the way, he found that he had left his pocketbook, with all his money, in his boarding shanty and must go back and get it.

By this time it was four o'clock and an hour later when they got to the rough, at the farthest point from where he had made the find. There was at least two hundred acres of this land which was very brushy and as much as one hundred acres that was a dense thicket. The party had brought five dogs with them and the leader of the posse was named Bev Willis, who owned a boat that was in the river at Dongola, where he supplied the thirsty with Patoka water and whisky mixed. He was the owner of a very large white bull dog, which was a great favorite with all when he was muzzled.

Another one of the posse was Pat McDermitt, who was one of Hathaway's bosses. He borrowed a large Newfoundland dog from his boarding boss, and there were three common dogs along that were of no special value.

All told, there were five men beside Stubblefield in the party, all armed with some sort of a weapon. When they got to the rough, Mr. Stubblefield said that in there, not more than thirty feet from the post oak tree, was where the bed was made. It was so thick that it was impossible to ride in anywhere.

McDermitt, who was a dare-devil, said he would go in and see what he could find. Taking his big dog along, he started to creep in under the tangle but had not gone far before he came to a nest of young pigs. One of the little dogs following him caught one of the pigs and it set up a great cry. In a minute the old mother was on hand charging the dog that was barking at her family. The white bull dog went to the aid of his brother and soon caught the sow by one of her ears when she commenced to squeal and in less than a minute hogs were heard coming from every direction. They charged the white dog who, with bull dog pluck, held his hold of the sow's ear. Finally a large male hog cut the dog open with one of his tusks. By this time there was an awful uproar; dogs barking, hogs rallying and men yelling. McDermitt's big dog caught one. This brought the battle on him and in a moment he was surrounded with savage hogs. The continued battle had brought the hogs and dogs near to the edge of the thicket. McDermitt, intending to save his dog, ran his horse up to where he was and tried to catch him by a collar which was around his neck and bring him out.

A large hog hamestrung his horse, which threw McDermitt, and before he could get away he was tusked to the bone in several places in both legs. The other men fought the hogs back with their guns and secured their wounded companion. This ended the negro hunt. One man was cut to pieces and ruined for life, two valuable dogs killed and a horse so injured he had to be killed. After this the party concluded they had not lost any negroes and were glad to get back home.

Isaac Street, who had laid out and platted the town of Dongola, was a very quiet old Quaker and thoroughly in sympathy with the anti-slavery party. He and his good wife, Aunt Rachel, had many times fed and secreted the poor negroes as they were making their way to the North and liberty. They had knowledge of where the negroes were secreted in the thicket, and while Stubblefield was dilly-dallying time away before he went to pilot the posse to the field of carnage, Mr. Street learned of the proposed raid, and with the aid of Thomas Hart, who was in sympathy with the negroes, took them from their hiding place under a small load of straw to his barn, and that night carried them to the north of White river and delivered them over to a friend.

Thirty years after the events just recorded, in conversation with Mr. Stubblefield about this hog battle, he said that his life had been sweet to him, although he had undergone many hardships and misfortunes, but in all his life there was never any one thing that he had always so thoroughly enjoyed as he did seeing those roaring negro hunters defeated and routed.

After the canal was finished in this section, Mr. W. H. Stewart, the father of Dr. W. H. Stewart, of Oakland City, bought the immense thicket above described and made a large farm. That farm is now owned by Frances W. Bullivant's heirs and Thomas Spore.

JERRY SULLIVAN'S RAID AT THE OLD DONGOLA BRIDGE.

In 1851 Mr. Andrew Adkins came across the Patoka river at Dongola to see my father. It was late in the summer and the farm work was nearly all done, as we were just cutting our fence corners. My father was not at home and Mr. Adkins remained until after dinner to see him. There were three hands beside myself at work on the farm. As Mr. Adkins was coming over that morning, two men from near Kirk's Mills, now called Bovine, overtook and rode to the bridge with him. They showed him a flaming handbill giving a description of seven runaway negroes and offering a reward of one thousand dollars for their capture. They informed Mr. Adkins that they, with some others, intended to watch the bridge that night, and invited him to assist them, offering to share the reward with him if they got the negroes.

Mr. Adkins was very anxious for fear they would catch the negroes, and while we were resting after dinner he so expressed himself to the hands. At that time we had a discharged soldier of the regular army, named Jerry Sullivan, working for us. In the talk Sullivan asked why it would not be a good plan to rout the bridge-watchers. This, Mr. Adkins thought, would be a good thing to do,but the fugitive slave law gave the men the lawful right to catch them, and the courts in this country were so organized that it was dangerous business to try to hinder anyone from recapturing the slaves. Those capturing them for the reward had the same rights under the law as the master had. Sullivan was a full-fledged abolitionist and said, "Fugitive slave law to the winds! Just give me a chance and I will clean out that bridge-watching gang in good shape." Mr. Adkins had the will, but he did not dare go into the conspiracy, as the two men who offered to divide the reward with him were neighbors of his, and if it was found out he was in the scrape, they would cause him to pay a heavy fine.

Sullivan was very anxious to get after them and consulted us young boys about going with him. The other boys working for us were Wm. B. Dill and Thos. Midcalf. Finally it was agreed that we would all pretend to go fishing late that evening and put out a trot-line and stay until late in the night. Mr. Adkins agreed that he would go home and send his younger brother, Pinkerton Adkins, and Hiram Knight, a neighbor boy, late in the evening to go with us. Before he would agree to do anything, he made us promise not to kill anyone and that we must not injure the horses of the men guarding the bridge. After we made these promises he said he would see Basil Simpson, who lived on the bluff but a little way west of the bridge and who was thoroughly in sympathy with the anti-slavery people, and ask him to watch where the men put their horses. When the two boys came over late in the evening they were to remain near Mr. Simpson's until the watchers had gotten to the bridge and had hidden their horses; then the boys would come on to the agreed rendezvous, which was about one mile south of the bridge. After these arrangements were made, Mr. Adkins went home, thinking we would not do anything more desperate than turning their horses loose and driving them away so they would not find them for some days.

Finally my father came home and we got his consent to go to the river fishing. Sullivan got a number of old newspapers and rubbed wet powder all over them, leaving it in lumps so that it would flash when it was burning and make a regular flambeau. He dried the paper in the sun and then took a lot of fuse which he had been using in blasting stumps. Taking a good supply of flax strings which we made for the purpose, he made six large broaches out of the newspapers.

We had plenty of horses and about sundown we took our trot-line and guns and started for the river. When we arrived at the meeting place we had to wait until a little after dark, when the two boys came, mounted and armed for the fun. As Sullivan had been a soldier and was much older than any of the rest, it was unanimously agreed that he should have full command and we would do as he directed.

Mr. Simpson and the two Pike County boys had located the horses in a patch of small saplings. As I now recollect it, they were less than one hundred yards southwest of the Dongola coal mine shaft and there were seven of them. The two Kirk's Mill men told Mr. Adkins there would be six and gave him their names. One of them was a doctor, who at that time lived in Lynnville, in Warrick County. One was a hotel-keeper who lived in Petersburg and another was one of his boarders. The other was a man who lived about half way from Dongola to Winslow on the north side of the river. It was never ascertained who the seventh man was. After the party had assembled, Sullivan took charge, giving each a number and directed us how to form a line and put us through a lot of manoeuvres which were pure nonsense to us then, but which I afterward learned were good military tactics.

After waiting until about two hours after night, our commander got us in position two and two, and heading the cavalcade, gave the command to "Forward, march!" We marched on until one of the Pike County boys told our commander that we were near the place the horses were hitched. Halting us, the commander took one of the boys and located the horses; then coming back, he marched us up to a point where he wanted us to leave our horses. We dismounted, leaving one man to hold the five horses. One man, mounted, was stationed between the horses and the bridge to look out for the enemy.

Stripping the saddles off the bridge watchers' horses and piling them at the root of a large tree, we led them out to the road and within about two hundred yards of the bridge, when Sullivan unrolled his flambeau material and wrapped one of the broaches inside the hair of each horse's tail. He securely tied them there leaving about six inches of fuse sticking out. As he had only six broaches he made another for the extra horse by cutting a strip out of a heavy saddle blanket. He rolled it very tightly, putting about two-thirds of a pound of powder into it and bound the strong material very tightly with the flax strings. The fuse in this case was longer than the others, as he said he wanted it to go off near the bridge.

He lighted all the fuse, then ordered us to turn the horses loose and start them down the road toward the bridge. We soon had our horses started after them, yelling like so many Indians. The broaches commenced to pop and fizz at a great rate and the horses were going like the wind. In a little while the big bomb went off and I doubt if anyone ever saw such another runaway scrape where there was an equal number of horses.

They went across the bridge at top speed. When we got near the bridge Sullivan ordered us to halt, make ready and fire, which we did. Jumping off our horses we loaded our guns. Our commander was calling aloud giving orders to an imaginary battalion to rush over the bridge and capture the villains.

About this time Tom Midcalf, who was a fearless fellow, became very much excited, jumped on his horse and ran over the bridge hallooing like a Comanche Indian. We kept up a fusilade for some time but there was no one there. The charge of the horses with the snapping and flashing of fire tied to their tails was enough to have scared the devil, let alone a few cowardly scamps who were waiting to capture a lot of poor runaway negroes trying to get away from the bonds of slavery.

