FORTS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

Of the territory now comprised within the borders of the State of Iowa, and indeed of the whole trans-Mississippi region, most of the early history may well be summarized in the statement: "it is a history of governments." But documentary materials unearthed in archives at home and abroad, though largely illustrative of French and Spanish official life in this western country, reveal not a little knowledge of that other phase of history: human adventure and human endeavor. Thus, for example, one may read the accounts of early discoveries and explorations, of the activities of Jesuit missionaries, of traders in furs and minerals, and of Indian tribes with which European invaders came into business and social relations. And although the story of those early years is oftentimes not easily ascertainable because the records are scattered or fragmentary, on the whole a satisfactory picture of the times may be obtained.

TRADING POSTS

Long before the glamor of American frontier romance began to center in Indian treaties and land cessions, in the advance of the pioneers and their occupation of virgin prairies and primeval forests, and in the establishment of government forts for preserving peace among hostile Indian tribes and protecting settlers from pillage and massacre, French traders and explorers dreamed of a chain of well-garrisoned forts along the St. Lawrence River to the

¹ See an article on Iowa History from 1699 to 1821 by Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh in the Iowa Historical Record, Vol. XVI, p. 29; and Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa, in three volumes, edited by the same author.

Ohio and thence down to the Gulf of Mexico. As is well known, they realized part of their dream: they were only scheming to retain the trade monopoly in the furs and minerals of the West, and heartily desired to check the encroachments of their aggressive neighbors and enemies, both British and Spanish.

In the Mississippi Valley signs of French enterprise began to appear at an early date along the river banks—centers of industry and later, sometimes, of Jesuit missionary zeal. Their crude stockades were designated "forts", but these forts, consisting merely of traders' huts surrounded perhaps with high fences of pickets or split logs, were points of commercial vantage rather than military strongholds.² Here the simple-minded savages bartered away products of the trap and chase for the civilized white man's products of factory, gun-shop, and distillery, the gaudier the goods and the stronger the spirits the more they attracted the Indians.

That the Iowa country, teeming with buffalo, elk, and deer, and wild animals of river and forest, furnished certain Indian tribes a comfortable livelihood there is no dearth of evidence to prove: the Iowa wilderness came to be included within the scope of French trading operations soon after French traders and missionaries reached the Great River. Although very little was known of the upper trans-Mississippi country before 1700 except from reports

² Parkman's A Half Century of Conflict (Little, Brown & Co., 1892), Vol. II, pp. 61-77.

For this article on forts the writer has not undertaken to delve in the field of the antiquarian in order to present a theory about the vestiges of mounds to be found in various parts of the State. Many writers declare their belief that a race of people antedating the Indians constructed these embankments for purposes of defence, thereby evincing a remarkable knowledge of engineering and military science. The reader is referred to Newhall's Sketches of Iowa, pp. 230–239; and Dr. Duren J. H. Ward's article in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. I, p. 56. Nor does the writer pretend to give an

of the Indians,³ a considerable array of arguments has been adduced to show that about the year 1690 Nicholas Perrot set up a trading post or "fort" on the western bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Wisconsin River in the region of the lead mines which he then operated for several years on both sides of the river. The weight of evidence, however, points to some locality on the Illinois side.⁴

Frenchmen like Du Luth and other bush-rangers had ventured as far north as Lake Pepin and the Blue Earth River in southern Minnesota, and there Le Seuer later established posts among the Sioux, who with the Ioways also overran what is now northern Iowa. French enterprises and French posts in this region almost came to an end when French officials came to blows with the Fox Indians who dwelt upon the banks of the Fox River, then a part of the chief trade-route to the upper Mississippi. These Foxes not only cut off traffic in furs but for many years after 1712 "embroiled the security of the Upper Country." At war with all the tribes and hounded and defeated by the French, the Foxes at last found sympathy among their Sac neighbors and then the allies fled into the Iowa wilderness: even there they were visited and attacked by their French and Indian pursuers.⁵ But the Sacs and Foxes were not destroyed: they became more insolent than ever, killed stray French voyageurs, and compelled the abandonment in 1737 of Fort Beauharnois among the Sioux.

account of all the temporary stockades that may have been erected in the State at times when rumors of hostile Indians inspired the pioneers with fear.

³ Parkman's A Half Century of Conflict, Vol. II, p. 8.

⁴ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. X, pp. 307-313, 323-330; and an article on Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi, by Dan E. Clark, in the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Vol. IV, pp. 95, 96.

⁵ For these facts the writer is indebted to Thwaites's preface to the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, pp. xiii, xv. The report of the French expedition against the Sacs and Foxes may be found on pages 245–261 below.

In 1738 the Governor-General of Canada sent Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, "to detach them from the sioux and restrain them from injuring the Illinois", and otherwise check the recalcitrants. There is a well-authenticated tradition that Marin built and maintained a fort until 1740 below the mouth of the Wisconsin River, at the head of Magill's Slough, on the Iowa bank of the Mississippi: early French settlers in the West spoke of it as Marin's Fort. This tradition lacks official confirmation, but that Marin must have been in the Iowa country is clear from the fact that the Sioux called upon him "at the River of the Swan on the Mississippi'' (Wapsipinicon River). Fort Beauharnois in southeastern Minnesota was also re-occupied by the French under Marin only to be abandoned in 1756 so that the troops might aid in the gigantic deathstruggle waged between their country and England in Europe and America. Thus practically foiled in their exploitation of the Iowa country, one year later the French could report no fort or trading post in this region, although their trade with the Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways had not yet entirely ceased.6

In 1762, as a result of England's death-grip, France ceded the Province of Louisiana west of the Mississippi to Spain, and later surrendered to the English not only Canada but also all claim to the country east of the Mississippi. Soon Englishmen got the lion's share of the Indian trade in at least the northern part of the trans-Mississippi region: English presents at the proper time won the goodwill and patronage of the natives.

⁶ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, pp. 178, 184. For Fort Marin see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. IX, p. 286; and Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1907, pp. 178, 179, and the map. Miss Louise Kellogg believes that Marin had several posts in this region, the chief one being located at the mouth of the Rock River. See Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, p. 221.

⁷ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. I, p. 32; and Vol. XVIII, p. 249.

Among the Indians who were accustomed to go to St. Louis to receive presents, the Spanish in the years 1769 and 1777 included the "Ayooua" or "Hayuas", a tribe "composed of two hundred and fifty warriors", dwelling "on the shores of the Muen [Des Moines] River." The Spaniards complained that though the Ioways, and the Sioux also, were engaged as hunters, "no benefit to [our] trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are entering that river from the English district". The Fox tribe of about three hundred and fifty warriors and the Sacs of four hundred warriors were declared trustworthy, despite the liberal presents of the English.

In 1779, during the period of Spain's ownership of the Iowa country, the Governor of Upper Louisiana, then domiciled at St. Louis, informed his superior, Bernardo de Galvez of New Orleans, that Fort San Carlos at the mouth of the Missouri River had outlived its usefulness and that "it would be advisable to establish another fort at the entrance of the Mua [Des Moines] river". De Galvez answered that the crown could not spare a garrison of two hundred men for the purpose, but that he would lay the proposition "before His Majesty so that he may determine what may be his royal pleasure." And he added: "I charge Your Grace meanwhile to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so straitly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace."

The governor at St. Louis received instructions in 1781 "to keep Mounsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Mississippi among the Sac

⁸ The principal village of Ioways stood near the present town of Iowaville in the northwestern corner of Van Buren County. See the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300, 306, 363, 364, 365.

⁹ Houck's Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 166.

tribe forty leagues from that village, in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes". The place referred to here was no doubt the Sac village just above the mouth of the Des Moines River near the present town of Montrose. That de Monbruen served his Spanish masters with "valor, zeal, and experience" for several years at this post¹o may be gathered from a complaint of the English in 1783: "There is a Mr. Moumbourne Bouché, a Canadian in the Mississippi with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c. He is Commissioned by the Spaniards".¹¹

By the treaty which concluded the successful revolution of the thirteen British colonies no terms prohibited English Canadian subjects from trading with Indian tribes east of the Mississippi in territory ceded by England to the new American government. Indeed, English traders not only did a thriving business on American soil but also poached on Spanish preserves. Some time before 1792 the Spanish Governor-General asserted that the only way to keep the English out of Upper Louisiana was to construct "two strong posts on the Mouis and San Pedro Rivers." These proposed forts on the Des Moines and the St. Peter's (Minnesota) were aimed at the Mackinac Company which operated in the region now embraced in Wisconsin, northern Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota.¹² The Spanish government, however, appears to have done nothing — the expense was too great.

