but intense as was their hatred, they secretly entertained a profound respect for a foe so valiant and sincere.

Mr. Price was often urged to become a candidate for Governor, by friends who recognized his superb executive ability, but he did not care to enter into a contest for that exalted position, and is content to live a quiet life as old age approaches. One of his last kindly remembrances of his old Davenport home was a recent gift to the public library of that city. He set aside an amount of money, the interest of which is used to furnish a free reading room with thirty of the best magazines, weekly and daily papers. He also furnished and fitted up a commodious room where the people have free access to the best current literature of the times.

And now past eighty years of age, his mental vigor unimpaired, he is living a quiet life in his Washington home. Our Iowa people remember and honor him for his noble life work in behalf of our great State, and his name will be for all time associated with the stirring events of the brightest pages of its history.

The steel portrait which appears with this article was engraved from a photograph of Mr. Price taken in 1878.

FORT ARMSTRONG.

BY MRS. MARIA PECK.

Upon the large and beautifully wooded island in the Mississippi now occupied by the splendid piles of solid masonry comprising Rock Island Arsenal, picturesque and solitary, Fort Armstrong once stood.

To ascertain the initial facts underlying the history of the establishment of this military post in 1816, it is necessary to go back to the earlier years of the century and review the most important incidents upon which was based the claim of

the United States to an immense and valuable tract of country then in the possession of the Indians.

In the year 1700, as nearly as the date can be determined, the federated tribes of Sacs and Foxes—or Sauks and Reynards—came from the vicinity of Green Bay and established themselves on the eastern bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of Rock River.

According to their own traditions, both tribes originally came from Canada. The date of their migration to the upper lake region is not definitely known, though Father Hennepin speaks of the Foxes as residents on Green Bay in 1680, and another writer of the existence of a Sac village on Fox River in 1689. There is very good authority for the supposition that they both descended from the great Chippewa nation. It is known that the Foxes found and fought their way to their new home first, and when joined some years later by the Sacs, were in such a weakened condition from an encounter with the allied forces of the French and Indians, followed by frequent attacks of other hostile tribes, that they were unable to maintain themselves longer as an independent nation.

The Sacs in their wanderings had fared better though they had suffered from a war with the Iroquois. So, in addition to an affinity of kinship, the stronger bond of mutual protection induced the formation of a union—a relation which was sustained uninterruptedly for upwards of a century. The confederacy was governed by two sets of chiefs, the civil and military; each had separate and distinct powers conferred upon it, though in all matters involving the sale of lands, the making of important treaties or declaration of war, the two ruling powers, to make such transaction valid, must act conjunctively. When they finally settled in the surpassingly beautiful and fertile Rock River region, the principal Sac village —the one of historic fame—was located on the isthmus or point of land formed by the junction of Rock River with the Mississippi, about four miles below Rock Island. This village became in time one of the largest, most populous, and prosperous of the Indian villages on the continent.

Having secured by conquest a footing, these enterprising and indomitable people were not content until they had subjugated their southern neighbors and added to their possessions rich and extensive hunting grounds, where in a more genial climate they could spend the winter months. After gaining the supremacy they sustained themselves as masters of the country, not only against their ancient and implacable enemies, the Sioux, and other warlike nations, but against a powerful federation. Nevertheless these Indians, of whom it has been said, that they had more courage in battle than wisdom in council, in the year 1804 ceded to the United States all of their possessions east of the Mississippi river for a most insignificant compensation.

The complications and disagreements that followed the consummation of this treaty caused all the serious difficulties that subsequently arose between the Government and the Indians down to and including the final struggle that resulted in their expulsion from the country east of the river, and almost the extinction of one of the bravest tribes that ever wielded a tomahawk or followed a trail in the Mississippi valley.

In the first article of the famous treaty, the Sac and Fox Indians were received, with much show of interest, into the friendship of the United States and full protection guaranteed them. For and in consideration of these valuable assets, including two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents in goods delivered at the time, and a promised annual stipend amounting in value to one thousand dollars in goods, the United States acquired a title to twenty millions of acres of land. Article VII of the treaty contains its redeeming feature. It reads as follows: "As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribe shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them." The treaty was negotiated at Saint Louis, November, 1804. William Henry Harrison, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Indiana Territory and the District of Louisiana, acted for the government

and five representatives of the united Sac and Fox nation in behalf of the Indians.