All the evidence of there having been anybody there was the horses and we found a bed made down above the bridge where one relief of negro hunters were no doubt lying when the horses came charging onto them. We found two pair of boots under the bed put there for the purpose of raising their heads. We also found a bushel bashet in which they had their provisions.

Sullivan rolled up a lot of rock in their bed and threw it into the river. He cut their boots into strips and threw them into the river. Then he sent three of the boys back and got the seven saddles, cut them all to pieces and threw them into the river. I don't know how far the horses ran, but probably several miles.

It was believed that the men guarding the bridge were on the go before the horses crossed it and that they made good time until they got clear away from the noise made by our crowd, and the running of the horses sounded like a host of men after them. Sullivan got us into line and escorted the Pike county boys near to their homes and then we went home arriving after midnight. Jerry Sullivan remained at my father's home several weeks after these events. When he went away he said he was going to re-enlist in the army. I have often wondered what became of him. If he was in the war of the rebellion I am satisfied that he made his mark.

The oldest of our crowd except Sullivan was less than sixteen years old. Just a lot of green country boys, and as I recall the scrape, with such a leader we would have run headlong into anything, regardless of danger. I afterward learned that the thing needed was for soldiers to have a leader who had the grit and the will and they would follow him into the jaws of death.

With the four young men named I have had many adventures and hours of pleasure. They were all brave true-hearted men, long since gone to their eternal rest.

Years afterward Mr. Adkins told me that some time after the middle of the night of the raid, there was a knock at his door. On opening it one of the Kirk's Mills men was there and said that early in the night he had a chill and was compelled to go home, that he was very thirsty and asked for a drink of water. Mr. Adkins said he was satisfied that the reason the man stopped was to find out if he was at home.

After the war was over and the negroes free, my father told me that the day Mr. Adkins was at his house waiting for his return, he was in consultation with Ira Caswell, of Warrick County, and Dr. Posey, of Petersburg, as to how best get the seven negroes to the north of White river without having them recaptured.

The negroes at that time were safely hidden in the thick brush and tall grass in what was then known as the big pond, about two miles east of Oakland City. The pond at that time of the year was nearly dry and had a heavy growth of pond grass all over it. The runaways were kept there during that day and at night were taken over the Patoka river at Martin's ford, about one mile east of Massey's bridge, and were then piloted along Sugar creek for some distance until they came to where a wagon was in waiting for them in which they were carried to Dr. Posey's coal bank and hidden. They remained there the next day and at night were ferried across White river in skiffs and were turned over to another friend who rushed them on to Canada and freedom. When they had passed White river they were regarded as nine-tenths free.

KIDNAPPING THE GOTHARD BOYS.

These boys were born at the Diamond Islands in Posey county in about 1820. About the year 1824 Gothard moved with his family to a little log cabin a half mile southwest of what is now known as Calvert's Chapel, Vanderburg county. About the year 1825 three men whose names are not known except the leader, named Lynn, stole the boys and took them back to Diamond Island, where they were secreted and afterward taken away to Missouri, which created quite a commotion in the neighborhood. A party was organized to search for the boys, but they were not successful. The party was headed by "Uncle Paddy Calvert," With him were Bob Calvert, Joseph Carter and John Armstrong and two or three others. While they were searching for the boys at Diamond Island, the company had quite a skirmish with the kidnappers with clubs, knives and guns. In the midst of the battle, which was a desperate one from start to finish, Paddy Calvert came near losing his life. The kidnappers got between him and the rest of his party and hemmed him behind a set of hewed logs for a house. In attempting to escape he ran his horse over the logs lengthwise. The horse caught his foot between the logs and fell. At that the kidnappers rushed onto him with drawn knives and his friends rushed to his relief. His horse got its foot loose or Calvert would have been killed. The rescuing party found there were too many kidnappers for them to contend with, so they fell back and returned to their homes. It afterward developed that the boys were hidden in a well nearby at the time this battle took place. They were then taken into Missouri and sold into slavery. A few months after that "Grandfather Armstrong," as he was known, and John Armstrong sold out their possessions and moved to what was then called the Red River country, located in southwestern Arkansas. "Uncle Paddy Calvert" and his son Robert went with a four-horse team to help them move. On their way home they stopped over night in the neighborhood where the little boys were sold, and in talking with the gentleman with whom they stayed all night, they learned that two little mulatto boys were brought there and sold to his neighbors. The next morning Mr. Calvert and his son went to see the gentleman who had bought the boys and asked him to call the boys up, one at a time, and if they did not know him or his son, or both of them, they would not claim them as stolen boys. Ike was called up, but failed to recognize either man. Then Jack was called, and he did not know Mr. Calvert, but knew his son at once, and said, "That's Marsa Bob Calvert." Then the boys both seemed to recollect the two men and recalled their names. The man who had bought them readily gave them up to Mr. Calvert, as they were stolen property. He took them home, raised them to manhood, sent them to school and gave them an education the same as he did his own children. An agreement was made between Calvert and the Missouri man that the boys were never to go into bondage again. When they were twenty-one years old he gave each of them a good horse, saddle and bridle, and one hundred dollars apiece and started them out into the world.

REV. HIRAM HUNTER RELEASING KIDNAPED NEGROES.

In the fall and winter of 1863 I had the misfortune to be an inmate of Libby Prison hospital with a wound made by a Minne ball through my hip. There were at that time about one thousand Federal officers, from the rank of brigadier-general down to second-lieutenant, in that prison. Among that number as a patient in the hospital was Col. W. McMackin, of the Twenty-first Illinois, the regiment which General Grant went into the service with. The Colonel, as well as myself, had been captured at the battle of Chickamauga, Georgia. As I now recall it, he was a Cumberland minister and a Christian gentleman at all times, doing all he could to console the poor unfortunates who were in that hospital, many of them very severely wounded, and a number died while he was there. I am glad to be thus privileged to bear testimony that the Colonel was ever ready at any time, night or day, to aid those wounded and sick in their temporal wants and to give them the words of consolation which are in the precious promise of our Savior. He looked to have never been strong, and the exposure from that terrible campaign, from Murfreesborough, Tenn., to Chickamauga, Ga., in the rain nearly every day, had been so severe that he appeared to be suffering from that dreadful disease, consumption. During the long and weary months that he worked so faithfully for the hapless and helpless ones in that house of death, he never complained of his own suffering. He was ever doing good and organized a Bible class for the convalescents. In this way I became very well acquainted with him. He learned where I lived and the town of Princeton was near my home, and in talking together he related to me this strange story which took place some twenty-five years before:

He said he had gone to Princeton, Indiana, to meet Hiram Hunter, and had had been there for quite a time doing some school work in the old brick seminary which stood on the hill, under Hunter or some other persons whom Hunter had assigned to give him lessons in theology. During the time he was there he went out with the ministers to the different churches in the country surrounding Princeton and heard the old ministers preach. At one time he attended a camp-meeting some miles southwest of Princeton. There were many preachers and thousands of persons in attendance. While attending one of these meetings eight or ten miles southwest of Princeton there was a lengthy service at night and during the time the meeting was going on there was some rain and quite a flurry of wind. After the meeting was over, Rev. Hiram Hunter, who was in attendance, was invited by a gentleman who lived near to go home with him to spend the night. The Colonel, through Hunter, was also invited. They were all on horseback and Mr. Knowlton (no doubt Knowles) had his wife on the same horse back of him. They had gone some distance from the church when they found the road completely blocked by the top of a tree which had fallen into it. They all dismounted and crept around through the thick brush as best they could to get around the tree top. On coming to the road on the other side, they found a covered wagon which was stopped by the blockade. On coming up to it, a man was seen standing in the road. Mr. Hunter was in front and asked the man how he came there with a covered wagon at such a time of night. The man answered him by saying it was none of his business. Mr. Hunter was a determined man and it did not take much of this sort of thing to raise his anger. He said, "I spoke to you as a gentleman and your answer shows that you are an ill-bred cur. I am now satisfied that there is something wrong about you, and before we go any further we will investigate." At this point another man appeared, who had been cutting a road around the other side of the tree, and demanded to know what the trouble was. Mr. Hunter told him there was no trouble, but they thought there was something wrong and intended to know what it was. At this, the man with the ax said that the first man who attempted to lay hands on the wagon would lose his life. As quick as thought one of the two stalwart sons of Mr. Knowlton, who were with the camp-meeting party, caught the ax and wrenched it out of the threatening fellow's hand. The other man attempted to aid his partner, when the senior Mr. Knowlton laid him on his back in the road. The two boys tied the man they had and their father and Mr. Hunter drew the arms of the man who was knocked down behind his back and McMackin tied them hard and fast with his handkerchief. The night was cloudy, but there was a moon and it was not very dark, but the timber was so very thick on each side of the narrow road that they could not see to any advantage. Matches at that time were not in general use. Mr. Knowlton told one of his sons to take his mother home and bring back some material to make a torch. The young man was soon back with the steel, flint and punk and in a little time they had a flaming torch. In the wagon they found a negro man and woman with their hands tied and they tied to a cross-piece under the bottom of the wagon and a rope was tied in each of their mouths. They were soon liberated, but it was some time before they could stand or talk. They said they lived in Illinois, some miles west of Vincennes, Indiana, and they had been tied ever since the latter part of the night before and had been gagged most of the time. They further said they crossed the Wabash at Mt. Carmel on the ferry; that they were free negroes, and that these two men had come to their cabin the night before, after they had gone to bed, pretending to be lost, and asked the privilege of feeding their team near their house, saying they would sleep in their wagons, but if the negro woman would get them a good supper they would give her a silver dollar, and she did so. Sometime after midnight they knocked at the door, saying they were cold in the wagon and asking permission to lie on the floor. The door was opened and they caught and tied and put them in the wagon, nearly twenty-four hours before they were liberated.

