

The PALIMPSEST



Steamboat Warrior Repulses Black Hawk at Bad Axe

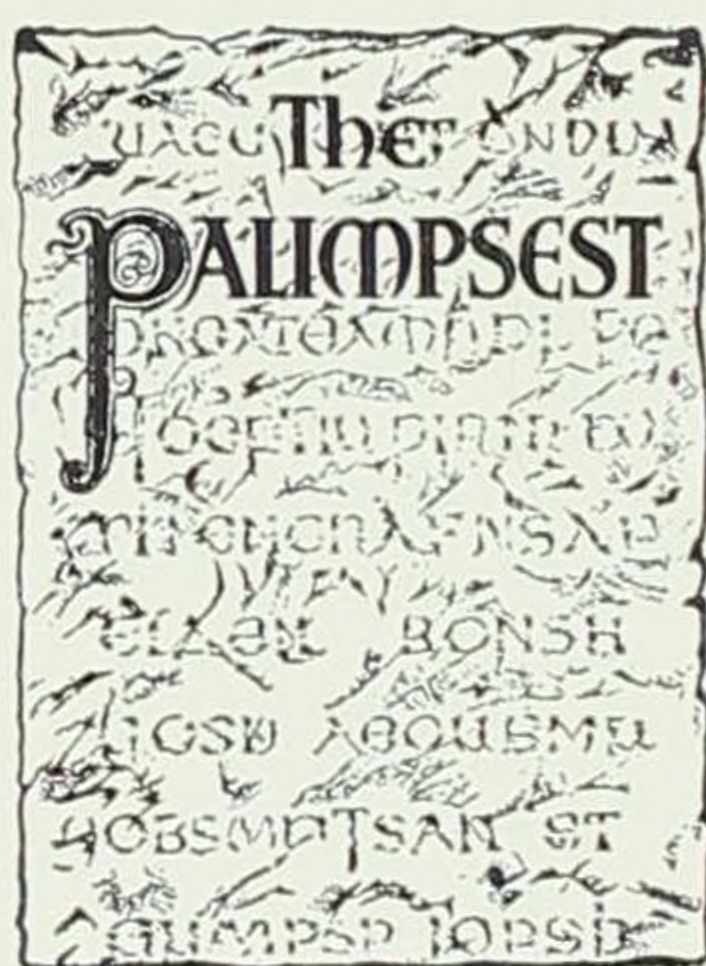
The Black Hawk War

Published Monthly by

The State Historical Society of Iowa

Iowa City, Iowa

FEBRUARY, 1962



The Meaning of Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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Illustrations

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ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER JULY 28 1920 AT THE POST OFFICE AT
IOWA CITY IOWA UNDER THE ACT OF AUGUST 24 1912

PRICE — Included in Membership. Single copies, 25 cents.
MEMBERSHIP — By application. Annual Dues \$3.00
ADDRESS — The State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa

THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

VOL. XLIII

ISSUED IN FEBRUARY 1962

No. 2

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The Man and His Times

An unhappy rout which white men called the Black Hawk War brought a fractious old Indian leader into national prominence in 1832. But the campaign he led in the spring and summer of that year was not Black Hawk's only rebellion against the westward surge of American settlement. A whole generation of white men knew him as a hardheaded, consistent, and effective spokesman for the distraught Indians of the central Mississippi Valley.

He was never a chief, not even a chief of that fragment of the Sauk and Fox tribes which followed him. He was a Sauk warrior, with two of the most effective qualities of a warrior — courage, and a clear goal. And like many another warrior, he could be foolish in his courage and blind in his pursuit of the goal.

Black Hawk was born in 1767, by his own account, at the Indian village of Saukenuk — located in Illinois on the Rock River, just above its confluence with the Mississippi. The date of his

birth and all that we know of his early life comes from his autobiography. It is a curious document, first published in 1833 by John B. Patterson, a young Illinois newspaperman. Patterson said that Black Hawk dictated his life story to interpreter Antoine LeClaire, and that LeClaire translated it into English for publication. It is a flowery piece of prose, filled with the stilted phrases of the day, and Patterson must have done a good deal of ghost-writing on it. But its authenticity has not been successfully challenged, and its level of accuracy is high.

Black Hawk's years as a young brave, as he recalled them, were mainly filled with violence. The white man did not bring war to the Mississippi Valley; the Indian tribes had long practiced war upon one another. Black Hawk's father fell before the Cherokees. Black Hawk himself fought the Osages at every opportunity. It was the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and some developments immediately after, that brought the loosely confederated Sauks and Foxes into conflict with the white man and started the train of events which lead to the Black Hawk War.

An occurrence in the fall of 1804 was to color Black Hawk's thinking for a quarter-century and turn him into the bitterest of men. Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana Territory, who had been assigned the task of forming a new territorial government in the Louisiana Purchase area,

received standing orders from President Jefferson to purchase land from the Sauk and Fox tribes. When a delegation from these tribes went to St. Louis to parley about some murders which had been committed by their kinsmen on the frontier, Harrison was there on official business. He quickly turned to the matter of a land cession, and when the delegation (consisting of five chiefs with no authority to sell tribal lands) returned to their homes they had signed a treaty which ceded fifteen million acres of their homeland to the Americans.

The fairness of the treaty, and the conditions under which it was drawn, are of no concern here. Of greater moment is the fact that Black Hawk and other members of the Sauk and Fox tribes claimed to be startled and appalled by the terms of the agreement. Major James Bruff, commandant of the new District of Louisiana, said that the delegation wanted the treaty and eagerly signed away the land in return for protection from the Osages. But a Sauk and Fox group which went to St. Louis the following summer complained vehemently. "We were desirous to oblige the United States," they said, "but we had never before sold land, and we did not know the value of it . . . we have given away a great Country to Governor Harrison for a little thing, we do not say we were cheated, but we made a bad bargain . . ."

The land lay mostly in what is now Illinois,

with smaller portions in Wisconsin and Missouri. That the Sauks and Foxes did not "sell" it in the absolute sense is obvious; they merely surrendered their particular claim to it, and the government would have to "buy" much of it again from other tribes which claimed an interest.

When the treaty was signed, Black Hawk had not yet become a man of power in his tribe. His name appears in none of the documents of the period as a representative at parleys with the Americans. He was not chosen by his people as a delegate to Washington in 1805 when a group of Indians from the various tribes went to visit President Jefferson.

By 1812, when the war with England began, Black Hawk was becoming known as the leader of a dissident band, the "British band" of Sauks and Foxes. Joining with the Winnebagoes, he participated in the attack on Fort Madison in September, 1812, during which the large government trading house or factory was destroyed and the fort itself nearly lost. In the course of the attack, Indians firing from the protection of the river bank shot away the halliard of the flag staff, bringing down the garrison flag. Black Hawk later claimed that his own gunfire had cut the rope. "I took my rifle, and shot in two the cord by which they hoisted their flag," he said in his autobiography.

The allegiance of the Indians was by now confused and uncertain. Not only were the tribes at

odds with one another over the Anglo-American war, but there were factions within tribes. Most of the Sauks and Foxes were mildly inclined to cast their lot with the Americans. So were the Ioways and some of the Sioux bands. But the Winnebagoes were angry and the Potawatomis, wavering between neutrality and enmity toward the Americans, had scalps from the Fort Dearborn massacre hanging from their lodgepoles. To the west, the Osages were now pro-American to such an extent that United States officials talked of establishing them as a buffer between St. Louis and the hostile country to the north.