Many of the most prominent chiefs afterward repudiated the treaty, saying that it was unauthorized, fraudulently obtained, and therefore invalid. Black Hawk in his autobiography gives an explicit account of the incidents which led to its execution. It had its origin according to his story in this way: one of their number had killed a white man and was arrested and imprisoned at Saint Louis for the offense. A council was called at the Sac village on Rock River (Black Hawk's village) to consider the best means of obtaining his release. It was decided that a deputation consisting of four men be sent to confer with the Indian authorities at Saint Louis with instructions to offer money and horses, after their own way of dealing in such matters, as a ransom. While there on this business it was claimed that these delegates were made drunk and in that condition induced to sign the objectionable treaty. When they returned, after a protracted absence, it was observed that they acted strangely, were dressed in fine clothes and wore medals, but could give no very satisfactory account of the mission with which they had been charged. They reported that the agents wanted some of their land and that they had agreed to give it to them but the full import of the transaction was not understood until some time later. After a critical examination of all of the available evidence General D. W. Flagler, in his History of Rock Island Arsenal, says: "Other facts of history and the treaty itself seem to prove that this story, or at least its application, was without good foundation." Still, judging of this matter from whatever bias modern historians may choose to give it, the conscientious student of history will hardly be able to divest himself of the conviction that there was something unfair about the treaty and irregular, if not intentionally dishonorable in the way that it was obtained. The persistent efforts of the Government in after years to secure its confirmation may be construed into an admission of its weakness.

Through the artful machinations of the English, and on account of the bad faith of the Americans in not fulfilling their pledges to furnish the Indians with supplies upon the same favorable terms given by the English, Black Hawk and two hundred warriors were persuaded to join the British army in the war of 1812. This contingent under the leadership of "General Black Hawk" was ever afterward known as the "British Band." The participation of this party in the war furnished a pretext for inviting all the chiefs of the two nations to a general peace conference held at Portage des Sioux some time after its conclusion. The Fox chiefs and warriors responded and joined in a treaty of peace in which was incorporated a ratification of the one of 1804. Black Hawk and his followers refused to attend the meeting, though a short time after a treaty of similar import was effected with a party of Sacs.

It has been alleged that Black Hawk signed the latter, but he strenuously affirmed that he did not, and from the fact that another invitation to the Sac chiefs to attend a meeting at Saint Louis was issued the following year, it would appear that his statement must be accepted as the more reasonable. This conference was called for the avowed purpose of concluding a new treaty that would bind the war faction of the Sac nation to the provisions of the old ones. Twenty-one chiefs, including Black Hawk, attended, and on the 13th of May, 1816, a new document was executed and signed by all the chiefs present. But this did not terminate the troubles, for afterward Black Hawk complained bitterly that he was deceived and did not know when he touched the goose quill to the treaty that he was consenting to give away his village.

A general feeling of uneasiness caused by the continued unfriendly attitude of the Sacs and Foxes, and their evident disposition to contest the claim of the Government to their lands resulted in a regiment of infantry under Col. R. C. Nichols being started from Saint Louis for Rock Island to establish a fort in September, 1815. The troops with necessary supplies were transported in keel-boats, but before their destination was

reached the river was so obstructed by ice that they were compelled to abandon the expedition until the following spring.

The troops under General Smith finally landed upon Rock Island in May, 1816. The construction of the Fort was immediately begun, and in honor of the Secretary of War was called Fort Armstrong. After a temporary stay on Rock Island, General Smith left the work in charge of Colonel Lawrence and passed on up the river to Prairie du Chien to establish another post.

It was estimated that the united Sac and Fox nations numbered at that time 11,800 persons, all living in villages on both sides of the Mississippi near Rock Island.

The day following the arrival of the troops on the Island General Smith sent messengers to all of the villages with an invitation to their chiefs to meet him in council, but no attention was paid to the request. The Indians at first looked with unfriendly eyes upon the project, for they knew only too well the significance of a garrisoned fort in their immediate neighborhood. The island itself had long been used by them as a sort of pleasure park; it was held in special veneration because it was believed to be under the supervision of a good spirit, whose habitation was in a cave in the rocks near the site of the fort. No forcible resistance, however, was made to its erection, though it appears that an unsuccessful attempt was made which probably, if it had not been frustrated, would have resulted in a surprise and massacre of the encampment.