The wagon was turned; the two kidnappers were made to walk behind it, guarded by Messrs. Hunter and Knowlton. One of the boys drove the team and they were soon home. After getting into the house they had an informal examination. The two negroes told the same story that they did at the wagon. The man knocked down was the first interrogated. He was very insolent and said he would make it dear business to them for stopping him and meddling with his property; that the two negroes were his and he had a description of them, which he showed. He said they had run away from southern Kentucky about two years before. The other kidnapper would not say anything. The stories of the negroes were believed, and it was decided to hold the men until morning and take all of them to Princeton, where legal proceedings would be brought.

The first cabin of this family was standing in the yard. A pallet was made down on the floor and the kidnappers were put on it. There were no windows and but one door which was fastened with a rope tied on the outside. The two boys volunteered to occupy a room not more than ten feet away and guard the door. Somehow these outlaws untied each other and got out at the top of a wide, low chimney and made a break for the stable to get the horses, but the boys with their guns foiled them in this, and they made a rush for the woods which was nearby and escaped. That was the last these people ever heard of them. The next morning it was decided that Mr. Knowlton and a neighbor would take the negroes back to their home. The two men were well mounted and armed with long rifles, as everybody was in those days. They soon got started, the negroes driving the wagon. When they arrived in the neighborhood where the negroes lived they learned that the team and wagon had been stolen about three miles north of their cabin and that the negro family had lived in that neighborhood for more than twenty years.

One morning in the spring of 1864 the rebel surgeon in charge of the Libby Prison hospital came to me and said that I was so much trouble to them, they had decided to send me to my own people on parole, and for me to be ready in two hours, as an ambulance would be there to take me to a boat which would go on to City Point. I was greatly elated over the prospect of liberty. Colonel McMackin congratulated me on my good fortune and said: "I don't know that I will live to see home again, but when I die I will go to a country where rebel torture will not come, and then some day I hope to meet all my comrades who were with me in durance vile in this wretched prison."

CHAPTER XXIX.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

Fugitive Slave Law—Anti-Slavery League—Routes of Fugitive Slaves—Interesting Letters—Rev. T. B. McCormick.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

In this chapter I have been governed by data secured from the superintendent of the men working on the southern borders of Indiana near the Ohio river for the Anti-Slavery League. This matter has never been printed before.

Slaves being regarded as personal property, "things," not human beings, as the old Roman law was pleased to put it, the rights of the master to reclaim his property were accepted as a reasonable consequence.

The fugitive slave law of 1793, following shortly after the agreement of 1787, when the compact to forever exclude slavery from the Northwest territory was passed by the votes of the slave-holding states, thus making it the law that all the states that would be formed out of that immense territory should forever be free.

The act of 1793 provided for the reclamation of fugitives from justice as well as from service. It was accepted by all as a just law, permitting the owners of slaves to reclaim their property. The fugitive slave law that was passed in 1850, the provisions of which were drafted by Senator Mason, of Virginia, who was among the foremost of the Southern "fire-eaters" in his hatred of the North (and he injected everything into that measure which he felt would be galling to the abolitionists), gave the slaveholders or those hunting their runaway slaves the power to organize a posse at any point in the United States to aid them in running down their negroes.

There was a great impetus given to fugitive slave-hunting in all the free states bordering on slave states and far into New England. The favored provisions that the South had received by that law were taken advantage of by many men who never owned a slave or had been in a slave state.

Kidnapping the negroes was accomplished by running them away from their acquaintances to a friendly commissioner, probably a partner in the business, and there the kidnapper secured his right to the negro by a judicial decision of the villainous commissioner who received from the United States ten dollars for every decision he made against the negro and but five if he made it for the negro; thus offering the commissioner a bribe of five dollars for a favorable decision in the interest of the kidnapper. The negro was thus doomed and taken South and sold into slavery. The harsh and humiliating provisions of that law seemed to have imbued the Southern men with an extra touch of their imaginary superiority. This was carried so far that when the war came on, their recruiting officers, when raising troops for the Confederate army, boastingly said: "One Southern soldier on the battlefield will be equal to five Yankees." "Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," was literally carried out with the Southern "fire-eater." This madness rang the doom of slavery.

Many of the provisions of the act of 1850 were without a doubt unconstitutional.

The Constitution of the United States expressly provides that "in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right to a trial by jury shall be preserved." The fugitive slave law of 1850 provided for the delivery of fugitives from slavery without allowing them the trial by jury. Section Six of that law says that "in no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitives be admitted in evidence." The first negro arrested and tried before a United States commissioner in Indiana was a free negro man. The commissioner decided against him, but when taken to the slaveowner for whom he was arrested, the man was honest enough to declare he had never seen the negro before. The law was, further, very severe, as it imposed a fine of one thousand doilars and imprisonment on anyone harboring or in any way aiding fugitives in escaping. Unfortunately for justice, the United States courts of that period were organized so favorably to the interests of the owners of slaves, that a very small incident would be construed as aiding and harboring.

In southern Indiana in an early day, four-fifths of the people were in sympathy with slavery. The greater portion of them had moved to Indiana from slave states and had been raised to regard the rights of the slaveowner to his slave as sacred as his rights to his horses, cattle or any other property. It was but natural that the law-abiding people would have just such a regard for the law that they had been taught to obey. Slavery had existed in all the settled sections in the Northwest territory for many years before Indiana Territory was organized, and at the time of the passage of the fugitive slave law in 1850 there was but little open opposition to slavery. After that obnoxious law came in force, so many brutal acts were committed by the kidnappers, that a great change came over the people. They realized that the law was passed so that the negroes could be kidnapped and sold into slavery who were free born, and this be done under the guise of obeying the forms of law.

Many expedients were entered into to defeat the owners or their agents from recapturing their slaves, by feeding the fugitives, placing them in hiding during the day, piloting them farther north in the night and turning them over to friends who would carry them farther on their journey toward liberty. These anti-slavery men would gather a company of men and put the slave-watchers at different bridges to flight, and in many cases severely chastise them. This was kept up until men from many sections of the free states got together and determined to organize an Anti-Slavery

League. This was a secret organization, the object of which was to aid the fugitive slaves to gain their freedom, and to render this aid in a way that would be more effective than the haphazard way that was being done by the unorganized few who were helping the runaways.

This organization was in direct opposition to the laws of the United States, and its members fully understood the severe penalties which would be meted out to them if they were caught in the act of violating the law. Notwithstanding this danger, there were hundreds of men who were willing to engage in any enterprise which would defeat the swaggering negro hunter. The organization was made and there was all the money back of it that was needed and it was very effective in helping large numbers of negroes to esape from slavery.

It was not long after the employes of that organization were placed on duty at the different points assigned them until so many slaves escaped and the route they went could not be ascertained, that the slaveowners said there must be an underground railroad under the Ohio river and on to Canada.

The Anti-Slavery League of the East had many of the shrewdest men of the nation in its organization. They had a detective and spy system that was far superior to anything the slaveholders or the United States had. There were as many as one hundred educated and intelligent young and middle-aged men on duty from some ways above Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, along down the Ohio on both sides of it to the Mississippi river. These men had different occupations. Some were book agents and other sorts of agents; some were singing teachers, school teachers, writing teachers, and others map-makers, carrying surveying and drawing outfits for that purpose; others were clock tinkers; some were real Yankee peddlers; some were naturalists and geologists, carrying their hammers and nets for that purpose. They belonged to any and all sorts of occupations and professions that gave them the best opportunity to become acquainted and mix with the people and gain a knowledge of the traveled ways of the country. They never engaged in political argument, making it a point always to acquiesce with the sentiment of the majority of the people they were associating with. There were ten young men who were carried on the rolls of the Anti-Slavery League who took upon themselves the role of a spy. These spies were loud in their pro-slavery talk and were in full fellowship with those who were in favor of slavery. In this way they learned the movements of those who aided the slave masters in hunting their runaways, and were enabled often to put them on the wrong track, thus helping those who were piloting the runaways to place them beyond the chance of recapture. There was also a superintendent for each of the four states, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, who had the management of the men working in the state that he was assigned to. The man who superintended Indiana was named J. T. Hanover, but was known to us by the name of John Hansen. While he was doing this work he was for two or three days every two weeks at my father's house, where he boarded off and on for five years. He was a naturalist, and one time was near what is known as Snakey Point, now on the Evansville and Indianapolis Railroad, two and a half miles northeast of Oakland City. Seeing a snake of peculiar species, he caught it with a pair of circle nippers he had for that purpose, but when putting it into a cage was bitten through the thick part of the right hand and remained at my father's house for two and a half months under the care of Dr. Samuel McCullough. He came very near dying from the effects of that poison. During the time he was there much of his mail accumulated at Princeton. The writer was sent there several times for it and answered many letters for him; in fact, the last month and a half I did all his correspondence. My father and Hansen consulted about me doing this work for him, when he said he was willing to risk it, as we would be as deep in the mud as he was in the mire. During the time he was lying there sick, young men came to see him from Princeton, Boonville, Petersburg and many other places. These men were all in the employ of the Anti-Slavery League. The author is yet in possession of a diary kept by Hansen during that period, also a key which was used by Hansen in making his report. Without this key nothing in the work could be unraveled.