In his military report to Don Luis de las Casas in 1794,

¹⁰ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, pp. 419, 422.

¹¹ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XII, p. 66.

¹² Houck in the Spanish Regime in Missouri, Vol. I, p. 332, states his belief that the rivers named were the Des Moines and the Iowa, but Thwaites in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, p. 441, believes "San Pedro" means St. Peter. See also his note on p. 439.

Baron de Carondelet laid great stress on the fact that the English were usurping the Indian trade and were "daily introducing themselves in greater numbers" upon the Missouri and among neighboring nations. He therefore urged the following plan: "A fort garrisoned by fifty men on the St. Pierre [San Pedro] River, which is one hundred and twenty leagues from St. Louis, and another fort on the Des Moines River, forty leagues from the said St. Louis, could entirely cut off all communication of the English with the savage nations of the west bank of the Mississippi, and of the Missouri — a trade so rich that notwithstanding the enormous distance of five hundred and more leagues of wilderness to cross with their merchandise and the furs which they receive in exchange, the London companies which engage in it do not fail to reap profits of a hundred per cent."

Carondelet felt certain that if these two forts were erected, "many settlers would flock to their vicinities, both from our settlements and from Canada, and the banks of the Ohio. Within a few years they would have several posts in those districts more populous than that of St. Louis at present, and could serve to protect the part of Louisiana higher up on the Missouri from the usurpation of the English and Americans." If detachments from the battalion at New Madrid should be stationed on the rivers mentioned, "they would suffice to cause the dominion of Spain to be respected throughout Upper Louisiana." But despite this enthusiastic recommendation nothing seems to have been done to impress English traders with the strength of Spain's rights: Spain meekly retransferred Louisiana to France in 1800, and then in 1803 Napoleon in despair sold the province to the Americans.

¹³ Robertson's Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States, Vol. I, pp. 335-337. See also the Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVIII, pp. 449, 452.

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That English subjects had traded upon the Des Moines River for a quarter of a century is no longer open to question, but just when they set up trading posts has not yet been ascertained. In the year 1805 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike led the first American expedition to explore the Upper Mississippi Valley. The Des Moines River, the largest tributary to which he came, he charted on his map with some twenty branches, and marked upon it the positions of two forts Crawford, Fort St. Louis, and Fort Gelaspy. Since it appears from Pike's Journal that he did not explore the river at all, one wonders how he was enabled to sketch the river and locate the sites of four forts. The names suggest an English origin, if anything, as the American government had not yet planted forts in this region. Lewis and Clark had reported that the "Ayouwais" Indians dwelt upon the Des Moines River and traded with "Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac". This would suggest that the four forts were trading posts of the Mackinac Company. 14

THE DES MOINES FACTORY AND FORT MADISON

Beginning with the year 1804 the United States government turned its attention to the western country. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory and of the

14 American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. The Yankton Sioux also traded with Crawford on the Des Moines River. In Coues's The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, Vol. I, p. 13, the editor offers no explanation of the origin of these forts but refers knowingly to "old Forts Crawford and St. Louis".

Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America in 1809, 1810, and 1811, (Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. V), contains a map which shows three forts on the Des Moines River situated below the mouth of the Raccoon River. In the Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 88, a writer states that Fort Crawford stood a short distance below Portland; Fort Gelaspy was nearly opposite Iowaville; and "Fort St. Thomas" was at or near Chillicothe.

In response to the writer's letter of inquiry, the late Dr. Thwaites wrote: "I know nothing of these forts beyond the fact that they are upon the map, and that Pike no doubt got his information with regard to them at Prairie du

District of Louisiana and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and later President of the nation, effected a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes whose tepee villages, seven in number, then overlooked the Mississippi River in the Iowa-Illinois country. In sending this treaty to the Senate for ratification President Jefferson favored it as "the means of retaining exclusive commerce with the Indians west of the Mississippi River — a right indispensable to the policy of governing those Indians by commerce rather than by arms."

The government promised to establish a trading house or factory among the Indians "in order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions practised upon them by private traders." The Indians also consented to let the government set up a military post at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin River: since the land on the lower side of the river might not be suitable for that purpose, the tribes agreed that a fort might be built, either on the upper side of the "Ouisconsin", or on the right bank of the Mississippi in the Iowa country, as the one or the other might be found most convenient. 15

Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, as has been noted, commanded the first American army expedition up the Mississippi

Chien. There can be no doubt they were traders' blockhouses. There were two British traders who made headquarters at Prairie du Chien, named Crawford, Redford and Lewis. You will find a little information regarding them in Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX. 'Gelaspy' is probably the phonetic spelling of a trader named 'Gillespie', also noted in Ibid., page 337. 'St. Louis' may have been named for the Christian name of Lewis Crawford, as was common practice among French engagées. I should be inclined to think that the Crawfords and George Gillespie were operating on the Des Moines, possibly in partnership, and that the forts were named for the partners. Bradbury's map is evidently derived from Pike's, or from information obtained from him.''

Two traders were licensed in 1825 to carry on business with the Yankton Sioux at "Fort Confederation, on the Second Forks of the Des Moines River". See Senate Documents, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58, pp. 5, 6.

¹⁵ Kappler's Indian Affairs, Vol. II, pp. 74-76.

River in the summer of 1805. According to instructions he selected three sites suitable for military establishments, and described a place which corresponds to the site of the city of Burlington. "Looking across the Mississippi from this eminence," read Pike's words, "you have an elegant view on an immense prairie, as far as the eye can extend, now and then interrupted by clumps of trees; and to crown all, immediately under the hill is a limestone spring, sufficient for the consumption of a regiment." He also selected a spot at or near McGregor, Clayton County, and reported that if "the annoyance of any European power who might be induced to attack it with cannon" were contemplated, the place was infinitely better than a location on the Wisconsin River just opposite. 16

Lieutenant Pike at this time also considered situations for the government trading post to be erected in the Sac and Fox country. Not until 1808, however, did the government take active steps to carry out the treaty provisions of 1804. At that time the United States maintained Fort Bellefontaine four miles above the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi and Fort Dearborn on the site of Chicago, as well as some posts in the southern part of the Indiana-Illinois region. In the autumn of this year Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley received orders at Fort Bellefontaine to proceed up the Mississippi and fix on a suitable site for a factory and fort near the Des Moines River. On the 22nd of November, he wrote to the Secretary of War from his garrison "at Belle Vue, near River Le Moine," that he had nearly finished the construction of the factory, storehouses, and barracks. He expressed his belief that no place would prove more advantageous for the Indian trade, and

¹⁶ Coues's The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, Vol. I, pp. 223, 224. The writers who base their statements on Charles Negus's article in the Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. V, p. 882, holding that the site of Fort Madison was chosen at this time, are quite certainly mistaken.

said he hoped that by spring he would have the fort "so far advanced that it will bid defiance to the evil-minded savage, and at the same time insure the respect and friendship of the better disposed."

One is not surprised to find many of the Sacs and Foxes in a state of alarm and consternation while these military measures were under way. One of the Sac braves, Black Hawk, always under British influence, later told how the American soldiers went about their work with weapons in hand, "acting as if they were in an enemy's country". To allay their fears the Indians were told that these were only houses for a trader who was coming there to live and sell goods very cheaply, and that the soldiers would remain "to keep him company".17 Despite remonstrances by the natives, the work went on: three blockhouses, two factory buildings, officers' quarters, two barracks, a guard house, and a surgeon's office were constructed within a high palisaded stockade overlooking the river and named Fort Madison in honor of the President, though also frequently referred to as Fort Belle Vue, and sometimes called the Le Moine or Des Moines factory. 18

The construction of a fort at this point was certainly not a violation either of the letter or of the spirit of the treaty of 1804, as so many writers have asserted, for the Indians had consented to the stipulation: "at or near the mouth of the Ouisconsin, . . . or on the right bank of the Mississippi". The government merely exercised its right

¹⁷ See any edition of the autobiography of Black Hawk. This brave, as is well known, became the leader of hundreds of disaffected Indians who viewed American encroachments with alarm, and in 1832 was only subdued as the result of a brief campaign called "The Black Hawk War".

¹⁸ American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 769, 770, 772, 773, 784, 789; and Vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 39, 58.