One day, while a large party of soldiers was engaged some distance away in cutting timber, a party of warriors approached the island on the north side in canoes and after landing danced up to the encampment and wanted to enter the commander's tent. At the same time another large party headed by Keokuk was discovered coming over a ridge on the south side. The sound of the bugle quickly recalled the soldiers to their post, and in a very short space of time 600 men were under arms with the cannon ready for action in front of the encampment. The warriors immediately dispersed and the contemplated attack was averted.

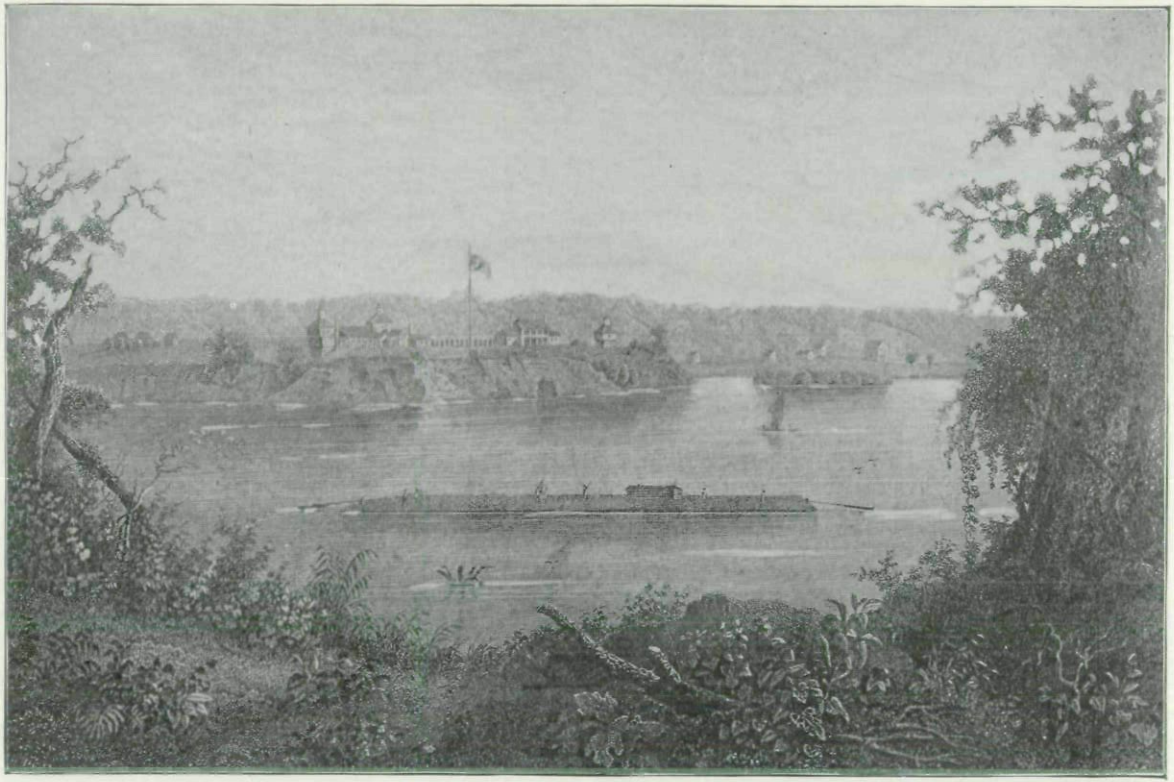
The following description of the completed fortress is taken from General Flagler's History of Rock Island Arsenal:

"The interior of the fort was 400 feet square. The lower half of the walls was of stone and the upper half of hewn timber. At the three angles, the northwest, southwest and southeast, block houses were built and these were provided with cannon. One side of the square was occupied by barracks and other buildings. These were built of hewn timber with roofs sloping inward as a protection against their being fired by the Indians, and that they might not furnish a safe lodging place for the enemy in an attack. The fort was placed at the extreme angle of the island. Its northwest corner was about 200 feet from the present location of the island end of the bridge."

The unrivalled beauty and peculiar charm of scenery attaching to the island and surroundings, when found as mother nature finished it, has been the theme which has inspired many of the most exquisite word pictures ever drawn by pen. Lieutenant Pike in 1805 was captivated by its wondrous loveliness, and James Hall, author of the History of the North American Indians, in 1829 paid the varied scenic attractions of this historic region a long and beautifully worded tribute.

Governor Ford, in his History of Illinois, gives a splendid description of Fort Armstrong and the "romantic wilderness" in which it was set, as it appeared to him when he first saw it in 1831. He compares "the white-washed walls and tower of the fort perched upon a high cliff, as seen from a distance, to one of those enchanted castles in an uninhabited desert, so graphically described in the Arabian Nights."