Hansen was working and traveling over the first three or four tiers of counties all along the southern borders of Indiana and pretended to be representing an eastern real-estate firm from which he received large packages of mail at many of the county seats and large towns all along southern Indiana. The young men assigned to do this hazardous work under him were men who could be depended upon to do it in a way that no suspicion of their real mission would be had. They were under a most perfect discipline similar to that the secret service men were under during the war times in the Sixties. There was a code used that each man was thoroughly acquainted with, and had their numbers and all that was said or done about him was by that number, which numbers were referred to as numbers of land, towns, ranges and sections and by acres when the numbers were above thirty-six. The routes these men were on were called by the names of timber, such as linden, oak, maple, hickory, walnut, dogwood, sassafras, beach, and all the sorts of timber that were native of the country in which they worked.

There were many places that runaway negroes crossed the Ohio river from Kentucky into Indiana. I shall not attempt to give a description of any of the routes on the other three border states, for the only one who knew anything about this work I became acquainted with was the superintendent of the Indiana division. I shall name the most used routes commencing above the mouth of the Wabash river on the Ohio and on up to the neighborhood of Cincinnati. The most difficult problem that the slave had to solve was how to cross the Ohio river and to make that proposition easy it was agreed that there should be several places located along that river where the negro could be crossed in boats belonging to the anti-slavery league.

At Diamond Island, near West Franklin, Posey County, many runaway slaves were helped over the river and were taken over two routes. One route was to cross the Wabash river at Webb's Ferry near the southern line of Gibson

County, Indiana, and then on up along the Wabash or near it in Illinois to a friendly rendezvous where they met friends who carried them on farther north, recrossing the Wabash above Terre Haute and up to a point near Lake Michigan, either in Lake, Porter, or LaPorte Counties. Here there was a place in each county where they were secreted and smuggled on board a lumber bark that the anti-slavery people owned that was manned by an anti-slavery crew. This boat was very unpretentious to look at but was built for strength and speed. Anyone not acquainted would think the boat would not dare venture five miles from shore. The boat cruised along the shore landing at different points in the three counties, loading and unloading such freight as was offered them, but carrying no passengers. The negroes were kept secreted in the holds until a number were gathered together and then taken along the Michigan shore on up into Canada.

The other route from Diamond Island was to a point in Vanderburg County then known as the Calvert neighborhood, thence north to the various rendezvous until at one of the gathering places near Lake Michigan. Near the city of Evansville was another place where the runaways crossed. This was a very popular route as there were many free negroes in the city among whom the refugees could be easily hidden.

This work was done at night by fishermen who supplied fish to the market. These two men with the fish boat were in the employ of the anti-slavery league. No doubt there are old people of the city of Evansville who can yet remember two young men who sold fish in their market during the early fifties who were men of fine literary attainments. The refugees who crossed by this route were placed in the hands of one of the anti-slavery league's pilots or guides and were taken by them along different routes to places where the negroes had friends who carried them farther north, turning them over to other friends until they arrived at one of the points near Lake Michigan.

The third route which was controlled by these people was a short distance above the mouth of the Little Pigeon. There was a crossing here by skiffs and the refugees were carried to a point and turned over to friends between Booneville and Lynnville, in Warrick County, and thence north to Petersburg, Indiana, where they were secreted in Dr. John W. Posey's coal bank. From there they were sent north to friends in Davies and Green Counties, and from then on to other friends, finally up to Lake Michigan. When there were only one or two of these fugitives they would be kept in Dr. Posey's coal bank until more could come, when they would be piloted farther north.

The fourth place for crossing the Ohio river was at a point midway between Owensboro, Kentucky, and Rockport, Indiana. There used to be a little fisherman's hut on the south bank of the Ohio river at this point, and two men put in much of their time fishing who lived in that shack. They sold their catch to steam boats, flat boats and coal flats passing down the river, and made good money in the trade this way. The real business of the men was to carry refugees that were brought to their shack at night, across the Ohio river. Then one of them piloted the negroes to a point where they were put in charge of friends who carried them to other points, and finally on to freedom.

The next regular crossing place was near the mouth of Indian creek, in Harrison County. There the refugees were ferried across, then conveyed to friends near Corydon, who carried them farther north across Washington, corner of Jackson, into Jennings; then through Decatur, Rush and Fayette Counties into Wayne, where they had an innumerable host of friends among the Quakers. They were then piloted through western Ohio and on to Lake Erie and to a rendezvous where the anti-slavery people owned another lumber smack that they were put on board of, and when a sufficient number had been gotten together they were carried to a point in Canada. There were probably more negroes crossed over the Ohio river at two or three places in front of Louisville than any place else from the mouth of the Wabash to Cincinnati. The reason for this was that the three good-sized cities at the Falls furnished a good hiding place for the runaways among the colored people. Those crossing at these places were all conveyed to Wayne County, Indiana, and thence on to the Lake.

Probably in Wayne County, Indiana, the fugitives had more friends among the large community of Quakers who lived in that district than anywhere else, and it was a common saying by those losing slaves that if they got to Wayne County the prospect of finding them was very remote. It is said that the old house built by Levi Coffin and now owned by Maj. M. M. Lacey, Fountain City, Indiana, has furnished shelter for ten thousand runaway negroes.

From the early fifties until the war came on there were many persons who were in sympathy with the fugitive negroes. who were regarded as strong pro-slavery in principle, and this was the main reason why so many negroes eluded those who tried to capture them.

The soldiers from many parts of Indiana were very much divided in their opinions on the slavery question the first two years of the war. When it was first talked about raising negro soldiers many loud and deep curses were heard against the Administration for such actions. Many officers resigned and left the army at about that time who were influenced in taking that step by the emancipation proclamation and the arming of the negro soldiers.

From the middle of 1863 until the close, the serious and business part of the war came on. The hardest campaigns and severest battles were engaged in. This in a great measure cured all the grumbling. The soldiers by this time were willing and ready for any and all kinds of help, and from any source, to put the rebellion down. Ninety-nine per cent. of them returned home cured of the prejudice they formerly had against the negro and abolitionists. There are quite a few at this late date, when the destruction of slavery is regarded as the greatest achievement of the nineteenth century, who question the actions of those who aided slaves to gain their liberty. Fortunately for our state, they are few.

The most hazardous work done by the employes of the anti-slavery league was on the south side of the Ohio river and, in many cases, far to the south. This work was very dangerous, and none but those who were regarded as the most careful men were sent into that section, and only those who volunteered to go. They took up many occupations such as would bring them in contact with the negroes. There were regular pack peddlers carrying a large leather pack on their backs with compartments in it that would contain cheap jewelry, bright-colored ribbons and many other articles of wearing apparel and a line of pocket cutlery and ornaments that would please the slaves, and at such a price as would enable them to purchase. They also carried fine linen and nice dress goods, ribbons, lace and fine handkerchiefs, which were shown to the white people, where they always went first, asking the master of the house, if he were there, if not, the mistress, for permission to show his goods to the slaves, usually presenting the lady of the house with some fine handkerchief or lace. These young men were clean, intelligent and cultured. They had no difficulty in getting into the best houses, always agreeing with the family in politics. These peddlers carried their goods over a large scope of country, and usually every three or four weeks would go over the same ground. In this way they became well acquainted with the white and colored people and with the roads, creeks and rivers in the territory they were working. After gaining thorough knowledge they would select an intelligent negro and approach him on the subject of gaining his freedom. (The Northern soldiers were not the first to learn that a secret intrusted to a negro of this character was never revealed.) Finally it was suggested that the negro work for the peddler for pay, by going after night to those likely to be glad of an opportunity of escaping from bondage and talking to them on that subject. It was known for many years before the negroes were emancipated that, notwithstanding the patrol that was kept up in the slave states, negroes would travel at night over a large territory of country and always be back home in the morning. They had a secret way of communicating to each other which was not known to their masters.

In a short time this negro selected by the peddler would have two or three ready to take the chance of gaining their freedom. They perhaps lived several miles away from the neighborhood this negro lived in. The time and place would be agreed on; the peddler would have an accomplice on hand at the meeting place, whom the runaway would be placed in charge of, and then hurried to one of the crossing places on the Ohio; then as far from the river as possible before the people were up and about. The negroes would be hidden in a dense thicket or in a barn of some friend and fed there until night came, when they were then piloted farther north.