In a footnote on page 51, Vol. V, of Thwaites's Early Western Travels, appears the unwarranted statement that in 1808 a treaty was made with the Indians, "by which the first American post west of the Mississippi was erected

of choice. One faction of the Sacs and Foxes exclaimed loudly against the government's act of hostility, but Black Hawk and English traders from Mackinac (whose business was threatened) were no doubt the principal instigators of discontent. It was the recognized American policy to exclude British subjects from trade with the Indians, and hence also agents of the Mackinac Company. British traders then overran the Upper Mississippi country, sold at high prices goods of the best quality, manufactured expressly for the Indians, and poisoned the minds of their patrons against the American government's factors, who generally kept inferior goods—so inferior it is said that the Indians found in them a source of laughter!²⁰

Fort Madison and its factory received no glad welcome from the natives, and from the first was destined to pass no easy time. Considerable alarm reigned in the garrison during the winter of 1808–1809, and in the following spring a plot to kill the soldiers and destroy the fort was frus-

— Fort Madison which served in a measure to restrain their ravages.'' Fort Bellefontaine was built some years before and there is no record of a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes in the year 1808. See also Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. XXVI, p. 117; and Thwaites's Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. V, p. 392, where Walter B. Douglas declares that from 1809 to 1815 Bellefontaine was the headquarters of the department of Louisiana, including forts Madison, Massac, Osage, and Vincennes.

In American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. I, p. 247, there is an item of \$332.02 spent on the fort. The President of the United States was authorized by law to establish trading-houses at such posts and places on the frontiers or in the Indian country, on either or both sides of the Mississippi River, as he should judge most convenient for the purpose of carrying on a liberal trade with the Indians.— United States Statutes at Large, Vol. II, p. 402.

¹⁹ Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XIX, p. 403, and footnotes on pp. 383, 386.

²⁰ See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, p. 519. In a personal narrative the sutler of the Fort Madison troops renders an interesting account of the fort and the Indians.

In his *Pilgrimages*, Vol. II, p. 150, Beltrami remarks that the object of the government was "not speculation, but by its example, to fix reasonable prices among the traders". The Indians appear never to have become aware of this.

trated. Later, when Black Hawk's Sacs and the warlike Winnebagoes absented themselves to wreak their vengeance elsewhere, the factory carried on a thriving business. Of the ten government trading houses which reported for the years 1807–1811 Fort Madison's gains were estimated at \$10,000, recovered on hatter's furs and on lead which the Indians were said to dig and smelt, "succeeding remarkably well".21

In January, 1812, the government factor wrote of Winnebago robbery and murder, and added: "Every hour I look for a war party, and God only knows when it will end. I hope you will cause immediate relief by increasing our number of men at this post".22 The Indians, principally Winnebagoes who were for many years firebrands upon the American frontier, led by the ubiquitous Sac brave, Black Hawk, attacked and besieged Fort Madison during the later months of 1812. War between England and the United States had already broken out, and British subjects in the Mississippi Valley availed themselves of every opportunity to fan the flame of Indian discord and hostility. The British band of Sacs and Foxes went around arrayed in British uniforms and armed with British powder and balls. It was difficult to defend this lone stronghold in the Iowa country: according to a contemporaneous account, "as from an eminence their parade ground could be swept by small arms, and it is almost surrounded by chasms to within ten or twelve steps of the pickets and block-houses, from whence the Indians threw upwards of 500 pieces of

²¹ American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 784, 789; and The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 520-524.

Chittenden seems never to have heard of Fort Madison for he asserts in his History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West, pp. 628, 948, that Fort Osage, or Fort Clark, as it was called, (near Sibley, Missouri), was "the site of the only government factory for the Indian trade west of the Mississippi River."

²² American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 805, 806, 807, 809.

burning timber on the roofs of the houses; and when the attack commenced there was no spot about the fort that did not emit a continued sheet of fire from guns, fiery arrows and brands, and did not afford the brave fellows within an opportunity of doing much execution, except now and then knocking over such red skins as had the impudence to peep over the bank."

The garrison prevented the buildings from catching fire by using guns as syringes to keep the roofs wet. It was believed that the enemy was only waiting for a favorable wind to sweep flames from the factory and thus set fire to the whole establishment. On a calm evening, therefore, the commanding officer, it is said, "despatched a soldier with fire to the factory; and in less than three hours that building was consumed without danger to the garrison — during this day several Indians crept into an old stable and commenced shooting out of it, but a shot from the cannon by lt. B. Vasques, soon made their yellow jackets fly." In the destruction of the factory the government sustained a loss of \$5,500 including peltries, bear skins, and other articles.²⁴

²³ Niles's *The Weekly Register*, Vol. III, p. 142. Here the establishment is called Fort Belle-Vue.

A. F. Baronet Vasquez was born at St. Louis in 1783, the fifth of the twelve children of Benito Vasquez and Julia Papin. He accompanied Zebulon M. Pike as interpreter on the tour of discovery to the source of the Arkansas River in the years 1806 and 1807. In 1810 Pike came across his "Baroney" and wrote to the Secretary of War as follows: "He has been absent going on four years, and begs permission to return to St. Louis to see his Aged parents, The French language is his proper one; but he speaks Spanish very well, and is beginning with the English, but very imperfectly as yet."

Vasquez was transferred as ensign to the First Infantry, October 31, 1810; commissioned as second lieutenant, March 4, 1811; promoted to a first lieutenancy, July 30, 1813; and resigned October 1, 1814.—Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, p. lxiv, and Vol. II, p. 364.

²⁴ American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, p. 59.

The information presented in Gue's History of Iowa, Vol. I, p. 151, can not be authenticated — in fact it is palpably erroneous. This applies equally to Fulton's The Red Men of Iowa, p. 76.

Existence at the fort became more and more precarious as the year 1813 wore on: the garrison, never more than one hundred men, spent night and day in ceaseless watching, and the Indians, taking advantage of their superior position and numbers, grew more and more insolent and bold. The only alternative to starvation was escape. This was effected by digging a short trench from the fort to the Mississippi River, creeping out on hands and knees to the water's edge, and after setting fire to the fort embarking safely in some boats, to the amazement of the unsuspecting besiegers.²⁵

Thus ended the first and only factory-fort establishment in the Iowa country.²⁶ One writer did not hesitate to say that the facts "attest most fully the positive inefficiency of the system in conciliating the Indians; for at Fort Wayne, Chicago, and Fort Madison, previous to the war, public trade was in full operation, and flourishing, I believe, beyond anything we have seen in these latter days; and yet, so far from 'reclaiming them from savage habits,' they did not in a single instance during the whole contest avert the dreadful effects of an irruption into our defenceless frontier; nor did they ever disarm the savage of one particle of his natural ferocity."²⁷ For upwards of twenty years the lone ruins of several tall chimneys stood sentinel-like upon the river bank — almost the sole evidence of a past civiliza-

²⁵ For a full account of Fort Madison history see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 97–110; and for a picture of the old fort see Vol. IV, p. 227. The Morrison Manufacturing Company of Fort Madison now occupies the site.

Moines trading-house'', but it is doubtful whether this establishment could have stood without a fort in the hostile Indian country of Iowa. It was probably south of the first establishment and thus nearer St. Louis. In the year 1816 Prairie du Chien became a government station for the fur trade. See American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 39, 58, 60, 328.

²⁷ American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Vol. II, pp. 64, 331.

tion in the Iowa country and the only objects of attraction to occasional passersby upon the Mississippi River highway.²⁸

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 1)

For a period of fifteen years following the War of 1812 the United States government more than redoubled its activity in establishing its power in the upper Mississippi region. Fort-building became a settled government policy. Thus in 1816 Fort Edwards arose in Illinois a few miles below the ruins of Fort Madison; Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, a favorite Indian resort, in 1816; Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, also in 1816; Fort Atkinson on Council Bluff on the Nebraska side of the Missouri in 1819; Camp Cold Water or Fort St. Anthony on the St. Peter's or Minnesota River in 1820 (named Fort Snelling in 1824); and Fort Winnebago at the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers. Fort Bellefontaine near St. Louis was superseded by the construction of Jefferson Barracks in 1827; and in the same year Fort Leavenworth appeared farther west on the frontier of the Indian country, replacing Forts Osage and Atkinson. Such evidences of military power struck terror into savage breasts, and not only served to keep foreign subjects out of American territory for the Indian trade, but served also "to invite wild and profitless adventures into the Indian country, the usual consequences of which are personal collisions with the

28 Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. XII, p. 237; Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. II, p. 75; Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny in Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, p. 126; and Beltrami's Pilgrimages, Vol. II, p. 150. See also the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 368, where Kearny's Journal of the expedition across Iowa in 1820 is reprinted.