Through it all, the old intertribal antagonisms remained: the Osages hated the Sauks and Foxes; so did the Ioways, now and then; so did some of the Sioux bands. These differences were sporadic, and, with the distractions provided by the white man's war, became temporarily less important.

The most consistently pro-British force among the Indians of the region was Black Hawk's band. Black Hawk was ever ready to lead a war party, and to accept the wampum collars, gunpowder, and bolts of bright cloth sent down to him by British agents in Canada. Agent Robert Dickson managed to entice him to Green Bay, confer a spurious generalship upon him, and dispatch him and his followers down the western shore of Lake Michigan to fight as British allies. They marched past the site of the Fort Dearborn attack. They

seem to have fought at the battle of Frenchtown on the Raisin River at the western end of Lake Erie, and at Fort Meigs on the Maumee River where, on May 1, 1813, General Harrison was besieged by General Henry Proctor and about 5,000 British troops and Indians.

Then the game began to pall.

I was now tired of being with them — our success being bad, and having got no plunder. I determined on leaving them and returning to Rock river, to see what had become of my wife and children, as I had not heard from them since I started. That night, I took about twenty of my braves, and left the British camp for home.

The harrassment of Fort Madison continued, and in July a party of Winnebagoes and Sauks from the British band (at least a hundred, said the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette*) opened fire on a party of soldiers chopping logs. A week later came another attack. Finally the fort was placed under such constant siege that the men could not go outside the stockade for wood, food, and water. They abandoned the post, apparently in September, burning the fort as they left. Said Black Hawk: "We were pleased to see that the white people had retired from our country."

In a brief river battle the following year, Black Hawk's men defeated a flotilla of eight boats containing a detachment of soldiers commanded by Zachary Taylor. They also routed the boats of Lt. John Campbell, taking a detachment of

troops up to Prairie du Chien. During such occurrences the main body of Sauks and Foxes were peaceful, and United States officials finally persuaded many of them to resettle temporarily closer to St. Louis where they could be more closely supervised. The recalcitrant British band fought on, always a threat but not a major factor in the outcome of the War of 1812.

At the end of the war the Sauks and Foxes were invited to Portage des Sioux, near St. Louis, to sign a treaty of peace. The majority of the two tribes, under the leadership of Keokuk, agreed to the terms of the treaty — including a reaffirmation of the troublesome treaty of 1804 — and signed the new covenant in September, 1815. Black Hawk's band was still hostile, according to the treaty commissioners, and refused to attend the council. Black Hawk's explanation was somewhat different; he said that he and other principal men of his band started for Portage des Sioux, but were discouraged by the death of their chief and abandoned the trip.

Black Hawk and his followers did sign a similar treaty the following year, in which they unconditionally assented to the old 1804 treaty.

Here, for the first time, I touched the goose quill to the treaty — not knowing, however, that, by that act, I consented to give away my village. Had that been explained to me, I should have opposed it, and never would have signed their treaty, as my recent conduct will clearly prove.

Black Hawk may have been sincere in claiming ignorance of what he had signed, despite the effort of government interpreters to make the terms of the treaty clear. Besides the language barrier there were other obstacles to understanding. To the Indians a treaty was a piece of paper which brought approval and cooperation from the white man, a pile of presents and trade goods, and a measure of protection from their Indian enemies. To the Americans an Indian treaty was primarily a purchase of land. In this basic difference lay the cause of much bitterness.

Agent Thomas Forsyth, who worked among the Sauks and Foxes for many years, reported that Black Hawk personally refused to accept any part of the treaty annuity after 1818, when he first learned that it was in payment for land. Earlier, Black Hawk seems to have believed that the annuity (in the form of goods) was a gift from the Americans such as he was accustomed to receiving from the British. And later, when pressure was on him to vacate his lands, he recalled saying that "*we had never sold our country. We never received any annuities from our American father! And we are determined to hold on to our village!*"

When peace had officially come to the Mississippi Valley after the War of 1812, the white population increased rapidly. Under the terms of the treaty with the Sauks and Foxes, the Indians

were not required to vacate their property until it had been sold by the government to private buyers. But what had once been isolated areas of white occupation now grew into substantial pioneer settlements. Illinois became a state in 1818.

The traditional homeland of the Sauks and Foxes was being nibbled away. From 1816 to 1829, however, the tribes successfully resisted dispossession. They fought with their Indian neighbors, kept on planting their fields, and engaged in little skirmishes with the white men. According to Black Hawk:

The whites were now settling the country fast. I was out one day hunting in a bottom, and met three white men. They accused me of killing their hogs; I denied it; but they would not listen to me. One of them took my gun out of my hand and fired it off — then took out the flint, gave back my gun, and commenced beating me with sticks, and ordered me off. I was so much bruised that I could not sleep for several nights.

Some time after this occurrence, one of my camp cut a bee-tree, and carried the honey to his lodge. A party of white men soon followed, and told him that the bee-tree was theirs, and that he had no right to cut it. He pointed to the honey, and told them to take it; they were not satisfied with this, but took all the packs of skins that he collected during the winter, to pay his trader and clothe his family with in the spring, and carried them off!

How could we like such people, who treated us so unjustly?

George Davenport, who later would become the founder of Davenport, Iowa, purchased a tract

of land in 1829 which included the site of Saukenuk, the great Sauk village. According to the treaty terms, this meant that the Indians were legally required to vacate. Keokuk took his band across the river in the spring of 1829, resigned to the inevitable. Black Hawk refused to follow. He was no friend of Keokuk's, and he resented the apparent ease with which the Americans had persuaded Keokuk to yield. He was particularly bothered by the fact that Keokuk was not content merely to lead his own followers across the river, but also tried to induce Black Hawk's people to come, too.

Keokuk, who has a smooth tongue, and is a great speaker, was busy in persuading my band that I was wrong — and thereby making many of them dissatisfied with me. I had one consolation — for all the women were on my side, on account of their corn-fields.

After Keokuk's capitulation the Black Hawk group was doomed. Threats from settlers, as well as actual violence, were combined with official representations from Indian Agents and military officers. Black Hawk paid visits to his Agent at Fort Armstrong — the military post built in 1816 on Rock Island — as if seeking someone who would tell him what he wanted to hear. "The agent ordered me to quit my village. He said that if we did not, troops would be sent to drive us off."

Turning to an old Indian friend, Black Hawk

received the kind of advice he wanted. Thirty-five miles up the Rock River was the village of Wabokieshiek, or White Cloud, whom the Indians called the Prophet. He was half Winnebago and half Sauk, a tall, stolid man with a black mustache, and the Indians believed him to be a person of great wisdom and insight. The Prophet urged Black Hawk to remain in his village, and to see if he could persuade Keokuk to return.

Finally it took the threat of direct military action to dislodge the obstinate Black Hawk. Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines brought a detachment of regular army troops up from Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis and, in a heated parley, demanded that the Indians cross the Mississippi. Although General Gaines at first felt sure that he could handle the matter without help, he soon had an army of Illinois volunteers on call — assembled in June, 1831, by order of Governor John Reynolds of Illinois. When Black Hawk seemed steadfast, General Gaines accepted the services of these militiamen.