The next morning when it was found that the negroes were not on hand, there would be a great commotion, and everybody, the negroes included, would be scurrying over the country to find them, the peddler as busy as any of them hunting for a clue. In this way nearly a day would be spent. Then the master or someone he hired would start out to find them. They very seldom found any clue, and if they did, the negroe would be half way across the state before the slave-hunter got started after him. The negro in the employ of the peddler would the next time do his work in another direction and secure two or three more and have them meet the pilot and thus on to liberty. After things had quieted down, probably the negro who had brought about the liberation of ten or fifteen of his people would, with his wife and children, take the same underground trip in the same way and gain his freedom.

Some of these agents understood geology and mineralogy and carried many kinds of instruments for testing the minerals in the earth, claiming to have a mineral rod which would tell of the presence of gold, silver, copper or lead.

One of these men went to a neighborhood in Kentucky not far from Green river and was hunting over the country, so he claimed, for a place where the Indians in an early day procured large quantities of lead, claiming that his grandfather had been a prisoner among the Indians for a long time and during that period went several times to a lead mine with the Indians and had noted down a description of the territory, describing some peculiar rock formations and noted that the lead mine was only a few hundred feet from the rocks described.

This mineralogist went to a gentleman living in the neighborhood and applied for board for the time he would be working in that section, telling the gentleman his business, explaining to him his grandfather's statement about the lead mine and showing him a very old-looking paper on which the peculiar rock formation was minutely described. The host said that he knew where the place was, and the next morning they started out together for the point, not more than two miles away. First going to the owner of the land, they asked his permission to examine the rock formations that the old chart so minutely described, which permission was readily given. The owner went along with the two men. After getting to the point they decided that without a doubt the description was of that place. The mineralogist asked permission to hunt for the lode and made an agreement that, if he found the lead mine, the owner would give him one-fourth interest in it. He soon went to work, the owner furnishing several negroes to dig for him. They dug up a large territory, and finally decided they would not work any longer at it for the present. The mineralogist said he would go back home and look over all the papers that were his grandfather's and see if he could not find other evidence more particularly locating the lode. Within two or three months after this as many as forty negroes left that neighborhood. They went two and three at a time and the surrounding neighborhood lost many negroes who were no doubt on the same underground railroad. The owners never could find the least clue where they went.

The last of November, 1861, the writer, with his regiment, was marching on the east side of Green river, en route for Calhoun, Kentucky, where General T. L. Crittenden was located with a division of the Federal Army, watching the movements of General Sidney A. Johnson, who was then at Bowling Green, Kentucky, in command of the Confederate Army at that place. Late one evening, after passing a large farm and coming up to a fine country residence, a man, probably fifty years old, was standing in his yard using the most violent denunciation against the soldiers and all Yankees in general. The colonel commanding the regiment left the adjutant opposite the house, with orders, as soon as the rear guard came up, to arrest the vicious man and bring him along with them to the place where the regiment intended camping. This was done, and that night the colonel went to the guard's quarters to find out what was the cause of the Kentuckian's violent language. He told the colonel that he hated the name of "Yankee," and that he would rather be dead than see their hated soldiers on his plantation; that five or six years before that time a Yankee mineralogist had received his permission to prospect for lead on his farm; that the villain had papers describing a section of country in that neighborhood, and particularly described just such a rock formation as was on his land. After working two months he decided he could not find the lead and went away, and in less than eight weeks there were forty-three negroes who ran away from that section of the state. Eight of them were his property, being all he had except two old crippled ones, and he had never found any clue as to where they went.

EVANSVILLE, IND., May 10, 1867.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Indiana.

Dear soldier friend:

The questions you asked about are yet fresh in my memory. The two young fishermen I became acquainted with through Judge A. L. Robinson, who had been paid a retaining fee to act if need be for some men who were working for the anti-slavery people along the Ohio river. There were three negroes who had been ferried across the Ohio river who were owned at Henderson, Kentucky, and parties at that place were raising trouble with the young fishermen, claiming that they had run the negroes off. Things looked blue for the men as a man living near the river was willing to swear out a warrant against these men for violating the fugitive slave law then in force, claiming that he had seen these men have the negroes in their boat.

The Henderson people did not want the men arrested but thought they would scare them into telling where the negroes were hidden.

It turned out that the night the negroes ran away, two men who wanted a skiff stole a large one a little way above Henderson and running it up near Evansville loaded it with rock and sank it, intending to raise it and paint it over after the parties would get through hunting for it. Some men in bathing found the skiff, raised it and it was restored to its owner. This threw the suspicion from the two young men. They were very intelligent and interesting gentlemen. I often saw them about Major Robinson's office. I think this was in 1854.

The old fellow in Kentucky whom I had arrested for cursing every man in Crittenden's division, defying them one and all to fight him, I think was the most complete daredevil I ever saw.

Yours very truly,

J. G. JONES.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, WASHINGTON,
March 9, 1865.

MR. COCKRUM at Nashville, Tenn.

My dear Mr. Cockrum: I certainly do recollect you and was so glad to receive your letter. You have not forgotten the real-estate firm. Your letter was forwarded to me and as you will see my name is changed since you knew me. I recall the incidents at your father's home with pleasure. I was so fearfully sick from the poison of the pesky snake that I thought I would not get over it. Your father and mother were so very kind to me. When you write home I want you to remember me to them and say how I do thank them for their kindness and to Dr. McCullough, how patiently he worked with my hand. I shall always love him. If he is living remember me to him.

I read your army experience with interest and I am so glad you survived the terrible wound and the vile prison.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.— When the war came on Col Jones was attorney general for the state of Indiana He resigned that position and was made Colonel of the 42d Indiana Volunteers.

Most of the young men who were with me in Indiana are in the army. This rotten confederacy is on its last legs. Soon the old flag of the Union will wave over all of our America, the slaves free and our country will soon gather strength and then make rapid bounds to its destined greatness. I have none of my papers or note books with me but I am willing that you should have one of the diaries or more if you will have copies made and return them to me. I can't say for certain how many fugitive slaves passed through the hands of the men on duty in my district on the Ohio river, but for the seven years more than an average of four thousand each year. The work you did for me was all right and I assure you that I had the utmost confidence in your father. He was a great help to me as he was personally acquainted with all the country that I had charge of. It was risky business. I remember some men who were of help to me and always seemed to do what they did so cheerfully. I recall the two Mr. Ritchies who lived near your father; Dr. Lewis, of Princeton; Mr. Caswell and George Hill, of Lynnville. (Mrs. Caswell could bake such good salt-rising bread.) Dr. Posey was a true man. There will be no more need of filling his coal bank with runaway negroes. If I succeed well, I intend to come once more and go over the routes of my old work. I should like so much to see all the people that I used to know in that country. If you should go to Philadelphia, go to the old Post—I may be there soon.

Yours as ever,
J. T. HANOVER.

GRANDVIEW, IND., March 3, 1868.

COL. W. M. COCKRUM,
Oakland City, Indiana.

My dear old army Comrade:

Your very welcome letter came and found me away from home. I have just returned and hasten to answer. I very well recollect the many conversations we had during our intimate relations in the army about the "Underground Railroad" and about the young men who were along the southern border of Indiana, helping the slaves to gain their liberty. The young men who owned the fishing smack some ways below Rockport were on intimate terms with my oldest son. At that time we were engaged in flatboating and were tied up receiving corn on both the Kentucky and Indiana shore very near where the two men were stationed. I had many conversations with the two young men. While they never directly told me their business other than as fishermen, yet I do remember as I related to you in the army, that they had much to do up and down the river and in crossing it at night during the time my boat lay near them.

I was introduced to Mr. Hansen by Ira Caswell of Warrick County, who was going over the country with him at that time, as they said, looking at land that Mr. Hansen said he wanted to purchase for a large real estate syndicate for which he was agent. He asked me if I was well acquainted with the country east of Rockport. Neither of these gentlemen made any further business known to me but while Mr. Caswell was on our boat, Hansen crossed the river to the Kentucky side with one of the young fisherman, claiming that he wanted to purchase some sort of drawing outfit the young man claimed to have. They were gone for about an hour and when they returned Mr. Hansen had a leather box containing a bright, new field compass, also some fine drawing tools which he showed to me.

I wish you great success in your undertaking.

Sincerely your friend,

A. Miler.

Evansville, Indiana, June 12, 1867.

Col. Cockrum,

Oakland City, Ind.

My dear Sir:

Colonel Jones was in yesterday with your letter of inquiry, also a letter from J. T. Hanover written to you from Washington City, and explained the reason why you wanted a letter from me.

In 1852 a gentleman named John Hansen came to my office with a letter of introduction from eastern friends of mine enclosing a New York draft for $250.00 for a retainer fee for me to look after the interests of men who were working for the anti-slavery people at this place and along the Ohio river should they need my legal services.

I, of course, knew that the fugitive slave law was being violated and I did not have the least compunctions of conscience on that score. For, without a doubt, that infamous law was unconstitutional and if it could have been tested by a fair tribunal would so have been declared.

Mr. Hansen was in my office many times during the several years that he was in this section of the country. During all that time I only had one case and that was in the interests of two young fishermen who were fishing in the Ohio river for several years, below this city and that case did not come to a test.

I am of the opinion that these two young men ferried across the Ohio river many hundreds of negro slaves who found a home and liberty in Canada.