After the completion of Fort Armstrong nothing occurred to disturb the peaceful and friendly relations early established between the occupants and the Indians until the trouble arose which culminated in the Black Hawk war. The Indians continued going south in winter on hunting expeditions and while absent their villages were left unprotected. In the winter of 1828, a number of lawless individuals, called at that time squatters, took possession of Black Hawk's village and



FORT ARMSTRONG.

on his return contended with him for its occupancy. Ordinarily the Indians would have been equal to an emergency of this kind, but either from motives of policy or a sincere desire to avoid trouble with their white neighbors, no attempt was made to avenge their wrongs by a resort to violence. The aggressors, emboldened by the seeming good nature of the Indians, continued to annoy them until retaliatory measures were at last provoked. Black Hawk, especially, resented the introduction of whisky among his people, and to prevent it, resorted to some vigorous and effective prohibition methods. Thereupon the intruders appealed to the authorities for protection, and without regard for the merits or justice of the case, this flimsy pretext was used as an excuse for selling, prematurely, a few sections of land on Rock River, including the one occupied by the Sac village. As has been seen by one of the provisions of the treaty of 1804, the Indians were not tenants at will, but retained the right to live upon their lands until they were sold. It is perfectly apparent that the expedient of disposing of a small portion was resorted to for the sole purpose of dispossessing them of this right. The transaction furnishes another exemplification of the political creed of might as well as a strange inconsistency, for at the same time that the Government was insisting upon the fulfillment of the letter of a compact on one hand it was openly violating its spirit on the other.

A peremptory order for the removal of all Sac and Fox Indians to the west side of the Mississippi quickly followed the sale. Keokuk, a popular and rising young war chief listened to the council of his friends at the fort and with a large party of followers settled on Iowa River. Black Hawk was not so complacent, and persistently refused to give up the home to which he was so deeply attached. Meanwhile matters between the trespassers and the remaining Indians grew more and more aggravating, until a second appeal was made for protection. This brought General Gaines with a regiment of soldiers from Jefferson Barracks, and Governor Reynolds of Illinois with 1,600 mounted militiamen to the scene. General

Gaines, wishing to accomplish the ejectment of the Indian tenants, peaceably if possible, called a general council at Fort Armstrong, and might have gained his object sooner if he had better understood the spirit and temper of the people with whom he was dealing. He began with a speech which was admirably calculated to kindle the hostility of those whom he desired to conciliate. Among other things he called for the reading of the treaty of 1804. This brought Black Hawk to his feet with some very forcible and convincing arguments concerning its invalidity. The General then asked: "Who is Black Hawk? Is he a chief? By what right does he appear in council?" The old chief, highly indignant, wrapped his blanket about him and stalked out of the room.

The following day, after resuming his seat, he arose and said: "My father, you inquired yesterday, who is Black Hawk? Why does he sit among the chiefs? I will tell you who I am. I am a Sac, my father was a Sac; I am a warrior and so was my father. Ask those young men who have followed me to battle and they will tell you who Black Hawk is. Provoke our people to war and you will learn who Black Hawk is."

Because of this rupture the conference resulted in the refusal of the Indians to vacate their village. A more dispassionate view of the situation was arrived at later, and in a few days the Indians quietly withdrew from their village, crossed over to the west bank of the Mississippi and encamped under the protection of a white flag. On the 30th of June, 1831, a council was again summoned at the fort, a treaty of peace concluded, the memorable treaty of 1804 again ratified, and an additional pledge exacted from Black Hawk that he would not recross the river, duly incorporated. The motives which led to the violation of this stipulation the following year have been variously interpreted. The reappearance of the old chieftain, accompanied by a few hundred of his faithful adherents, was construed at the time into a hostile intention to re-occupy his old village, whereas, it would seem now that, whatever ulterior designs he may have entertained, the rash act was undertaken with nothing more serious in view than the acceptance of an

invitation from his old friends and neighbors, the Winnebagoes, on the upper part of Rock River to pay them a visit and raise a crop of corn on their lands.

The note of alarm was immediately sounded; an order issued by General Atkinson for their return was ignored, and decisive measures were at once instituted to compel obedience. The Black Hawk war followed—a useless conflict in which in addition to the sacrifice of many lives both the national honor and treasury suffered. A few thousands of dollars in connection with a spirit of sincere good will would have at almost any time secured the territory in dispute, and the peaceful removal of the Indians to their lands west of the Mississippi.