In 1908 at the centennial celebration of the founding of Fort Madison, a memorial chimney was dedicated, having been erected by the Jean Espy chapter of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution.— The Register and Leader (Des Moines), December 3, 1911. See also the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 551.

natives, and the government is then put to the expense of a military expedition to vindicate the rights of these straggling traders."²⁹

The Iowa country remained a hunting ground for the Sac and Fox and the Ioway Indians, and also for their hereditary enemies the Sioux; and white settlers who stole across the river from Illinois to work the lead mines around Dubuque were studiously driven out by troops from the forts in accordance with treaty stipulations. In 1832 the Black Hawk purchase marked the beginning of the end of Indian domination in the Iowa wilderness, and in June, 1833, emigrants from eastern States began to rush in vast numbers to occupy thousands of acres along the western bank of the Mississippi. Then followed in a short time an order of the War Department commanding Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen W. Kearny to proceed with three companies of dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to take up winter quarters near the mouth of the Des Moines River. One regiment of dragoons had been organized to replace the Mounted Rangers, and was designed to protect the western frontier settlements. The Black Hawk War of 1832 had cost the government about one million dollars. In order to restrain the Indian's "savage ferocity and supersede the necessity of retaliation" in the future, the distribution of horse troops, a species of military force peculiarly dreaded by the Indians, was thus provided by Congress.30

²⁹ American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. IV, p. 1. For the details of a march from Camp Missouri (Fort Atkinson, Nebraska) to Camp Cold Water (Fort Snelling) in the summer of 1820, see the journal of Stephen Watts Kearny in the Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, or in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 343-371.

Fort Snelling, Minnesota, in the northern part of the Territory of Iowa does not properly fall within the scope of this article on forts in the Iowa country.

³⁰ United States Statutes at Large, Vol. IV, p. 652. For the removal of intruders upon the Sac and Fox lands in Iowa, see Senate Documents, 1st Session, 23d Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 943; Vol. IX, pp. 221, 223, 558, 603; and Vol. X, p. 2.

Kearny proceeded to the present site of Montrose, just north of an apple-orchard which an Indian trader, Louis Honore Tesson, had planted upon his Spanish land grant of 1799, and completed barracks, begun by Lieutenant Crossman, for over one hundred and fifty men, late in the year 1834. "Camp Des Moines, Michigan Territory" became the garrison's official address until changed to "Fort Des Moines". A distinguished Englishman visited the Fort and pronounced its site "chosen with singularly bad judgment; it is low, unhealthy, and quite unimportant in a military point of view". In his book of travels he gave an insight into the personnel of this Iowa military post, or cantonment, as it was also sometimes called. His account, no doubt eagerly read in England, deserves to be reprinted here: 31

I landed only for a few minutes, and had but just time to remark the pale and sickly countenances of such soldiers as were loitering about the beach; indeed, I was told by a young man who was sutler at this post, that when he had left it a few weeks before, there was only one officer on duty out of seven or eight, who were stationed there. The number of desertions from this post was said to be greater than from any other in the United States. The

31 The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray's Travels in North America, Vol. II, pp. 98, 99.

In the autumn of 1833 another Englishman, Charles Joseph Latrobe, tells of meeting some of America's "embryo dragoons": "Just in this moment, most unexpectedly and fortunately for us, a number of barges were seen emerging from the deep glen of the Ouisconsin, and turning up the Mississippi towards the Fort [Crawford]. They were found to contain a body of recruits for the frontier posts of St. Peter's and the Prairie [du Chien], and for a regiment of dragoons forming near St. Louis. They had made their way thus far from the Atlantic States, by way of Detroit, Lake Huron, Green Bay, Fox River, and over the portage into the Ouisconsin. The two barges containing the recruits bound to St. Louis were in command of a young officer, who promptly made us an offer to join company.

"The recruits for the service of the newly-raised regiment of dragoons organizing for the future service of the frontier, in place of the Rangers, our quondam swopping acquaintances of last autumn, were distinguished from the rag-tag-and-bob-tail herd drafted into the ranks of the regular army, by being

reason is probably this: the dragoons who are posted there and at Fort Leavenworth, were formed out of a corps, called during the last Indian war "The Rangers;" they have been recruited chiefly in the Eastern States, where young men of some property and enterprise were induced to join, by the flattering picture drawn of the service, and by the advantageous opportunity promised of seeing the "Far West." They were taught to expect an easy life in a country abounding with game, and that the only hardships to which they would be exposed, would be in the exciting novelty of a yearly tour or circuit made during the spring and summer, among the wild tribes on the Missouri, Arkansas, Platte, &c.; but on arriving at their respective stations, they found a very different state of things: they were obliged to build their own barracks, storerooms, stables, &c.; to haul and cut wood, and to perform a hundred other menial or mechanical offices, so repugnant to the prejudices of an American. If we take into consideration the facilities of escape in a steam-boat, by which a deserter may place himself in a few days in the recesses of Canada, Texas, or the mines, and at the same time bear in mind the feebleness with which the American military laws and customs follow or punish deserters, we shall only wonder that the ranks can be kept as full as they are. The officers of the army know, feel, and regret this; but they dare not utter their sentiments, and wholesome discipline is made to give place to the pride and prejudice of the "sovereign people," from whose fickle breath all power and distinction must proceed.

Fort Des Moines was never intended as a permanent post but as a stopping-place on the road to the Indian country

for the most part picked, athletic young men of decent character and breeding. They were all Americans, whereas the ordinary recruits consist either of the scum of the population of the older States, or of the worthless German, English, or Irish emigrants."—The Rambler in North America, Vol. II, pp. 317, 318.

Of the Rangers who formed a nucleus for the Dragoons he wrote as follows: "Each appeared garbed as his fancy or finances dictated. Among them there was an amusing variety of character, and I have a suspicion that, intermingled with some very sober and worthy members of society, allured to enlist by a desire to see the world and to lead a holiday kind of life away from their farms for a twelve-month, there was a very large sprinkling of prodigal sons and neer-do-weels."—The Rambler in North America, Vol. I, p. 180.

See also the letter of a dragoon, James C. Parrott, in the Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 180.

farther west. Indeed, only one thing of any importance was accomplished by the troops: Kearny obeyed orders from headquarters to march up the Des Moines River to reconnoitre with a view to the selection of a site for a new military post, then to visit the Sioux villages near the highlands on the Mississippi, whence he was to proceed westward returning to his fort along the right bank of the Des Moines River. Second Lieutenant Albert M. Lea participated in this one-thousand-one-hundred-mile summer campaign of 1835. He soon afterward compiled and published the first popular account of the "Iowa District", then a part of Wisconsin Territory. It is believed that this booklet brought the name "Iowa" into general use. Abandoning Fort Des Moines in June, 1837, the dragoons returned to their regimental quarters at Fort Leavenworth.32

CAMP KEARNEY

Although Fort Leavenworth afforded good protection to the settlers of western Missouri, John Dougherty, Indian agent at the Council Bluffs Agency at Bellevue, in 1834, and the citizens of Clay County, Missouri, in 1836, urged Congress to erect a line of military posts upon the Indian frontier. They wished to see well constructed forts, each accommodating one company of infantry and two companies of dragoons, at or near the Des Moines Rapids of the Mis-

32 A journal of this extensive expedition may be found in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. VII, pp. 364-378.

See Clifford Powell's article on Lea's contributions to Iowa history in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. IX, pp. 3-32.

There is a detailed account of Fort Des Moines, No. 1, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 351-363. The same article appeared in Porter's *Annals of Polk County*, *Iowa*, pp. 76-92.

An old settler of Lee County has told of Samuel Brierly and others who were engaged in the retail whiskey traffic. These men allowed the soldiers to indulge too freely, disturbances arose, and later orders were issued by Col. Kearny to destroy all intoxicating liquors found in possession of the citizens of Nashville near by.— Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. V, p. 888.

sissippi; at the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River; at a point where the northern boundary of the State of Missouri touches the Missouri River; at Fort Leavenworth; and at other points to the south. These citizens believed that the dragoons should be employed in patroling the roads between such permanent posts instead of performing long and disastrous journeys to the Rocky Mountains; that they should open roads, build bridges, and establish ferries; and that the government should establish a regular mail service between all the posts. Congress, however, was not convinced of the necessity of such precaution against the Indians.³³

While eastern Iowa consisted of the two counties of Dubuque and Demoine, the united tribes of Pottawattamie, Chippewa, and Ottawa Indians were given hunting-grounds in what is now southwestern Iowa. Here they arrived in the summer of the year 1837,³⁴ about two thousand in number. Occasional hunting parties of warlike Sioux came down from the north and committed offences which threw the newcomers into confusion. To quiet their apprehensions Colonel Kearny made an expedition from Fort Leavenworth sometime in the spring of 1838 and left a body of dragoons to preserve the peace. Upon the heights above Indian Creek, near a spring, they erected a block-house, and set up barracks and tents on ground close by.