You have my consent to use this letter. I only wish I could have been the means of helping the poor unfortunates more.

Yours truly,

A. L. ROBINSON.

REV. T. B. M'CORMICK.

Rev. T. B. McCormick, a most ardent anti-slavery worker, was born and raised in the state of Kentucky and was one of a large family. His father never owned slaves. Just previous to his conversion, while quite a young man, he was employed as a slave driver on a big plantation, but soon threw up his position. After several years of study he entered the Cumberland Presbyterian ministry, and about 1844 he came to Princeton and became the pastor in charge of that denomination.

Having married in Henderson, Ky. (his first wife), he occasionally went to Kentucky and preached. At that time he was known to be bitterly opposed to the institution of slavery, and in his fearless, outspoken way he made no secret of his hatred of slavery and his sympathy for the slave. In 1851 he severed his connection with the C. P. church upon the sole ground of the pro-slavery attitude of that church, and from that time he seemed to become a marked man. After one of his trips an indictment was filed against him in Union County, Kentucky, charging him with stealing slaves and aiding them by way of the "underground railroad" to Canada. Although not guilty of this charge, false testimony against him sprang up on every side. Spurred on by enemies on this side of the Ohio river, the charges against him in Kentucky magnified and grew in intensity until the reward offered for his capture, DEAD OR ALIVE, aggregated $2,000.00.

Knowing the condition of things, he did not venture into Kentucky, but in the spring of 1851 Governor Powell, of Kentucky, was appealed to to make requisition on Governor Wright, of Indiana, for his delivery to the Kentucky authorities, and Governor Wright, recognizing the "heinousness" of his offense, granted the requisition. McCormick, however, had a friend in Indianapolis who had promised to keep him posted on the action of the governor, and this he did, and Mr. McCormick, recognizing discretion as the better part of valor, went across the Wabash into Illinois.

As soon as the requisition was granted by Gov, Wright a warrant for the arrest of Rev. McCormick was placed in the hands of Deputy United States Marshall Smith Gavitt, of Evansville, and Mr. Gavitt left no stone unturned to effect his capture. At that time Rev. McCormick was living on a recently-purchased farm two miles southeast of Princeton (the farm now owned by Louis Laib), and the house consisted of one log room and a lean-to shed which was used as a kitchen. The house was surrounded on three sides by a dense forest and was lonely in the extreme. His family at that time consisted of his young wife (a second marriage), her unmarried sister, a young woman, a son ten years old, a daughter five years old and an infant in arms, the present editor of the Princeton Tribune. The writer goes into detail simply to show the isolated and helpless condition of McCormick's family. Marshall Gavitt was kept posted by some of

Rev. McCormick's pro-slavery friends (?) and the word being sent him that his much-wanted man had been seen at home he jumped at the chance of securing the $2,000.00 reward.

The little family had gone to bed in the log house, the wife wondering where the fugitive husband was in his exile but finally sleep fell upon the little household. About midnight the quick ear of his wife caught the sounds of hoof-beats in the woods, and, awakening her sister, together they listened in dread suspense. Soon the fact became evident that the house was surrounded by men. First came a rap at the door, but feeling that their only chance lay in perfect quiet and producing the impression that the house was deserted the two women held their breath and waited. A knock bringing no response the door was kicked against and an attempt made to force it open but, it being heavily barred inside this failed. The other door was tried with the same result. The mob seemed to take it for granted that no one was at home and threw discretion to the winds and talked openly of their disappointment, all the time cursing—"The ————black abolitionist." When the two women found the men were well away from the house they went into the lean-to and Miss McClure, Mrs. McCormick's sister, climbing to her sister's shoulders pushed aside the loose clapboards of the roof and putting her head through could see a large body of horsemen in the distance.

Now the astonishing part of this whole performance was that under the leadership of Marshal Gavitt there were forty men in this posse to hunt down and capture one poor preacher whose only crime was his outspoken denunciation of American slavery. The number in the posse was learned through a family living about a mile away who saw them pass the house and counted them. There were forty and every man of them MASKED.

At that time Mr. McCormick was in hiding about three-fourths of a mile north of New Liberty Christian church between Haubstadt and Cynthiana, Indiana. Gavitt learned that he was in that neighborhood and came out there after him. Meeting a man in whose house McCormick was lodging on the garret floor at that very moment, Gavitt halted him and asked—"Do you know where I can find the noted Rev. T. B. McCormick?" "Yes Sir" said the gentleman "I can tell you exactly where to find him—he is up in my garret loft." This frank confession staggered the noted detective. He hesitated a few moments and asked—"How is he fixed for arms?" The gentleman just as frankly replied—"All the arms he can possibly handle and he would be glad to have a little practice in using them if you see fit to give an opportunity." Gavitt remarked—"I am not anxious to furnish him a target" and then slowly rode away.

After this Rev. McCormick made his way to Canada where he remained a few months when he quietly returned to his family traveling after he got into this state only after night. He made arrangements to move his family to Ohio after which he entered the lecture field, his subject being the illegality and unconstitutionality of American slavery to which he devoted his entire time until 1863 when the question of slavery was settled, and he returned to his home near Princeton. Mr. McCormick never had any direct connection with the "underground railroad" but he was intimately acquainted with many of the "depots" from his home to Canada.

An interesting incident which it would not be out of place to mention here occurred in 1855 while he was on a lecturing tour in the extreme southwest corner of Ohio. He had gotten on the train on the old O. & M. railroad to go to Cincinnati and taking an unoccupied seat beside a passenger he looked into his face and was surprised to see that he had sat down by Marshall Smith Gavitt. They at once recognized each other and shook hands cordially and drifted into conversation. As is known the O. & M. railroad (now the B. & O. S. W.) runs right along the Ohio river bank for some distance. With a laugh Marshall Gavitt turned to Rev. McCormick and said:

"Mack, I'll give you $1,000 if you will go across that river with me."

Enjoying the joke Rev. McCormick with a laugh replied

---"Couldn't possibly do it Smith. I havn't lost anything in Kentucky or Indiana either that I think needs looking for just now."

In the Civil War Smith Gavitt (as Lieut. Col.) was with the first Indiana Cavalry and was killed leading a charge at Fredericktown, Missouri.

Wood Robinson Senior was the man in whose house was McCormick's hiding place. McCormick would spend a day or so in the garret of a two-story house in which Robinson lived, then a day or so in the garret of a house in which William Curry lived. These two houses were about one hundred and fifty yards apart on the grounds afterward known as McNary Boren's store. Wood Robinson died at Admore, Indian Territory several years ago. William Curry is now living at Beason, Illinois and is more than eighty years old and yet he looks almost as young as he did forty years ago. Rev. McCormick died at Princeton, Ind., 1892, aged nearly 80 years.

McCormick lived to hear many of his former enemies say: "You were right but you were twenty years ahead of the time and we did not have enough sense to see it."

He united with the congregational church when he went north and was a minister of that denomination until his death. In 1856 he presided at the national convention of the Radical Abolition party held in New York and he was also candidate for Governor of Ohio on the same ticket the same year.

CHAPTER XXX.

INDIAN RELIGION.

In 1843 my father was in the lower Mississippi with a boat load of pork and hired a Choctaw Indian with an unpronouncable name but who went by the common name of John Choctaw. This Indian was well educated for that day; he understood the English language well and could speak it. When the boat load was sold out this Indian came with my father to his Indiana home and remained there for three years. From him were gathered the facts on Indian Religion which are contained in this article.

The Indians believe in religion but have no knowledge of their spiritual teachings; in fact they are ignorant of the cause which forms their belief in heavenly things. It is certain that they all acknowledge the Supreme, omnipotent Being, the Great Father, the Giver of all things, who created and governs the universe. They believe that when the hunting grounds were made and supplied with buffalo, bear and all game, that He then made the first red man and red woman who were giants in stature and they lived for a very long time. The Great Supreme Being often held counsels and smoked with them and often gave them laws to follow and taught them how to kill their food and raise corn and tobacco. They believe also that these big Indians after a while were living so easily that they did not obey the Great Supreme Power and for this disobedience He withdrew His favor from them and turned them over to the bad spirits, who had since been the cause of their misfortunes. They believe Him to be too exalted a power to be directly the cause of evil and notwithstanding their many shortcomings, He continues to send down them all the good things that they have in consequense of this parental regard for them. They are truly sincere in their devotion and pray to Him for such things as they need and return thanks for the good they receive. On the other hand, when they are afflicted or suffering any great calamity they pray to the evil spirit with great earnestness, believing that the evil spirit is directly reverse to the good Spirit and they pray to him hoping to make him more favorable to them that he may lessen their affliction.

All Indians believe that the Great Spirit can at pleasure be present yet invisible, that He is endowed with a nature more excellent than theirs and will live for all time. They believe in a future existence but they associate that state with natural things. They have no idea of the soul's intellectual enjoyment after death but expect to be in their person in a great country where the hunting grounds have abundance of game and they will never have bad luck in the chase. They think it is one continual spring day—no clouds, no snow, no rain, but all sunshine.