It is a fact worthy of mention that only a short time prior to the events which precipitated the final contest, six thousand dollars paid to the disaffected fragments of the Sacs and Foxes would have effected the substantial results achieved by the war, and quieted all complaints. The Government refused to compromise, and waged a war of extermination during which the flag of truce, held sacred by all the civilized nations of the world, was twice fired upon. The war cost two million dollars. The treaty made by General Scott with the Indians at the conclusion of the war terminated at last the difficulties and also added six million acres west of the Mississippi (afterwards comprised in the State of Iowa) known as the "Black Hawk Purchase," to the territory of the United States. Owing to the fact that an epidemic of cholera was raging among General Scott's troops detained at Fort Armstrong, all the deliberations connected with this important treaty were conducted in a tent on the west bank of the river. The ground occupied was the site upon which was afterward built the first house erected in the city of Davenport. Black Hawk and a few of his adherents were held as hostages, and with a view of impressing them with the vastness of the country, the numerical strength and greatness of the people, they were taken to Washington and from there through many of the large cities of the East.

Probably no more pathetic, affecting, and in some respects more ludicrous scene was ever enacted at Fort Armstrong than

the closing one in the long series that formally severed all connection of the Sacs and Foxes with their old homes, and also achieved by the intervention of the Government the humiliating subjugation of the broken, but true-hearted son of the wilderness, Black Hawk, and the official recognition of his powerful and hated rival, Keokuk, as the leader of his nation. Upon the arrival of Major Garland with his captives at the fort, a grand council was convened so that the liberation of the prisoners might be attended with the most impressive and imposing ceremonies. "The princely Keokuk," who was expecting the party, was encamped in the vicinity, and came up to the island in a style that befitted his newly acquired rank and the occasion. In two canoes lashed together side by side, fantastically decorated and covered by a canopy, the stars and stripes floating from above, sat Keokuk and his three wives. His approach was announced by the sound of Indian drums and the wild shouts and songs of his followers; next came a fleet consisting of twenty canoes in which were seated the chiefs and one hundred warriors. The most careful attention had been bestowed upon their toilets, and the spectacle as they moved slowly up to the island is said to have been exceedingly brilliant and novel. The commodious council room at the fort had been fitted up for the occasion with more than usual barbaric splendor. Major Garland acted as chief speaker for the Government. The delicate business, however, of announcing to the assembled chiefs and warriors that the deposed chieftain must henceforth conform to the councils and authority of Keokuk was indiscreetly managed, and the fiery spirit that once animated the illustrious warrior was again manifested. Serious difficulty was averted by the timely and pacific words of the eloquent, talented and politic Keokuk and the friendly advice of Colonel George Davenport, to whom Black Hawk was sincerely attached.

The pomp and magnificence of Keokuk and his party, the discordant surroundings and ostentatious ceremonies, little accorded with the melancholy mood of the fallen hero, and in his mind added an unnecessary drop to the bitter cup that had

been forced upon him; yet with the exception of the episode referred to, he maintained throughout the conference a dignified but respectful silence.

When the banishment of the last remnant of the Sacs and Foxes from their villages, for which they entertained, says General Flagler, "an affection like that of the Jews for the city of Jerusalem," was effected, the ultimate object for which Fort Armstrong was established was attained, and it was soon after abandoned, never to be re-garrisoned.

About these Indians it may be said that those of the early settlers who knew them best have given them the best character for honesty and sobriety.

Davenport, Iowa.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM CLARK AND NATHANIEL PRYOR.

BY ELLIOTT COUES.

When Captains Lewis and Clark were returning from their expedition, and had reached the Mandan villages, in August, 1806, they then and there took with them, for a visit to President Jefferson, a Mandan chief known by the names of Shahaka, Gros Blanc and Big White. For this chief, see the 1893 edition of Lewis and Clark, pp. xxxix, ciii, 182, 185, 192, 209, 236, 242, 247, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1191, 1212.

The attempt to send Shahaka safe home again, and its frustration by a sharp collision with hostile Indians, in the vicinity of Bismarck, S. D., in September, 1807, form the main subject of the four letters now first published. The originals, in the handwritings of Captain Clark and Ensign Pryor, respectively, are on file in the archives of the War Department at Washington, where I have examined and copied them, word for word, letter for letter and point for point. General Clark's three letters are in official correspondence with General Henry Dearborn, Secretary at War, in his capacity as Indian Agent