These troops did not stay long, for on May 31st Father de Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary, recorded his arrival among the Pottawattamies: their chief gave him and his companions possession of three cabins and Colonel Kearny donated the log fort. Father de Smet added: "On the day

³³ Senate Documents, 1st Session, 24th Congress, Vol. II, No. 22.

³⁴ The date has been variously given, as can be discovered in the writer's article on the early history of western Iowa in The Iowa Journal of History AND Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 341, 342.

of Corpus Christi I put up a cross on the roof, and while I climbed the ladder to put it in place, and my flag floated from a hole in my breeches, Father Felix beheld the devil clap his tail between his legs and take flight over the big hills."

On his famous expedition to map out the upper Mississippi Valley, Nicollet stopped at the block-house in the month of May, 1839. He later acknowledged the services received from the "Revs. P. J. Smedt and Felix Werreydt, missionaries among the Pottawatomies at Camp Kearney, near Council Bluffs, on the Missouri." The presence of troops became necessary here at different times during the years 1839 and 1840, though they seem not to have been permanently located, for in September, 1840, when a small party of Sioux had killed and scalped a Pottawattamie, Kearny came with a force of dragoons and "established a degree of confidence" among the Pottawattamies who were afraid of a general descent upon them by the Sioux. 35

MILITARY ROADS

It seems to have been the practice of Congress whenever new Territories were organized to appropriate sums of money for what were called "Military Roads". The gov-

35 A writer in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series) appears to have been unable to obtain an official statement from the War Department with regard to this block-house, the first building in what later became Council Bluffs; but Vol. II, p. 549, contains a short account by an old settler and also an illustration. Mr. Bloomer, the writer, is inaccurate as to dates. See Chittenden and Richardson's Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S. J., 1801–1873, pp. 15, 158. For the place of Camp Kearney in western Iowa history the reader is referred to The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 346–355.

See also House Documents, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 52, pp. 94, 98, 99, for Nicollet's map and report. This scientist made Camp Kearney one of the two principal "barometer stations" of the whole region and he thanked "the venerable missionaries, the Rev. Messrs De Smedt and Werreydt" for their observations. Pierre Jean de Smet and Felix Verreydt were Jesuit missionaries, frequently met with in western history. See Senate Documents, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, p. 56; and 2nd Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, p. 321.

ernment undertook to open up such thoroughfares "professedly for military purposes, so that troops in case of war with the Indians or when needed for other purposes could be quickly moved from one portion of the Territory to another." In the year 1839 Congress appropriated \$20,000 for a road from Dubuque by way of the Territorial capital at Iowa City and county seats to such point on the northern boundary of the State of Missouri as might be best suited for its future extension by that State to the cities of Jefferson and St. Louis. The Secretary of War was also authorized to spend \$5,000 on the construction of a road from Burlington through the counties of Des Moines, Henry, and Van Buren towards the Indian Agency on the river Des Moines. Later Congress gave \$15,000 for constructing and keeping in repair bridges on these two roads, although thousands of dollars more were needed to complete the work in a satisfactory manner.36

FORT ATKINSON

In the year 1825 the federal government arranged for the survey of a line from the mouth of the Upper Iowa River southwestward to the Cedar River and thence west, intending this as a barrier between those inveterate foes, the Sioux on the north and the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways on the south. In 1830 these Indians ceded to the United States strips of country twenty miles wide on both sides of the line of separation. Daniel Boone's son, Nathan, received the appointment to survey the new Indian cession. Two years later the Winnebagoes exchanged their lands south of the

³⁶ The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. III, pp. 219, 221, 222, and the map on p. 183. See also Senate Documents, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 598.

The State legislature of Iowa passed two resolutions asking Congress for the establishment of military roads: one from Iowa City via Fort Des Moines to the Missouri, and the other from Keokuk via Keosauqua to Council Bluffs.— Laws of Iowa, 1846–1847, p. 197; and 1848–1849, p. 196.

Wisconsin River for the eastern portion of this neutral ground,³⁷ but it was not until the year 1840 that all had removed to a site on Turkey River. To protect them from the incursions of their Sioux, Sac, and Fox neighbors and from adventuresome white settlers who were looking for good lands, and to prevent trespasses beyond the limits of their reservation, a company of infantry was ordered to leave Fort Crawford and camp in the Winnebago country, where they were to set up barracks. With ample accommodations for quartering one full regiment of troops and stabling several hundred horses, this military post in its highly romantic and picturesque position in what later became Winneshiek County was named Fort Atkinson. In the vicinity stood an Indian agency and an Indian school.

So constantly were the peaceable Winnebagoes alarmed by the threatening attitude of their neighbors and hence so eager were they to emigrate to a safer habitat that a company of dragoons arrived in 1841 to allay their fears. Captain Sumner and his company, with Captain Allen's company from Fort Des Moines (established at Raccoon Fork), were in the saddle for three months during the summer of 1845, ascending the St. Peter's River in the northern part of the Territory of Iowa, where they held many impressive councils or talks with half-breeds and other Indians, "besides seizing, for trial in the civil courts, several former offenders among the Sioux Indians, whose homes are within our limits." And many times detachments of these troops at Fort Atkinson were despatched to drive out squatters or remove intruders from Sac and Fox lands to the south. Furthermore the vigilance of Captain Sumner and his dragoons was said to be "an effectual check against the

²⁷ Iowa Historical Lectures, 1892, pp. 46, 51; Senate Documents, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, p. 249; and House Documents, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, p. 229.

smuggling of whiskey into this section of the Indian country by the whites." 38

The breaking out of war with Mexico necessitated the removal of the entire garrison in July, 1846. To replace it, Governor Clarke of Iowa secured authority from the Secretary of War to muster into service a company of volunteer foot and also one of volunteer cavalry. Hardly had they served one month when the commander of the western division of the United States Army ordered the mounted company to be dispensed with, to the great dissatisfaction of the General Assembly of the Territory of Iowa.³⁹

The Winnebagoes were described as "the most drunken, worthless, and degraded tribe". Owing to their habitual drunkenness and wanderings into the settled parts of Wisconsin and Iowa, and "their obstinate perseverance in establishing themselves in considerable numbers on the Mississippi River, out of their own country," the troops were kept busy bringing them back. When Iowa was admitted into the Union in December, 1846, the Winnebagoes were the only Indians in the eastern half of the State, where they remained until their removal by the troops in the year 1848. Fort Atkinson continued to be occupied until February, 1849, and in 1853 the barracks, gun-houses, and powder-house were sold at public auction.

When it became known that Fort Atkinson was to be abandoned, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa

³⁸ Senate Documents, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, pp. 208, 217, 487. See also The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 258-268.

³⁹ House Documents, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 34; and Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847, p. 194.

⁴⁰ Senate Documents, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, p. 482, where Governor John Chambers, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Iowa, renders an interesting report.

⁴¹ History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties, Iowa, p. 317.

Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 448, contains a detailed account and picture of Fort Atkinson. See also Newhall's Glimpse of Iowa in 1846, p. 37.

passed an act to establish at that place an agricultural school as a branch of the State University, provided Congress would donate the site and the buildings of the fort, besides two sections of land. To quote from an interesting memorial to Congress on this subject:

Agriculture being the leading interest in this state, we desire to elevate the condition of those who engage in it, to cause it to be regarded as a progressive science; and for this purpose to furnish our young men with the means of combining sound theory with useful observation and experiment.

To effect this object we contemplate the early establishment of our agricultural school upon the manual labor plan . . . The location is one of the finest agricultural portions of the State, and will soon be surrounded by a dense population. The buildings are well adapted to the use for which we desire them, they would well accommodate one or two hundred students, together with the necessary dining and recitation rooms, and would be of comparatively little value for any other purpose. If sold they would bring but a trifle, and if left unoccupied and unprotected after the removal of the troops they will be subject to great depredations and will soon become to a great extent ruined.

This appeal of January, 1848, meeting with no response, was followed by others in 1851 and 1853, when Congress was asked to appropriate the grounds and buildings of the fort "to the occupancy and use of a normal manual labor and military institute" to be maintained at the State's expense. Fort Atkinson is to-day a small town of some six hundred inhabitants.

FORT CROGHAN

In April, 1842, a company of troops commanded by Captain J. H. K. Burgwin hastened by steamboat from Fort

The Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution made a commendable move when they directed their "Early Iowa Trails" committee to investigate the matter of preserving old Fort Atkinson. The Waucoma Chapter has made an effort to purchase it.— Twelfth Annual Conference, pp. 28, 43.