They believe those who were killed in battle, those who were the most expert hunters in this land will, in that beautiful country, have the best wigwams, the best wives and the most game for their hunting grounds and that the Indians who were bad here will be left out on the outside where the snow comes all the time and where there is no game but that which is poor and that Indians who were cowardly and mean to old people will go where the snakes are all around.

The Indians have no day of worship, such as our Sunday, but they have times for their devotions. In such times as they declare war they go to the Great Spirit and implore Him to give them victory over their enemies. When peace is made they have great rejoicings, particularly if they have been successful.

They have other times for rejoicing and giving thanks—when their harvest time comes and when the new moon is first seen. No day passes with the older Indians that they do not have a moment for their devotions and when they are to break camp and go to another, they repair in a body to the spring that has furnished them water and give thanks to the Great Power for all His blessings.

At times when occasion demands it, such as declaring war, they are very loud in their devotions. After it is over one of the older men who has a good record, addresses the band, urging them to be brave and to slip up on their enemies and enjoins them to so conduct themselves as to be worthy of success. They always address the evil spirit with as much earnestness as they do the Good Spirit, for they believe that the two have equal power over them, one to bless, the other to do evil; but the evil spirit can do them no harm while they are doing the things that please the Good Spirit; hence the older and staid Indians are never known to implore the evil spirit to do them any favor. They are continually in a devotional mood and call upon the Great Spirit many times each day. There is one thing that is certainly much to the credit of the Indian race—that hypocrisy is never known to exist among them in sacred things and in many tribes the devotion in sacred things is the standard by which their character is measured. The title of "Prophet" is given to some who are considered good men and are able to teach, but they fill their sacred office much as our ministers do, teaching their tribe to be good and not drink "fire-water."

Thomas Morton, author of "The New Canaan," in 1637 says of the Indian conjurors—"Some correspondency they have with the devil of all doubt." Woods, to the same effect remarks that—"By God's permission, through the devil's help, their charms are force to produce wonderment."

Smith declares of the Indians—"Their chief God they worship is the Devil." Cotton Mather intimates that it was the devil who seduced the first inhabitants of America into it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

AGE OF MOUNDS—WORKMANSHIP OF BUILDERS—THE TRADITION OF THE PIASSA — REMAINS — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MOUND BUILDERS AND INDIANS.

MOUND BUILDERS

Anyone attempting to write about the builders of the mounds which were constructed by a pre-historic race, is handicapped from the start. Everything that may be said about these early people, outside of a very few unraveling footprints left by them. is pure imaginary speculations. It is probable that the efforts being made to find the history of the people who once densely populated a great portion of this country and who may have ante-dated the deluge and confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel may be rewarded with success. The great mounds scattered over this country may have a history in hieroglyphics on many tablets that may tell the story of these wonderful people and a history of the monstrous animals, birds and reptiles which once roamed over this country and whose bones are yet found and are held in our museums as relics of an extinct species.

It is contended by some that these mounds are not so old as historians want to make them. If they were, the action of time would have obliterated them. There is one law of nature that those so contending have not understood. An excavation made in the earth or a mound made on it is never obliterated without the aid of human agencies, unless the excavation is made in the river bottoms and overflows. The question has been asked by all classes ever since this country has been peopled by the white race, by scholars, by teachers, by explorers and by those who read and travel—"Who were the Mound Builders?" "What race of people did they come from and what were the thousands of mounds built for?" To this question there can be but one answer—"Don't know." The most accepted theory is that they came from Asia into North America through the Behring Strait. This is a difficult route but it was possible. They may, for ages have occupied the Yukon country in Alaska and by degrees came farther south down through the Dominion of Canada and into the warmer climate of the United States. All over this country their marks are indelibly made. They went far into the south land. The many mounds and towers around Vera Cruz and other places in Mexico are attributed to the same people. Probably the leaning towers of Central America were their work. In most all the mounds which have been examined, small and great, human bones have been found with relics of those buried, placed by their side. In many cases burial vases have been found (now in our state museum and other places) in which the trinkets and ornaments were placed by the body of the owner. Many of these bones are of a larger race of people than any that have been known since the dawn of history. After the battle of Stone river the Union forces built a very strong fort and named it in honor of General Rosecrans. It was located on a low mound which was not more than six or eight feet high in the centre and covered something near a half acre of ground. To those who had not before had knowledge of such mounds there was nothing unusual about the shape of the ground, but General Whipple, of General Thomas' staff was a learned man and had before that opened some of the mounds in other parts of the country. He told the men at work what it was and in excavating to make the walls of the fort, he asked them to look out for human bones and relics. When the ground for the fort had been excavated the depth wanted, a bomb-proof vault was made about ten feet deep and fourteen or fifteen feet square. In digging this, a skeleton was found. The bones were of a very large man, probably more than eight feet tall. When the thigh bone was put by the side of the tallest man's thigh, he sitting down, the bone went as far back as the back of his hip and then reached beyond the bent knee five or six inches.

It is generally thought now that in the early ages of this country it was roamed over by animals, fowls and reptiles which were huge in size, many times larger than the animals and fowls of this period. It is claimed by some that the mound builders were here as soon as the country was suitable to be occupied by man; that it was peopled with indigenous inhabitants who began life the same way as did the trees, plants, animals, birds and other living things. If this theory is true then the large men were not out of proportion to their surroundings. The geologist tells us at that time, that ferns grew to be immense trees and all vegetation was hundreds of times more luxuriant than now—hence our great coal fields. The naturalist tells us that animals and birds were all huge monsters and that snakes and lizards were represented in size by large and long logs. Another fact cited by those that claim that man was here before the world was old, is that at many places in this country the print of the human foot of a very large size was made in the rocks; in some cases several inches deep, which were made while the rocks were in a plastic state.

To believe that this continent was finished and filled with animals, birds and other living things which roamed over its immense forests and swam in its many rivers, lakes and oceans and yet there was no human being with powers of thought other than intuition, is not reasonable. The conclusion to come to is that man was here as soon as the country was suitable to be occupied by living things, not with the intelligence and reasoning powers of the educated people of after ages. Most probably these primitive men were savage in the beginning and the only history left by them is such as savage people have always left—the flint arrow heads, the stone axes and such crude implements as would enable them to secure their food from the animals, birds and fish which was necessary for their sustenance. They have left no history that can be unraveled. If they had there would be no further mystery about the mound builders, or about the huge monsters that were in this country at that time.

A tradition of migration is owned by all the nations which have filled the earth and they all go back to some other people they have learned about. The Egyptians have a record longer than any others. They have monuments which are four thousand years old and show an advanced civilization at the time they were built; yet Wilkinson in his "Ancient Egyptians," says that "The origin of these Egyptians is enveloped in the same obscurity as most of the other races. They were, no doubt of Asiatic stock and when they came, they found on the Nile an aboriginal race of people to be dispossessed before they could occupy the country," and many writers about that country say that beneath the foundation of the ruins on the Nile are yet found the rude stone implements of a people who lived there before the Egyptians did.

The mound builders were skilled in making pottery or vessels for culinary purposes and they were quite artistic. There have been taken out of many mounds in all sections of this country many very fine specimens of sculpture work, showing the rounded images of human beings. This work is pronounced by men, who are experts in this line, to have a real, artistic value. They also made pictures in many places in caves and on rocks, of animals and birds. They had a reason for this laborious work which is not now understood. Probably they tried to leave a record of some of the most important events of their history. Some of these carvings were seen by Joliet and Marquette, the first French explorers who were on the upper Mississippi river. There is not much doubt left but they were made many ages before Columbus discovered America, by the early people who lived in the Mississippi valley for the purpose of trying to tell the history of their country.

The most prominent of these carvings was that of the Piassa which in Indian signifies: "The Bird which Devours People" which was cut high up on the smooth surface of a very high bluff rock near where the city of Alton, Illinois now stands. It was the representation of an enormous bird with its wings outspread. The animal or bird was called Piassa, named for the stream of that name that empties into the Mississippi at that point. This carved picture has been seen by thousands of people who were on the Mississippi.