To the despondent followers of the old Sauk, there was now no alternative. During the night the Indians moved across the river, leaving the many lodges of Saukenuk — which were promptly burned by the Illinois volunteers. In reporting to the Secretary of War, General Gaines explained the plight of the Indians:

The appearance of the mounted Volunteers on the one

side, & the regular troops with two pieces of Artillery on the other, aided by a Steam Boat armed with a piece of Artillery, & some Musquetry & Riflemen on the River induced the Indians to abandon the Village . . . without firing a Gun.

The unhappy Indians found it hard to settle down into a new routine on the west bank of the river. They were short of food, and when a small party of men went back in the night to "steal" corn from their fields at Saukenuk, they were driven away by gunfire from the white settlers. Black Hawk had learned from his Indian Agent that, under the terms of the treaty, he could obtain help for his people in the form of agricultural instruction "I therefore called upon him, and requested him to have me a small log house built, and a field ploughed that fall, as I wished to live retired." Had his kinsmen let Black Hawk alone at this time, he might never have brought war upon them. But at this critical moment a false hope was held out to him.

One of the principal chiefs in Black Hawk's band was a man named Neapope. When he had heard that General Gaines was on his way to force the Indians across the river, he had gone up to Canada to consult his former allies, the British. What they told him in Canada is not known. What he *said* they told him is recorded by Black Hawk:

He said he had seen the chief of our British father, and

asked him if the Americans could *force* us to leave our village? He said — 'If we had not sold our village and land, the American government could not take them from us . . . and that, as *we* had never given our consent to the sale of our country, it remained our exclusive property — from which the American government could never force us away! and that, in the event of *war*, we should have nothing to *fear*! as they would stand by and *assist* us!'

The longer Neapope talked, the greater his promises grew. He said he had stopped by the Prophet's village on the way home from Canada, and that the Prophet had heard great news. Not only were the British going to send guns, ammunition, food and clothing, but various Indian tribes had given assurance that they would support Black Hawk in his move back across the river.

Black Hawk's faith in the words of the Prophet was strong. He began to recruit braves "to make an attempt to secure my village" over the vigorous protests of Keokuk. Going down to the site of the burned-out Fort Madison, he began to assemble his band for the move to which he was now so firmly committed. He tried to induce some of Keokuk's men to join him, but Keokuk convinced them that his crusade was an act of folly. And so, lacking the support of the main body of Sauks and Foxes, but deluded into believing that he would receive support from the British, he began the march that was to bring hunger, suffering, and death to his band and utter humiliation to himself.

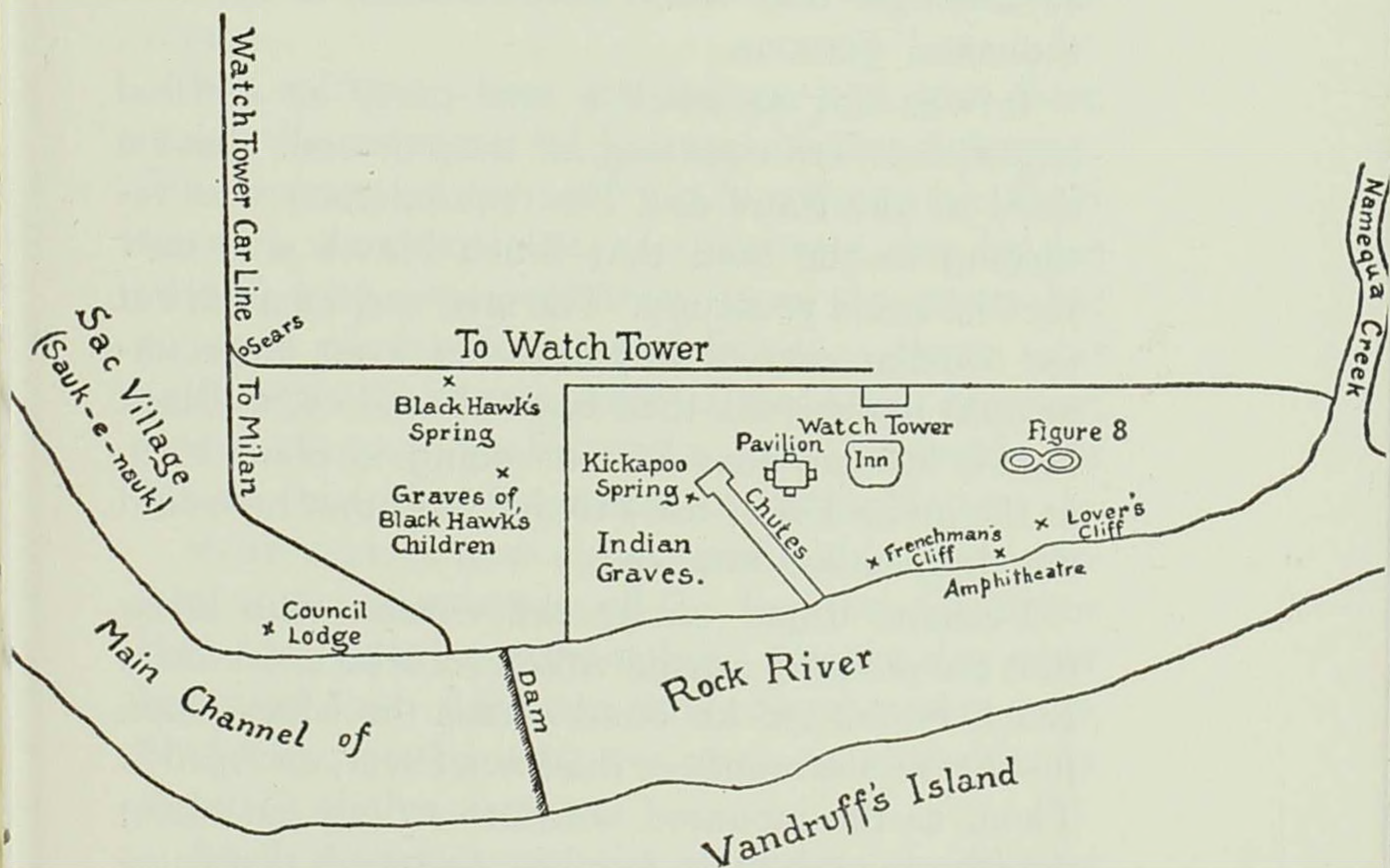
One of the most tragic elements in Black Hawk's career was his personal conflict with Keokuk. It is not likely that the ultimate fate of the Sauks and Foxes would have been much different, had these two strong-willed men been in accord; their days in the Mississippi Valley were numbered. But Keokuk's willingness to face the inevitable was a course which might have saved many an Indian woman and child from slaughter, had Black Hawk followed it. Yet Black Hawk becomes the more appealing figure with the passing of time: he is the heroic old fighter, while Keokuk is the smooth orator, the diplomat, the conciliator.

The rancor which Black Hawk felt toward Keokuk remained with him for the few remaining years of his life. He carried it up the Rock River, as he led his band to destruction. He carried it to prison, after his defeat, first to Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, then to Fortress Monroe in Virginia, where he and the other leaders of his rebellion were taken for a brief time after their capture. During his last days, on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, he nursed his old grievance as he became more and more an object of pity.