42 Laws of Iowa, 1847-1848, p. 99; 1850-1851, p. 242; and 1852-1853, p. 202.

Leavenworth up the Missouri River to the bluffs inhabited by the Pottawattamies. There was reason to fear the commencement of war between the Sioux and the united tribes. "Prompt and rigorous measures were adopted to prevent this outbreak, which, if it had commenced, would have involved consequences of the most hazardous character to the combatants; would probably have embroiled neighboring tribes, and could have been arrested by the Government only at great cost." As a result Camp Fenwick, or (as it was later called) Fort Croghan, was constructed as a temporary post on May 31, 1842, midway between the outlets of the Boyer and the Mosquito rivers, near the southwest corner of the present city of Council Bluffs. The united tribes were thus assured of protection, while the Sioux were warned to abstain from the threatened attack. The troops also helped to suppress illicit liquor traffic with the Indians and assisted the resident Indian agent in the enforcement of the intercourse laws.

On May 10, 1843, John James Audubon, the famous naturalist, chronicled his arrival at Fort Croghan, which, he wrote, was "named after an old friend of that name, with whom I hunted raccoons on his father's plantation in Kentucky, thirty-five years before. His father and mine were well acquainted, and fought together with the great Generals Washington and Lafayette in the Revolutionary War against 'Merry England.' The parade-ground here had been four feet under water in the late freshet." He also recorded the fact that the officers of the post were nearly destitute of provisions the year before, and sent off twenty dragoons and twenty Indians on a buffalo hunt; and that they killed, within eighty miles of the fort, fifty-one buffaloes, one hundred and four deer, and ten elks. Late in September, 1843, the troops took their departure: their presence had been necessary only in order that the American government might prove its good faith to the Indians in accordance with treaty provisions.⁴³

FORT SANFORD

While troops were stationed at Fort Des Moines near the present town of Montrose and plans were being formulated with regard to a fort on the Des Moines River near the Sac and Fox villages, considerable discussion took place in military circles as to the advisability of a military road to Fort Leavenworth. Some persons advocated a highway from Fort Des Moines via the Raccoon Forks as "a route of travel and communication between the several and various parts of our immense western frontier", at the expense of cutting down timber for a reasonable width, bridging streams, and causewaying marshy places. The Indians of course objected to such improvements as roads and forts because they would frighten away the remnant of game animals, their only means of sustenance in that region.44

But the Sacs and Foxes were given no choice in the matter. Events so shaped themselves that the United States Indian Agent at the Sac and Fox Agency reported as follows in the year 1842:

I know of no point upon our Indian frontier where the permanent presence of a military force is more essentially requisite than at this. Within a period of less than two years it has been necessary

43 The United States was then divided into nine military departments: Fort Croghan belonged to the third. See the chart in *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 210, 387; 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 395; and *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, Nicollet's map, p. 7.

This account is based on War Department records and on the memory of D. C. Bloomer of Council Bluffs.— Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 471. Chittenden is, of course, mistaken when he declares in his History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West, p. 950, that Fort Croghan "stood a little above the present Union Pacific bridge in Omaha".

Life of John James Audubon, pp. 420, 421; and Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 383.

44 American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. VI, pp. 12-15, 53, 151.

three times to call for a detachment, whose march on each occasion has been attended with much expense and inconvenience, while requisition for another to attend the approaching payment has been sent. No obstructions, no means of prevention, here exist to the continual passage to and fro in the Indian country of the most lawless and desperate characters, who can at any time commit outrages against order, morality, and the laws, with perfect impunity; and many of whom, feeling themselves aggrieved by their recent expulsions from the Indian country, are the more ready to avenge themselves by acts of violence.

To prevent the lawless and destructive acts of persons who eagerly coveted farms in the Indian reservation, Governor Chambers called upon the government to keep a small force ready near the Indian agency: a slight intrusion might be enough "to irritate the Indians and induce them to act rashly." Early in the year 1842 Fort Atkinson troops expelled some squatters and returned to their post. In September their services were again enlisted in the Sac and Fox country, and so by permission of John Sanford of the American Fur Company a force of dragoons took up their abode in eight log cabins on the left bank of the Des Moines River and built two officers' huts and stables, some twenty miles west of Fairfield, the nearest post-office. Captain James Allen called this temporary post Fort Sanford: the War Department preferred the name "Sac and Fox Agency". Here in October, 1842, Governor John Chambers effected a treaty with the Indians. Of this event, so important in the history of the settlement of Iowa, there has been preserved an interesting contemporaneous newspaper account in which the editor took exception to the Governor's "most ridiculous and most reprehensible" insistence upon the presence of troops:

The treaty was conducted with great dignity and propriety, if we may except the introduction of dragoons to keep out citizens beyond hearing distance. Capt. Allen and Lt. Ruff, of the

Dragoons are talented and gentlemanly officers, and were present in obedience to orders — but Gov. Chambers certainly believes too much in show, or greatly mistakes the character of our citizens, if he deems all this flummery and metal-button authority necessary to the order, dignity or success of a treaty.⁴⁵

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 2)

Fort Des Moines at the Raccoon Forks was the immediate successor of Fort Sanford. The building of a military post on the Des Moines River had been contemplated (see above) as part of a larger plan to defend the western frontier stretching from Fort Snelling in the north to Forts Gibson and Towson in the south. In 1837 the Quartermaster General recommended that a position at the upper fork be permanently occupied. The probable expense was estimated at \$30,000 "for quarters for 400 men, and stables for, say, 100 dragoon horses, . . . to be constructed chiefly by the labor of the troops, of hewn logs, protected by block-houses, after the fashion of ordinary frontier works." The Secretary of War in 1840 recommended the building of a fort at or near the forks of the

45 Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 289-293, contains an article on Fort "Sanford". On pp. 164, 166, 167, the name is given as Fort "Sandford". Maximilian in Thwaites's Early Western Travels, Vol. XXII, pp. 235, 276, refers to Sanford and Sandford. Mr. Thwaites subjoins a footnote on Major John F. A. Sanford. Nicollet mentions Major John F. A. Sandford, a member of the American Fur Company of St. Louis, but the Major signed himself "Sanford". See Chittenden's The History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West, Vol. I, p. 368.

For the name "Sac and Fox Agency", a post established October 3, 1842, see the chart in Senate Documents, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, p. 210. See also House Documents, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 2, p. 418; and Annals of Iowa, Vol. XII, pp. 94, 95-99.

Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser (Burlington), October 15, 1842. This account of the treaty is reprinted in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. X, p. 263. See also the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 400, where the writer states that the dragoons were present to overawe troublesome whites.

Des Moines. 46 Nothing came of the agitation until Captain Allen at Fort Sanford selected a point at the junction of the Raccoon and the Des Moines. The treaty with the Sacs and Foxes in October, 1842, permitted them to remain three years longer in their reservation, and the government determined to place troops in their country as a protection against "the ravenous appetites of lawless vagabonds".

Orders were accordingly issued from Jefferson Barracks in February, 1843, that Captain Allen with his company of dragoons, and also a company of infantry from Fort Crawford, should garrison the new post. Allen hastened to the place, and leaving a small detachment to guard supplies conveyed by steamboat from St. Louis, he returned for the remainder of his company, evacuating Fort Sanford in May, 1843. He called the post Fort Raccoon but the Secretary of War would not sanction his choice of a name and directed him to call it Fort Des Moines. The first roster contained the names of one hundred men.⁴⁷

Fort Des Moines became a considerable establishment, but without pickets or block-houses it never had the appearance of a fort. First a temporary wharf was built for steamboats and keelboats, then a public store-house, hospital, one story log-cabins capable of quartering ten men

The site is probably in Humboldt County.— See American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. VII, pp. 782, 784, 905, 963; and House Documents, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 22.

⁴⁷ For his account of Fort Des Moines, No. 2, the writer is indebted to a very readable article in Porter's Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and City of Des Moines, pp. 93–114, and in the Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 161–178; its authority is vouched for as based on records of the War Department at Washington, D. C. For a plan of the fort see pp. 161, 324, 325.

On June 14, 1908, the Abigail Adams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated and presented to the city of Des Moines a massive monument of carved granite commemorative of old Fort Des Moines.—

Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 475.

See also an unauthenticated manuscript report on the propriety of abandoning Forts Armstrong and Des Moines in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 495.

each, stables and corrals for the horses, and officers' quarters. Gardens were also laid out. A post trader erected his store and dwelling not far from the flagstaff; three men were permitted to cultivate small areas in the vicinity as purveyors to the garrison; and a tailor and blacksmith completed the little colony in the Sac and Fox country. Within three or four miles dwelt the contractor who supplied the post with forage and beef, besides the Indian agent and several men with trading permits.