Joliet and Marquette, in the missionary stations on the upper lakes had heard frequently from the Indians of the Great River or Father of Waters (which was discovered by DeSoto more than 130 years before but was still unknown to white man as far north as the Missouri and Illinois Rivers) and in 1673 these two explorers with a small party started out from Green Bay to find the Great River. The Indians of the Lakes endeavored to deter them from going. The country, they said, was filled with savage and frightful creatures and in the Great River at a certain point there was a monster whose roar could be heard a great distance and it swallowed every person who came near it. They found the Mississippi and drifted down it. Below the mouth of the Illinois, they beheld a sight which reminded them that the Devil was still paramount in the wilderness. On the flat face of a high rock was painted in red, black and green a pair of monsters each as large as a calf, with horns like a roe-buck, red eyes and a beard like a tiger and a frightful expression of countenance. The face was something like that of a man, the body was covered with scales, and the tail was so long that it passed around the body between the legs and over the head, ending like a fish. John Russells first brought it into general notice. He wrote for a magazine "The tradition of the Piassa" which he claimed was obtained from the Illinois Indian tribes. A part of the article is here produced:

"Many thousand moons before the arrival of the 'Pale Face,' when the great magalonyx and the mastodon were still living in the land of green prairies there existed a bird of such dimensions that it could carry off in its claws a full grown deer. Having obtained a taste of human flesh it would afterward eat nothing else. It was cunning as it was powerful, would dart suddenly on one of the Indians and carry him off to one of the caves in the bluff and devour him. Hundreds of warriors tried for many years to destroy this monster but could not. Finally a detail of fifty men was made to not cease their efforts until the great bird was killed. They tried many plans to get rid of it, but it was more cunning than they. They agreed to select by lot, one of the number, who would place himself in a position that the bird would see that he was alone and would attack him. This lot fell on Anatogo, the great chief of the Illinois Indians whose fame extended to the Great Lakes. He separated himself from the rest of his tribe and fasted in solitude for a whole moon and prayed to his great father to protect his children from the Piassa. On the last night of the fast the Great Spirit appeared to Anatogo in a dream; told him to select twenty of his best men, armed with bows and poisoned arrows and conceal them in a certain spot. Near that place another warrior was to stand in open view as a victim for the Piassa, which they must shoot the instant he pounced upon his prey. When the chief awoke the next morning he thanked the Great Spirit. Returning to his tribe he told them his great vision. The warriors were quickly selected and placed as directed, the Chief offering himself as the victim. He soon saw the Piassa perched high up on the cliff. watching its prey. The Chief began to sing his death song and a moment afterward the Piassa rose in the air and as swiftly as a thunder bolt darted down upon its victim. As soon as the horrid monster was near the Chief, twenty arrows were sent from their feathered quivers into its body. The monster uttered an awful scream and fell dead at the feet of the Chief, who was not harmed. There was great rejoicing in all the tribes and it was solemnly agreed that in memory of the great event in the nation's history. which had suffered so long from this monster, the image of the Piassa should be engraved on the bluff." Russell further says that at one time he was induced to visit the bluff below the mouth of the Illinois river. His curiosity was principally directed to the examination of a cave which tradition said was the one into which the great bird carried its human victims. Preceded by an intelligent guide who carried a spade he set out on his excursion. The cave was very hard to get into as it was in the solid face of the bluff, more than fifty feet above the bed of the river. It was a perilous undertaking, but after many attempts he succeeded in placing a long pole from a crevice in the rock to its mouth and thus entered the cave. The roof of the cave was vaulted and the top about twenty feet high. As far as he could judge the bottom was about twenty by thirty feet. The floor of the cavern, throughout its whole extent, was one mass of human bones. Skulls and other bones were mingled in the utmost confusion. To what depth they extended he was unable to decide, but they dug to the depth of three or four feet in every part of the cave and found only bones. The remains of thousands of human beings must have been deposited there; how or by whom or for what purpose it was impossible to conjecture."

It has often been asked: "What became of the mound builders? Why did they leave the fertile valleys of the Mississippi?" To these questions there can by no certain answer given. These people were here for untold ages and from them probably came the savage Indians who were here when this country was first seen by the white race. The mound builders who came a long time ago from Asia, very much improved the Indians who were, no doubt, in touch with all sections of this country. After a long period of time, while the foreigners were cultivating and improving the country, industriously laboring to raise cereals and vegetables, preparing their homes and building the countless thousands of mounds, there may have come to them an epidemic of sickness or a great plague such as has destroyed many millions of people in China and India at times, and destroyed them or so weakened them that they may have fallen an easy prey to the savage horde who have ever been jealous of any improvements which would take away the forest or drive the game away; and were destroyed by them or driven out of this country. It is not reasonable to suppose they would have voluntarily left their homes and this fertile country and the thousands of mounds that they had spent ages in preparing for sepulchers for their dead.

In many of the State museums there are large numbers of vessels, vases and trinkets which have been taken from these mounds in various places. All of them, no doubt, were made for the purpose of being placed in sepulchers with the remains of those buried there. In these vases, trinkets of various sorts were found, some of them no doubt, were used for tools, made of rock, bones and copper. Others were ornaments, such as bands of copper for the wrist and for the head, to hold the hair in place; also small bands for the fingers. Round balls of white stone, about the size of billiard balls were found which were used in games, also large copper balls that in size and appearance were much the same as sling balls used by the ancient Grecians in war. In making the vases they used a cement which was equal to the best Portland and it is supposed they ground the shells found in rivers and lakes with some other ingredient which made a beautiful white color with tints of various hues. Some of these vases were made of many colors; the main body black and the neck white and others with rings of white and black, all no doubt made by some coloring material put in the cement. The mound builders used the bones of the deer, elk and antelope to make these ornaments. Why they did not use the horn and strong bone of the buffalo for that purpose and to make their tools is unexplained.

East of Kansas there have been no buffalo bones found in the many ancient mounds which have been examined. It is contended by some ethnologists and other scientists that there were no buffaloes in the Mississippi valley at the time of the mound builders, and at the time of the discovery of America, by Columbus, the range of these animals to the east was not so extensive as it was at a later period. From reading the reports of Marquette and others from 1680 up to 1700 it is found they contend the buffalo had not long been far east of the prairies of Illinois and their farther eastern inhabitation about the foot hills of the Alleghany mountains was long after this date. It is doubted if the wild buffalo were ever on the Atlantic coast. The buffalo or bunch grass which grows so well in the northwest and cures upon the ground a perfect hay which will keep the stock in good condition the season through.may be the solution of this matter, as it was the chief food of the buffalo. This grass does not grow to any extent east of Kansas. In the Dakotas the mound builders made roads from one mound to another, paved with the leg bones of the buffalo. McAdams, in a very concise work on this subject says: "These paths were made of the leg bones of the buffalo which were very heavy and strong. The bones were laid side by side touching each other and imbedded in the ground so that only their top surfaces were exposed and on the gentle slopes of the prairies for miles away, we could plainly discern the slim, white line from one mound to another. These bones had been placed neatly and with some precision and were fully imbedded in the hard earth which was a sort of a cement of gravel soil. One of these paths was nearly a mile in length and as we walked over it there was a metallic ring to our foot steps and not a single bone was misplaced."

The mounds were scattered all over the United States, from the northwest to the southeast and from the southwest to the northeast. Most of them are built in bottom lands or in the edge of the bottoms adjoining the hills and on all sides are about as steep as the earth would lie except one, where the laborers carried up the material.

Some of the mounds are of immense size. The one in Madison county, Illinois, at Kahoka, near St. Louis, is one hundred feet high and covers sixteen acres of ground. The old stone fort in Clark county, which is situated near Charleston and just above the mouth of Fourteen Mile creek, which forms the western wall and the Ohio river which makes the eastern wall is two hundred and eighty feet above the river bed.

The great majority of the emblematic mounds are in the state of Wisconsin and in the northwest. There are some in the central and southern states. One of the most unusual is in Adams County, Ohio, and known as the Serpent mound, being in the form of a serpent swallowing or devouring some object. This mound is one thousand feet long and must have been, as well as the old stone fort, built for a place of defense or security from some enemy. Around the great Kahoka mound there are hundreds of smaller ones and all over the American bottoms many mounds exist or have been leveled down.

The site of the city of St. Louis when Laclede located it was dotted all over with mounds. They are in evidence in all sections of Indiana. Some of them cover several acres. There is one very large one about two miles west of Petersburg, Indiana. At a point on the Wabash river, some miles above its mouth in Posey County, Indiana, the mound known as Bone Bank or Bone Bluff which at one time was an immense burial ground covering many acres of territory probably was an island. As yet there is evidence that the river or one body of it ran on both sides of this mound as what is left of the bank slopes gradually back to a slough. The river has for ages been gradually undermining the mound and the larger portion of it has fallen into the water and the bones and vases which were in abundance have been carried away with the current. Since the recollection of men living near this great cemetery, the river has cut away several hundred feet of the bank. Many very fine vases have been found at this place. In making these burial vases work of a real artistic nature has been shown. On some shown the author by Colonel Owen at Indianapolis some years ago, when he was state geologist, the features of human being were carved or engraved and the work was so well done that the faces showed an animated human expression.

While gazing on these artificial hills and structures, in fancy one can see the long lines of basket laden aborigines, who in the far past, bygone ages, slowly heaped up these thrones of earth for some prince of their race and the mind wonders what bloody scenes of carnage to savage superstition of old, may not have enacted there, countless centuries before Columbus plowed the wild waves of an unknown ocean in search of an unknown country.

There are two points about which there can be but little controversy:

First.—The mound builders were a very different race to what the white people found here. Instead of depending upon the chase they were farmers and made their living by industriously working the soil which yielded them rich harvest for their labor. They not only cultivated the soil of the great Mississippi valley but they were in vast numbers in the far west and in the arid soil of that dry region brought the waters of the different rivers to their aid in irrigating their crops, by thousands of miles of large and small ditches made and used by them for that purpose.

Second.—The great mounds were built as sepulchers for their dead. Not, as has been claimed by some, for idolatrous worship. They intended to put their loved ones away so that nothing could ever disturb them and not like the Indian who swings his dead to the limbs of trees or puts them upon scaffolds to be blown away as he had no abiding home, but like the wild Arab when chooses, folds his tent and steals away.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 102—3rd line read: "Commanded by Capt. Potter. Secretary of Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent," etc.

Page 183—4th line from the bottom, add to line the words "side the."

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