Painter George Catlin saw the "poor dethroned monarch" at a gathering in 1836, and said: With an old frock coat and a brown hat on, and a cane in his hand, he stood the whole time outside of the group, and in dumb and dismal silence . . ."

Two years later Black Hawk was dead. A few months before his death in October, 1838, when he was honored at an Independence Day celebration at Fort Madison, he was still unforgiving. "I was once a great warrior," he said. "I am now poor. Keokuk has been the cause of my present situation."

DONALD JACKSON



From James D. Rishell's *Black Hawk's Autobiography*
INDIAN VILLAGE OF SAUKENUK FOR WHICH BLACK HAWK FOUGHT

Black Hawk — The Last Campaign

In early April, 1832, Black Hawk brought his band of followers up the Iowa side of the Mississippi. He had been able to recruit between four and five hundred warriors, mainly on horseback, for the crusade to regain his homeland. With them were their women and children, making an assemblage that may have totaled about two thousand persons.

It was not so much a war party as a tribal migration. Transporting all they owned, about a third of the Sauk and Fox confederacy was returning to the land that Black Hawk was now sure he could reoccupy. The men carried arms but the women carried a possession even more important to survival, their bags of seed corn. Black Hawk insisted that he was going to plant corn, at the invitation of the Prophet, and that he would not fight unless attacked.

Perhaps urged on by the women who knew that the planting season would soon be upon them, Black Hawk led his band across the Mississippi, just below the mouth of the Iowa River, on April 5. Then, as the mounted warriors strung out along the shore and their families followed them upstream in canoes, the group began a slow march

toward their destination — the cornfields they had been promised by the Prophet.

A worrisome aspect of their trip was the fact that they had been passed by several steamboats carrying soldiers. Black Hawk feared that these troops might be waiting to intercept him at the mouth of the Rock. "Consequently," he wrote in his autobiography, "on entering the Rock River, we commenced beating our drums and singing, to show the Americans that we were not afraid." But he met no opposition at the mouth of the river, and his party journeyed on toward the Prophet's village.

The soldiers whom the Indians had seen were under the command of General Henry Atkinson. The General arrived at Fort Armstrong on April 12 with six companies, and the next day held a council with representatives from the peaceable majority of the Sauks and Foxes — those who had chosen to remain west of the river. He then sent a message to Governor John Reynolds, of Illinois, reporting the return of Black Hawk.

With rumors now flying, and with no one certain of the disposition of the Indians, Governor Reynolds called out the militia. On the day after he heard from Atkinson, he ordered twelve hundred men, armed and mounted, to assemble by April 22 at Beardstown.

At Fort Armstrong the General did what he could to avoid a clash. He sent a messenger to

overtake Black Hawk and demand his return. When this failed, he sent the following warning:

If you do not come back and go on the other side of the great river I shall write to your great father & tell him of your bad conduct. You will be sorry if you do not come back. . . . If your hearts are good I will send an officer to talk with you in three or four days.

The tenor of Black Hawk's reply was aggressive. He sent word that his "heart was bad." In other words, his heart bore anger and he was not inclined to obey the General's order. The old man still believed what he had been told by his advisers: that the British would send help down from Canada, and that other tribes would join him to fight, if he was opposed by the Americans. During a council with Henry Gratiot, the Indian Agent for the Winnebagoes, Black Hawk's men confidently hoisted the British flag.

By now, however, General Atkinson's sternness was beginning to make an impression. It looked as if Black Hawk would really need the help he had been promised, if he was to resist six companies of United States regulars and an army of irate Illinois settlers. He pushed on up the Rock River to see the Potawatomi chiefs, because he had been told that they strongly supported him. When a deputation of Potawatomi Indians called on him, they offered little help and showed no great interest in the situation. As Black Hawk relates:

I inquired if they had heard that a chief of our British father was coming to Milwaukee, to bring us guns, ammunition, goods and provisions? They said no. . . . I concluded to tell my people, that if the White Beaver came after us, we would go back — as it was useless to think of stopping or going on without provisions. I discovered, that the Winnebagoes and the Pottowatomies were not disposed to render us any assistance.

United States troops were now headed up the Rock River, on foot and by boat, and the Illinois volunteers were waiting for them at Dixon. On May 12 the Potawatomi Indian Agent reported that "the Sauk are on the Rock River about thirty miles above Ogee's Ferry [Dixon] in a state of starvation and anxious to descend the river. But if they came back down, they would be met by the trigger-happy Illinois militia.

At this point the Black Hawk War could have been averted without violence. The old leader, deceived and full of regret, was ready to call off his march. No British aid, no Indian aid, no food, no hope. He seemed to realize now the degree to which he had been fooled by false promises and his own naive compulsion. In despair, he fell back upon the only device he could think of to relieve his hungry people. He ran up a flag of truce.

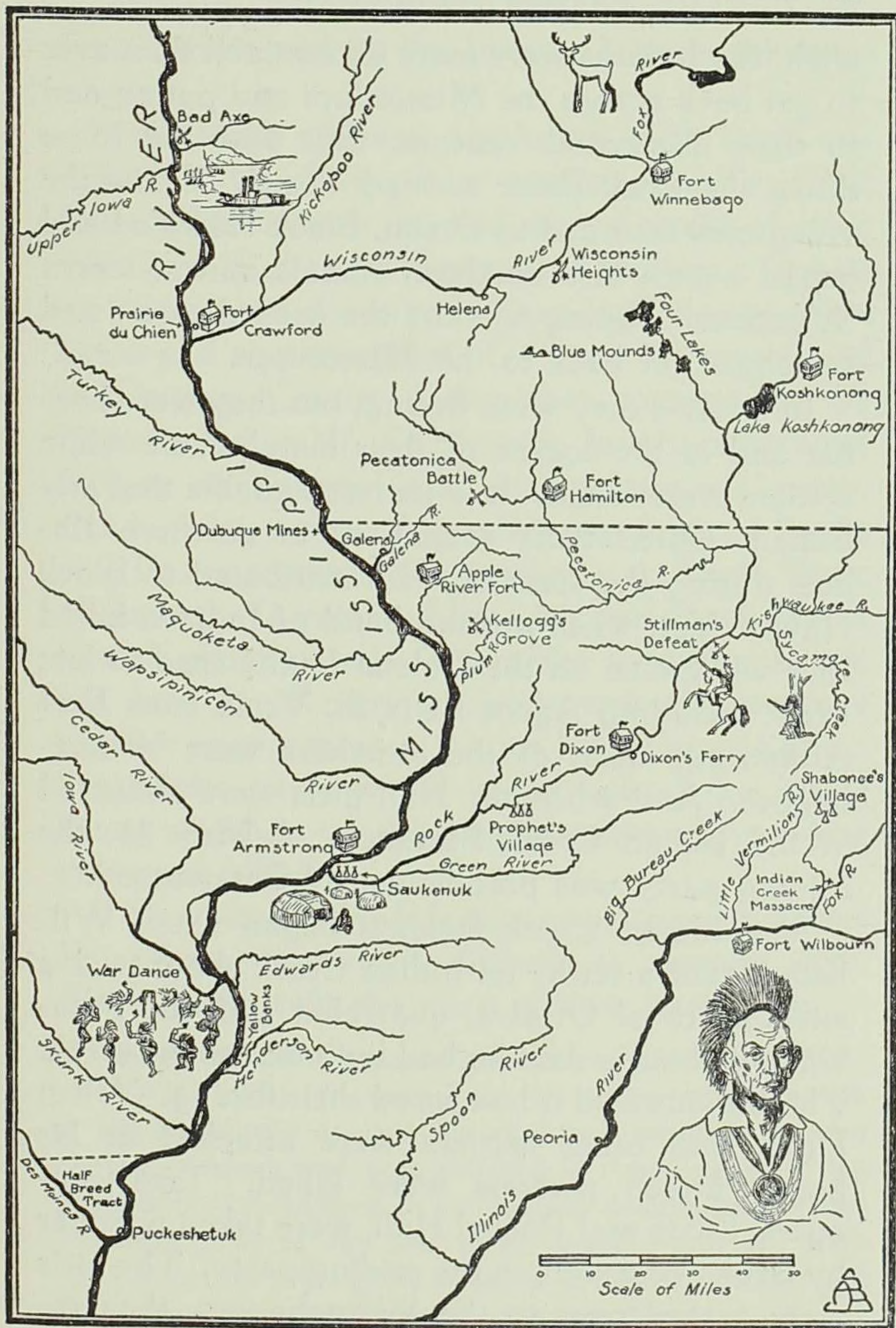
Unfortunately, the men to whom Black Hawk sent the flag of truce were not disciplined regulars, but militiamen who had been under arms but a few days. Major Isaiah Stillman, commanding a battalion of about 275 men, was preparing to en-