With the spring of 1844 came the advance guard of squatters who hoped to preëmpt farms before the Indians departed. "The necessity of watching these vagabond speculators, and at the same time endeavoring to restrain the restless instincts of his more particular charges, the Sacs and Foxes, afforded the commandant of the fort sufficient employment for his meager force," for the presence of whites tempted "the Indians to depredations and trespasses, and when restrained from these acts to war upon their neighbors, the Sioux."

In the summer of 1844 Captain Allen took about fifty dragoons on an expedition into the northern part of the Territory of Iowa, kept an interesting journal, and rendered an excellent report to Colonel Kearny at St. Louis. One year later he joined Captain Sumner of Fort Atkinson in a march to the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River country. Oftentimes he was called upon to fetch Indian trespassers back to the reservation. The following account is especially applicable in this connection:

As the time drew near for the termination of the treaty [October 12, 1845], the duties of the garrison increased. Hundreds of settlers were "squatting" along the boundaries ready to pounce upon

⁴⁸ For Captain Allen's expeditions see *House Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 168, (reprinted in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. XI, pp. 73-108); and *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, p. 217.

the lands the moment they were abandoned by the Indians, and their frequent incursions over the line, which were usually accompanied by the shooting of one or more of the Indians, followed by acts of reprisal, required all the good judgment and discretion of the commandant to maintain peace. Nor was this the least difficult of his duties. It became evident, as the time drew nearer that so strong was the disinclination of the tribes to leave their country, that many of them would not go until removed by force. So trying was the situation, during the summer of 1845, that Capt. Allen and his dragoons were almost constantly in the field, being aided in this patrol of the district by Capt. Sumner's company from Fort Atkinson.

A visitor at Fort Des Moines witnessed the last payment of annuities to the Sacs and Foxes in Iowa: he asserted that, taking them as a tribe, he had "never beheld finer looking men anywhere — tall, erect, and graceful, they appear the very picture of 'nature's noblemen'." This gentleman also had the novel pleasure of seeing an Indian war-dance, but what he beheld after that deserves to be told in his own words:

Having formed a solid square they marched in front of one of the officer's quarters, when what was our surprise to observe that preparations were making to treat them. A soldier of the infantry we believe - took a large jug and went to the Sutler's Store and returned with it filled, the jug was then set before the Indians and they were invited to drink, and this was done in the presence of several of the commissioned officers of the Fort And it is a fact that the location of Fort Des Moines among the Sac and Fox Indians (under its present commander,) for the last two years, has corrupted them more and lowered them deeper in the scale of vice and degradation, than all their intercourse with the whites for the ten years previous. Captain Allen thinks nothing of TREATING the Indians to Liquor, and the night before the payment he sent a bottle of liquor to Pow-e-shiek with his compliments by his servant, (a man by the name of Wells,) and bottles of liquor to several of the head chiefs of the Foxes.

It is said by those living near the garrison that Captain A. and the Sutler had a particular object in view in making the Indians

drunk about the time of the payment. As to this we know not, but we do believe there has been and is great corruption there, and that if justice was done Capt. Allen would be dismissed the United States service and the Sutler never allowed again to enter the Indian country. Allen's course has no doubt been dishonorable and disgraceful, as well as unofficer-like. During one of the Councils several of the Indians were very much intoxicated, and a friend of ours asked the Captain where he supposed the Indians got so much liquor, and his reply was: "The bottoms were full of it." Now if he knew such to be the fact or even supposed so, it was his duty to have those bottoms cleared.

Since penning the above we have received a letter from a friend who was at Raccoon the same time we were, but remained some time after we left. In speaking of the Indians he says: "On Sunday and Monday, after you left, there hardly could be seen a sober Indian or squaw. Where they got their rotgut I cannot say; but such fighting, of both sexes, I never witnessed in my life. Captain Beach made the second order on Captain Allen, to clear the country of at least the whiskey peddlers, but he paid no attention to what Mr. Beach wished done." 49

However reluctant they were to leave, most of the Sacs and Foxes took up the march to their new lands in Kansas south of the Missouri. ⁵⁰ But some two hundred kept out of the way, probably hoping to escape the vigilance of the troops, until the early months of 1846 when they were "rounded up" and given a military escort on the march

49 This information is to be found in the Davenport Gazette, November 13, 1845, and is a reprint from the Keosauqua Times, the editor of which probably wrote the article.

The subsequent history of these Indians, also called Meskwakies or Musquakies, has been well told by Dr. Duren J. H. Ward in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. IV, pp. 179–219: "Arriving at the appointed place in Kansas, they found it unhealthful and ill-adapted for hunting and agriculture. In the dreary years and the great hardships of the transfer, their little ones and their aged and infirm died. It was a sad settling and their Indian hearts longed for Iowa, where, indeed, some of their friends had remained." They gradually worked their way back to Iowa and in 1857 purchased some land in Tama County where they have since acquired about five sections of land along the Iowa River.

southward. Thus soldiers and Indians left the country together, Fort Des Moines being evacuated on March 10, 1846, and the government buildings being sold soon afterward. The place, however, was destined to become within a short time the home of hundreds of pioneer families, the county seat of Polk County, and in 1857 the capital of the State of Iowa.

FORT DODGE

When it became known that the national government contemplated a line of military posts between the Missouri River and Oregon to protect the emigrants to the West, and when it appeared that sectional motives had influenced the selection of a route south of the Platte River, the General Assembly of Iowa reminded Congress that the western border of the State was entirely without fort or military post of any sort and was consequently exposed to the depredations of Omahas, Sioux, Otoes, Pawnees, and other Indians. Congress was therefore urged to make an impartial investigation of the advantages of the northern side of the Platte River where, it was believed, people would naturally travel on their way to Oregon and California because the distance would be shortened some three hundred miles and emigrants would be saved the trouble and danger of crossing two forks of the Kansas and the Platte rivers, and would have better timber and water for their accommodation along the route.⁵¹ Congress, however, gave no ear to this disinterested proposal.

At the extreme west end of the Neutral Ground a site for a military post, suggested by Kearny as early as 1835, was selected in 1850, because certain bands of Sioux Indians had interfered with the operations of government surveyors and had subjected the pioneers in that region to repeated

⁵¹ Laws of Iowa, 1847–1848, p. 203.

robberies and depredations. On the east bank of the Des Moines River, a short distance below the mouth of Lizard Fork, a company of United States infantry from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, finished the erection of quarters which received the name Fort Clarke.

Very soon afterward "several of the most intelligent, respectable, and influential business men of the city of Dubuque" petitioned George W. Jones (to whom they were indebted for the fort) and Augustus C. Dodge, both United States Senators from Iowa, "to do your constituents a still greater favor by urging upon the proper department the importance" of constructing a military road from Dubuque to the fort, because all the stores, munitions, and supplies needed at the fort were unloaded from steamers at Keokuk and hauled overland by wagon up the Des Moines Valley for nearly three hundred miles. The city of Dubuque, on the other hand, was declared to be only one hundred and twenty miles straight east of Fort Clarke, and being accessible to Mississippi River steamboats was therefore situated more advantageously than Keokuk. recommendation that Congress appropriate \$20,000 for a road from Dubuque to Fort Clarke found no favor either in 1851 or one year later, when the Senators from Iowa again brought up the matter. The memorials sent to Congress by the State legislature asking for military roads from Dubuque and Muscatine to Fort Clarke met the same fate. 52

52 During the summer of 1850 the first settlers of Marshall County got into difficulties with some Musquakie Indians and fearing for their lives built a fort on what is now called Burk's Hill. The stockade, Fort Robinson, sheltered twenty-four families for a few weeks until the Indians departed, cowed by the menaces of Fort Dodge.— Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 369–372.

Session, 32nd Congress, No. 14. Laws of Iowa, 1850-1851, pp. 261, 265. In November, 1837, a plan of defence was recommended to include an establishment for 400 men at the Upper Forks of the Des Moines.— Senate Documents, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 65, p. 14.

In the year 1851 the Secretary of War ordered the name of the fort changed to Fort Dodge, in honor of Henry Dodge, Senator from Wisconsin, and his son Augustus C. Dodge, Senator from Iowa, both of whom had spent varied and useful careers upon the western frontier. The garrison was kept busy with the usual duties of a frontier post, but as the country settled up and the Sioux Indians became less troublesome, having ceded their lands in southern Minnesota, the need of a fort farther north caused the evacuation and sale of the Fort Dodge buildings in June, 1853, and the establishment of Fort Ridgley on the Minnesota River. The flourishing city of Fort Dodge soon sprang up. Events, however, were soon to prove that Iowa's northwestern frontier had lost a ready means of protection.