camp at sundown, May 14, a few miles southwest of Sycamore Creek in Ogle County, Illinois (the creek is now called the Kishwaukee River). When Black Hawk learned of this force, he sent three of his men with a white flag to the camp, "that we might hold a council with them, and descend Rock river again." He also sent a party of five scouts to watch, from a distance, the reception given by the Americans to his truce-bearers.

What excited the militiamen was not the three men with the flag, but the scouts watching from afar. Apparently thinking that a large Indian party was present, Major Stillman's men fired upon the scouts. In the confusion and excitement, two of the scouts were killed, and in the camp one of the emissaries was also killed.

In some disorder, the troops then set off in pursuit of the Indians. Most of Black Hawk's band was scattered into small groups, and only a few were available to resist Stillman's attack. Governor Reynolds later estimated the number of Indians at between fifty and sixty; Black Hawk said there were twenty-five. Greatly outnumbered in any case, they fired upon the advancing militiamen. Many of the Americans fled in panic and the attack ended. And that was the Battle of Stillman's Run.

Zachary Taylor later called the battle "that disgraceful affair of Stillmans" and declared that it never should have occurred. After the skir-



State Historical Society of Iowa
Cyrenus Cole's *I Am a Man — The Indian Black Hawk*

mish, the Indians were more determined than ever to get back across the Mississippi and put an end to their ill-advised venture. But now the route down the Rock River seemed closed. While the volunteers returned to Dixon, Black Hawk's band began a trek into northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin, hoping to skirt the settled areas and somehow get back to the Mississippi.

In a sense they were fleeing, but they were hostile and in the course of their march some white settlers were killed. It is understandable that any Indian depredations committed in northern Illinois during the summer were attributed to Black Hawk. Yet, when a small band of Indians killed four white men on the Galena-Dixon road in late May, including Agent Felix St. Vrain from Fort Armstrong, most of the attackers were Winnebagoes. And when the Hall girls were abducted at the Indian Creek Massacre of May 21, the raiding party was predominantly Potawatomi.

The Indian Creek incident began when William Davis, a settler on Indian Creek about twelve miles north of Ottawa, quarreled with the Potawatomi about a dam he had built across the creek. The Indians said it hampered their fishing. When Davis and other settlers were attacked at his home, fifteen persons were killed. Two teenagers, Silvia and Rachel Hall, were taken prisoner by Sauks who were in the raiding party. The girls were turned over to the Winnebagoes, then re-

leased unharmed by the Indians later in the summer.

The month of June produced some more encounters. On June 16, a company of St. Clair County Volunteers clashed with a party of more than fifty Sauks and Foxes near Kellogg's Grove, in Stephenson County. Three white men were killed and one wounded. On June 18, a group of Jo Daviess County Volunteers commanded by Captain James W. Stephenson fought a party of Indians on Yellow Creek, in Stephenson County, and lost three men. A much larger force of Sauks and Foxes attacked the stockade at Apple River (Elizabeth, Illinois) on June 24, and Black Hawk himself participated. One white man was killed. On June 25, Kellogg's Grove was the scene of another engagement as Major John Dement's men fought the party which had attacked the Apple River stockade on the previous day. Five white men were killed.

The main body of Indians was now in lower Wisconsin, finding it difficult to remain alive. Black Hawk tells the story of their hardships:

During our encampment at the Four Lakes [the Madison, Wis., area], we were hard put to, to obtain enough to eat to support nature. Situated in a swampy, marshy country, (which had been selected in consequence of the great difficulty required to gain access thereto,) there was but little game of any sort to be found — and fish were equally scarce. The great distance to any settlement, and the impossibility of bringing supplies therefrom, if any

could have been obtained, deterred our young men from making further attempts. We were forced to dig *roots* and *bark trees*, to obtain something to satisfy and keep us alive! Several of our old people became so much reduced, as actually to *die with hunger!*"

At about this time, General Atkinson dismissed some of the Volunteer companies not attached to larger units, and one of the men he mustered out was Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln had been elected captain of a company in the Fourth Regiment, Whiteside's Brigade, and later had re-enlisted as a private after his original term had expired. He and many other Volunteers came down to Dixon, then to their homes, but Atkinson's regulars and several units of militia pressed on in search of Black Hawk.

The Indians had reached the Wisconsin River and were attempting to cross, on July 21, when two contingents of Volunteers caught up with them. One was a Wisconsin group led by Henry Dodge, the other an Illinois brigade under the command of James D. Henry. The Sauk and Fox braves fought a holding action while trying to get their families to an island, but they were hopelessly outnumbered — especially since many were too busy with women and children to fight. Nevertheless, they did manage to cross the river and disengage the militiamen after heavy losses.

Black Hawk claimed he lost only six men, "though opposed by a host of mounted militia."

LIFE
OF
MA-KA-TAI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAK
OR
BLACK HAWK,
EMBRACING THE
TRADITION OF HIS NATION—INDIAN WARS IN WHICH HE HAS
BEEN ENGAGED—CAUSE OF JOINING THE BRITISH IN THEIR
LATE WAR WITH AMERICA, AND ITS HISTORY—DES-
CRPTION OF THE ROCK-RIVER VILLAGE—MAN-
NERS AND CUSTOMS—ENCROACHMENTS BY
THE WHITES, CONTRARY TO TREATY—
REMOVAL FROM HIS VILLAGE IN 1831.
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSE
AND
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LATE WAR,
HIS SURRENDER AND CONFINEMENT AT
JEFFERSON BARRACKS,
AND
TRAVELS THROUGH THE UNITED STATES.
DICTATED BY HIMSELF.
CINCINNATI:
1833.

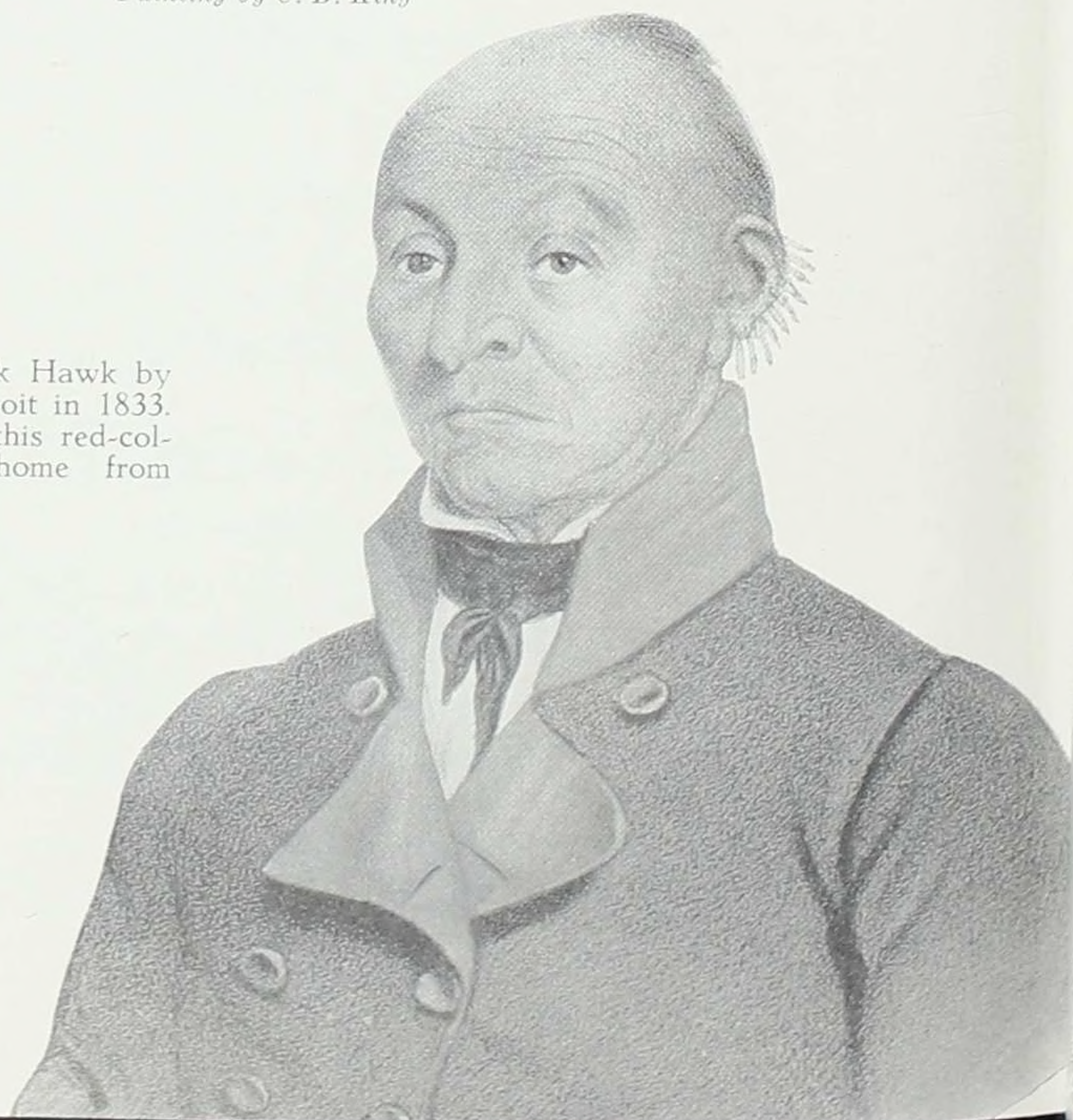
The first and only edition of Black Hawk's autobiography to appear in 1833. Several editions appeared in 1834, including one at Boston which was reprinted by the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1932 on the occasion of the Centennial of the Black Hawk War.



*From a Lithographed Copy of a
Painting by C. B. King*

BLACK HAWK
OR
MA-KA-TAI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAK

A painting of Black Hawk by
J. O. Lewis in Detroit in 1833.
Black Hawk wore this red-col-
lared blue coat home from
Fortress Monroe.