In the year 1855 the State legislature informed Congress of the extreme need of a garrison at or near the mouth of the Big Sioux River in Iowa. After the purchase of the Indian lands around the mouth of this stream two hostile tribes partitioned the country, using it as hunting-grounds every fall, and later engaged in a war, "whereby said tract of country has become the theatre of several sanguinary and bloody battles, to the great discomfort and annoyance of the few settlers who have pioneered the way for settlement and civilization of that fertile and interesting part of our young and growing State, who are entitled to the protection of government."

FORTS IN NORTHWESTERN IOWA

At the same time the Iowa memorialists informed Congress that the Sioux, Omahas, Otoes, and other Indians owned and occupied a large area of country in the vicinity,

⁵³ Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. VII, pp. 284, 285, 288-290; Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 357, and Vol. IV, pp. 534-538.

An old log cabin used in 1850 as the headquarters of the Quartermaster's Department of the troops then stationed at Fort Dodge has been preserved.

and that therefore the frontier settlements were in constant alarm lest marauding bands of Indians might come "to hunt, steal, and commit many other depredations to which their lawless and unrestrained passions and habits might lead them," and endanger property and human life by reason of "the intoxication, the malice, caprice or revenge of these unrestrained savages." Furthermore, a garrison at this point, it was represented, would be on the route to Fort Laramie and the trading posts on the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, and being on a large river it would be accessible to steamboats as a suitable and proper depot for supplies and ammunition for forts on the western frontier. The appeal as usual fell flat in Congress and it was probably owing to the absence of a government fort in northwestern Iowa that the Sioux Indians dared to massacre the first settlers near Spirit Lake in 1857.54

Sioux Indians again took the war path in Minnesota during the summer of 1862; their plunderings, burnings, cruelty, and massacre of hundreds of settlers north of the Iowa boundary stamped them as the perpetrators of the worst Indian outrage in American history. Settlers in the recently organized counties of northwestern Iowa were filled with terror, deserted their homesteads, and fled in haste to places of safety. In the belief that a general Indian war was impending, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa called upon Congress to send troops not only to protect the exposed border but also to punish the savages. The national government could not, of course, cope

⁵⁴ Laws of Iowa, 1854–1855, p. 294.

In 1850 Congress authorized the survey and construction of a military road from Mendota (near Fort Snelling) to the mouth of the Big Sioux River in Iowa, a distance of about 275 miles, and appropriated \$5,000 for the purpose.—

Senate Executive Documents, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, No. 438. This road was expected to be completed in 1856.—Parker's Iowa Handbook, 1856, p. 130.

with such a problem when all available men and ammunition were needed for the war in the South.

Accordingly, as no time should be lost, five companies of volunteers, later called the Northern Iowa Brigade, were organized by the State to defend the settlements and thus quiet the fears and apprehensions of the settlers. About two hundred and fifty men, rank and file, were distributed among several towns situated between Chain Lakes in Emmet County and Sioux City, and soon block-houses and stockades were erected, chiefly at local expense, at Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and on the Minnesota border at Iowa Lake in the northeastern corner of Emmet County.⁵⁵

At Iowa Lake seven buildings of rough timber, one hundred and sixty feet in length, formed the west side of the enclosure; prairie sod was piled up on the north side, forming a wall eight feet high and five feet thick at the base, with portholes; stables consisting of two tiers of stalls separated by a passage-way were erected on the east side of the square, covered with poles, grass, and sod, with an outer

⁵⁵ A story of hostile Sioux Indians created a stampede among the pioneers of Bremer County in June, 1854, and caused the construction of Fort Barrick, or "Fort John", as it was called, for temporary shelter. A large boulder with a bronze tablet was recently unveiled and dedicated to mark the spot in Janesville where the stockade stood, half-finished, when fear subsided.

Mention should be made here of a Sioux attack on the settlers of Dakota Territory early in 1862 and subsequent excitement among the people of Sioux City. The scare left a monument in the shape of a half-finished fort at the corner of Third and Nebraska streets near the river. This was later sold by order of the city council.— Annals of Iowa (First Series), Vol. X, pp. 117, 118.

The inhabitants of Spirit Lake had already raised a stockade around their court-house.— Iowa Historical Record, Vol. I, p. 574.

An account of the Northern Iowa Brigade by W. H. Ingham may be found in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 481-512. The article includes sketches of the stockades at Correctionville, Iowa Lake, and Estherville. The Daughters of the American Revolution have recently erected a monument to mark the site of the fort in the last named city.

For the legislature's appeal to the Secretary of War see Laws of Iowa, 1862 (Extra Session), p. 51.

wall of sod; a fence of upright timbers, with a gate, on the south side, besides log bastions at the northwestern and southeastern corners, and a well, completed the stronghold.

The block-houses and officers' quarters of the stockade at Peterson were built of oak and ash timbers ten inches square, roofed with soft maple boards joined together and grooved along the sides so as "to convey off the water". Sawed oak timber and hewed timbers six inches thick enclosed three sides. The Cherokee block-house was constructed of timbers one foot square, covered with walnut shingles, and the stockade walls were made of two rows of split logs, faces brought together so as to break joints. Inside the enclosure was a seventeen-foot well walled with boulders. The establishment at Correctionville was similar, except that the buildings were covered with earth and the well was curbed with hackberry.

Estherville boasted of the most extensive "works": Fort Defiance, one hundred and thirty-two feet square, consisted on one side of barracks separated by a stockade of eleven foot planks from an office and commissary room, with shingle roofs and black walnut sidings, and portholes, and on the opposite side a barn. The other two sides were substantially stockaded, including also a guard-house.

These crude strongholds gave the people of Iowa's straggling northwestern settlements a feeling of security, and undoubtedly prevented the Indians from invading the State. The volunteer garrisons were disbanded in a short time, the last one, at Estherville, being relieved on December 31, 1863, by troops of United States cavalry. The Indians committed no more atrocities.

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 3)

Agitation for the location of a cavalry post at the State capital of Iowa began in the year 1894 and received the warm support of many leading citizens. John A. T. Hull, a

member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives, championed their cause during three sessions of Congress, achieving success in 1900. It was enacted that "upon the transfer and conveyance to the United States of a good and sufficient title to not less than 400 acres of land, without cost to the United States, situated at or near the city of Des Moines, . . . and on or near a railroad, and constituting an eligible and suitable site for an army post, and to be approved and accepted by the Secretary of War for that purpose, then and thereupon there shall be, and is hereby, established and located on said land a United States army post, of such character and capacity as the Secretary of War shall direct and approve."

The citizens subscribed \$40,000, bought a site near the city, and donated the land to the government. The Secretary of War found no objections to the plan — on the contrary he assigned as a reason for establishing the third Fort Des Moines "the policy of the Department for some years, as the Indians have ceased to be a disturbing element in the settlement of the Territories, and thus permitted the abandonment of the many small posts that until recently were scattered along the frontier, to concentrate the troops thus released near the large centers of population, where many railway lines converge and allow of their being rapidly transported to points of threatened disturbance." Des Moines with ten railroads, three of them trunk lines, in a healthful and very rich agricultural region "where troops can be maintained at a minimum cost", lay within easy striking distance of the great cities of the Middle West so that troops might be moved to them in a few hours and at small expense, while they could also be hurried "to any point on either the Mississippi or Missouri River to protect the great bridges across those streams." 56

⁵⁶ Congressional Record, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1319, 1320.

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Since the first quarters were built, more than one million dollars has been expended, until now "an entire village of brick has grown up and around the regimental flag, designed to accommodate 1200 cavalrymen, with their horses and general equipment." Fort Des Moines was dedicated amid much pomp, ceremony, and festivity. The post consists of an administration building, hospital, chapel, officers' quarters, subalterns' quarters, barracks, stables, and a parade ground one thousand by two thousand feet in area.⁵⁷ In comparative luxury and in extent it offers a striking contrast to the primitive character of its predecessors of the pioneer period of Iowa history, and at the same time serves a far different purpose. Aside from a few disciplinary and public occasions and the recent expedition in defence of the Texas border against Mexican insurgents there has been little to disturb the monotony of camp life at Fort Des Moines.

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA IOWA CITY IOWA

57 Brigham's History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa, Vol. I, pp. 600-602. Mr. Brigham also furnished the information contained in the closing sentence of this article on forts.