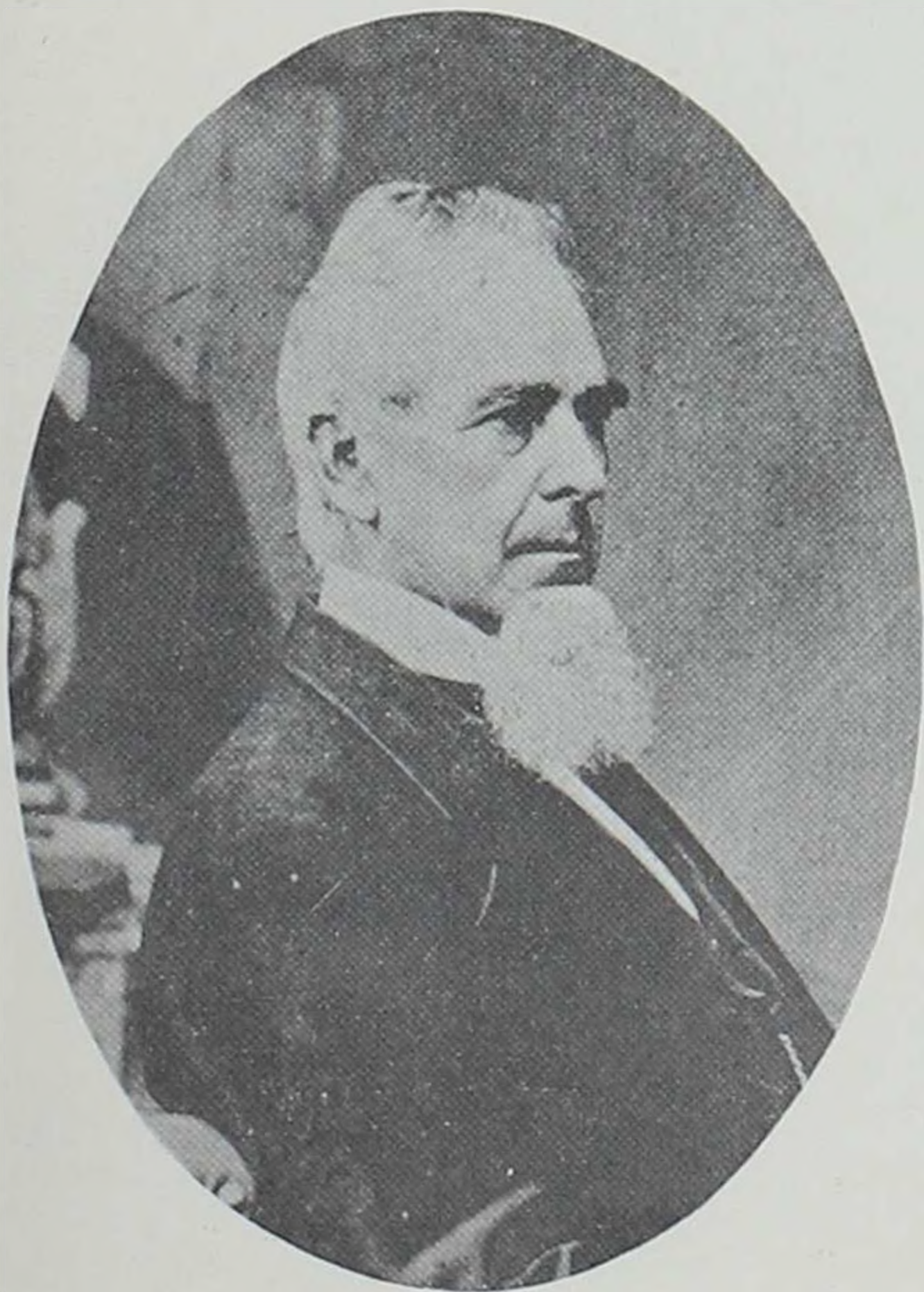


ANTOINE LECLAIRE

He served as interpreter for Black Hawk when he dictated his autobiography. He became a distinguished citizen of Davenport. The town of LeClaire was named for him.



Courtesy State Historical Society of Iowa



J. B. PATTERSON

Illinois editor who wrote the autobiography "according to the dictation of Black Hawk, through the United States' Interpreter, at the Sac and Fox Agency of Rock Island." He lived in Oquawka, Illinois.

Courtesy Illinois State Historical Society

MEDALS COMMEMORATING DRAMATIS PERSONA



Harrison negotiated Treaty of 1804 which Black Hawk steadfastly refused to accept until 1816.



When he visited President Jackson in 1833 Black Hawk said: "He looks as if he has seen as many winters as I have . . ."

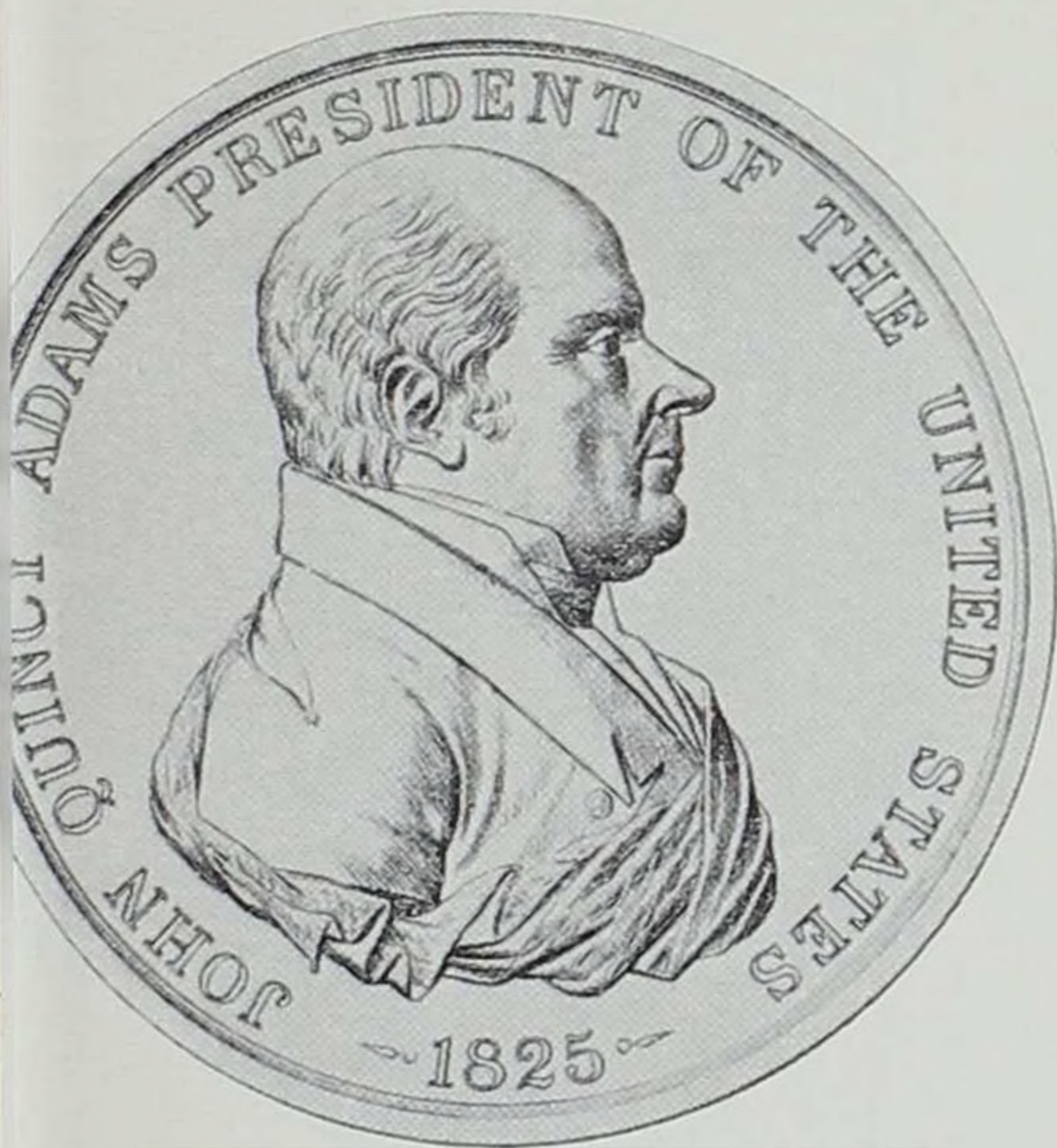


Held council with Black Hawk: "I told him that I never could consent to leave my village" of Saukenuk and move across the Mississippi.



Defeated by Sauk Indians at Credit Island (now Davenport). In his autobiography Black Hawk declared: "We were pleased to see that almost every fire took effect . . ."

ASSOCIATED WITH THE BLACK HAWK STORY

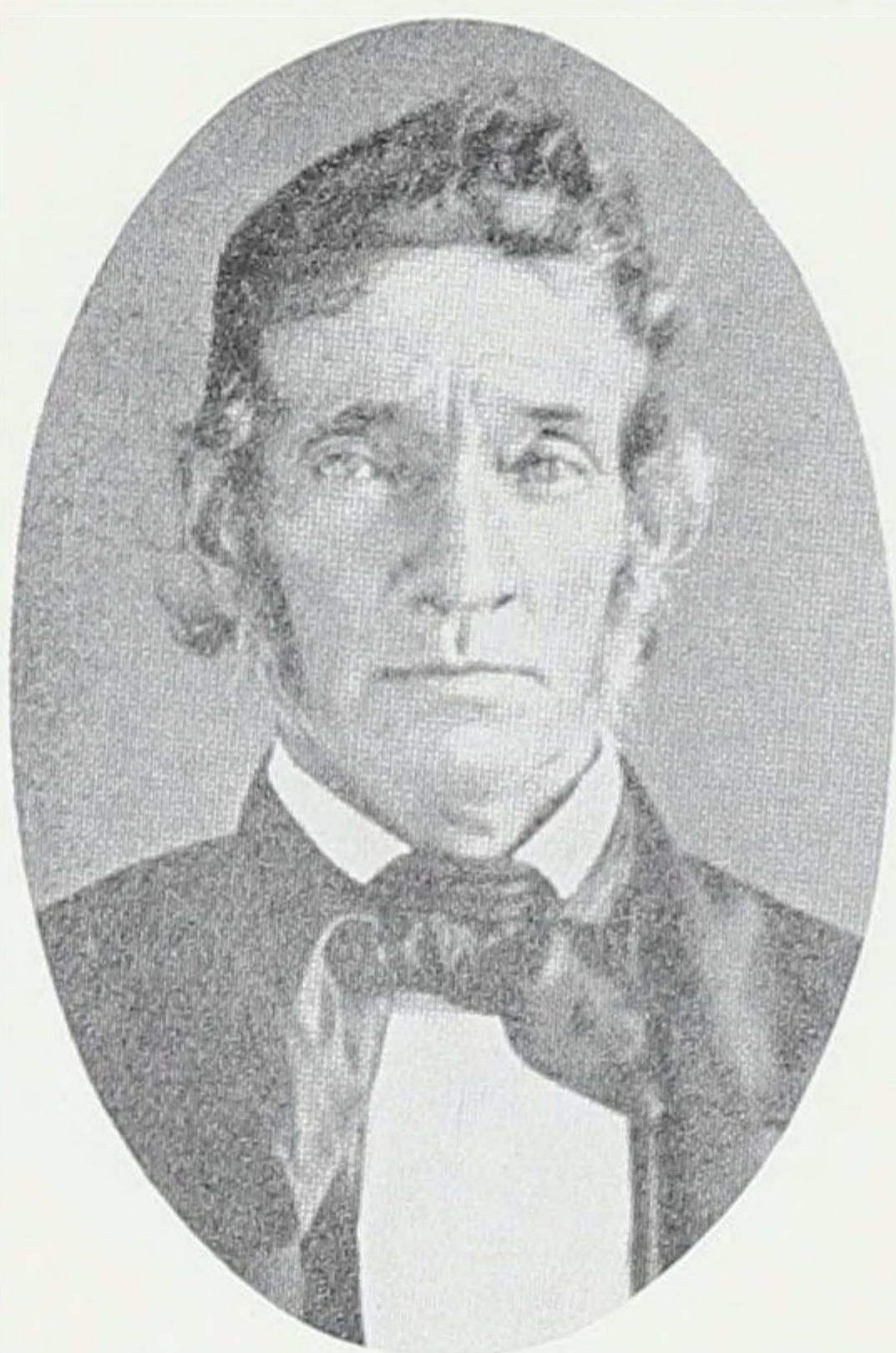


John Quincy Adams was president when the Grand Council of 1825 at Prairie du Chien drew the Neutral Line in Iowa. Medals were struck and presented to Indian Chiefs, like Black Hawk, who regarded them highly.



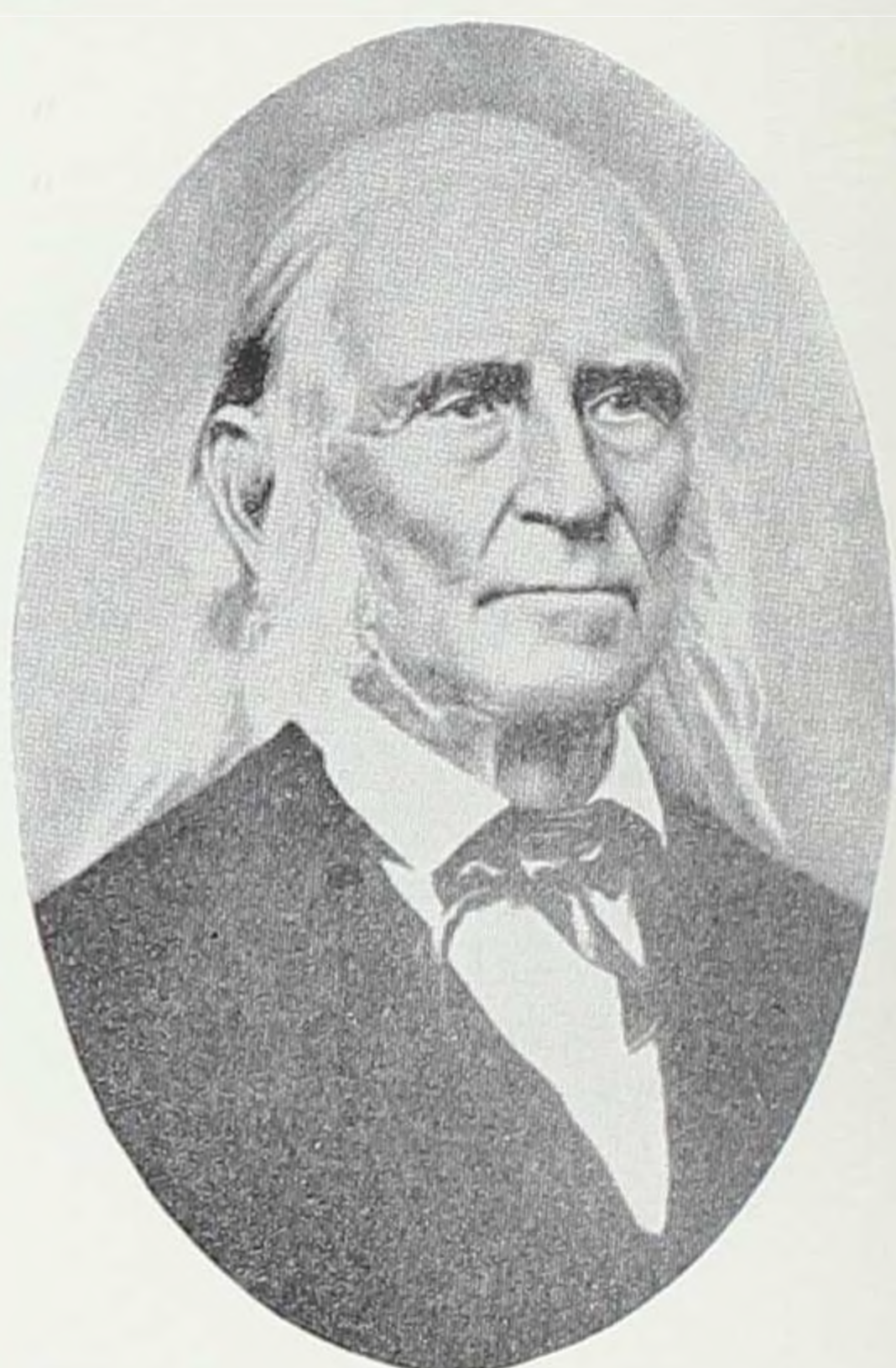
He told President Jackson that General Atkinson seemed unwilling to pursue Black Hawk and preferred waiting for arrival of General Scott and his army.

Of Atkinson's conduct Winfield Scott declared: "The persevering ardor both of the general & the troops under unusual difficulties & privations, richly merited the success which has been won."



ISAIAH STILLMAN

Zachary Taylor later called the battle "that disgraceful affair of Stillman's."



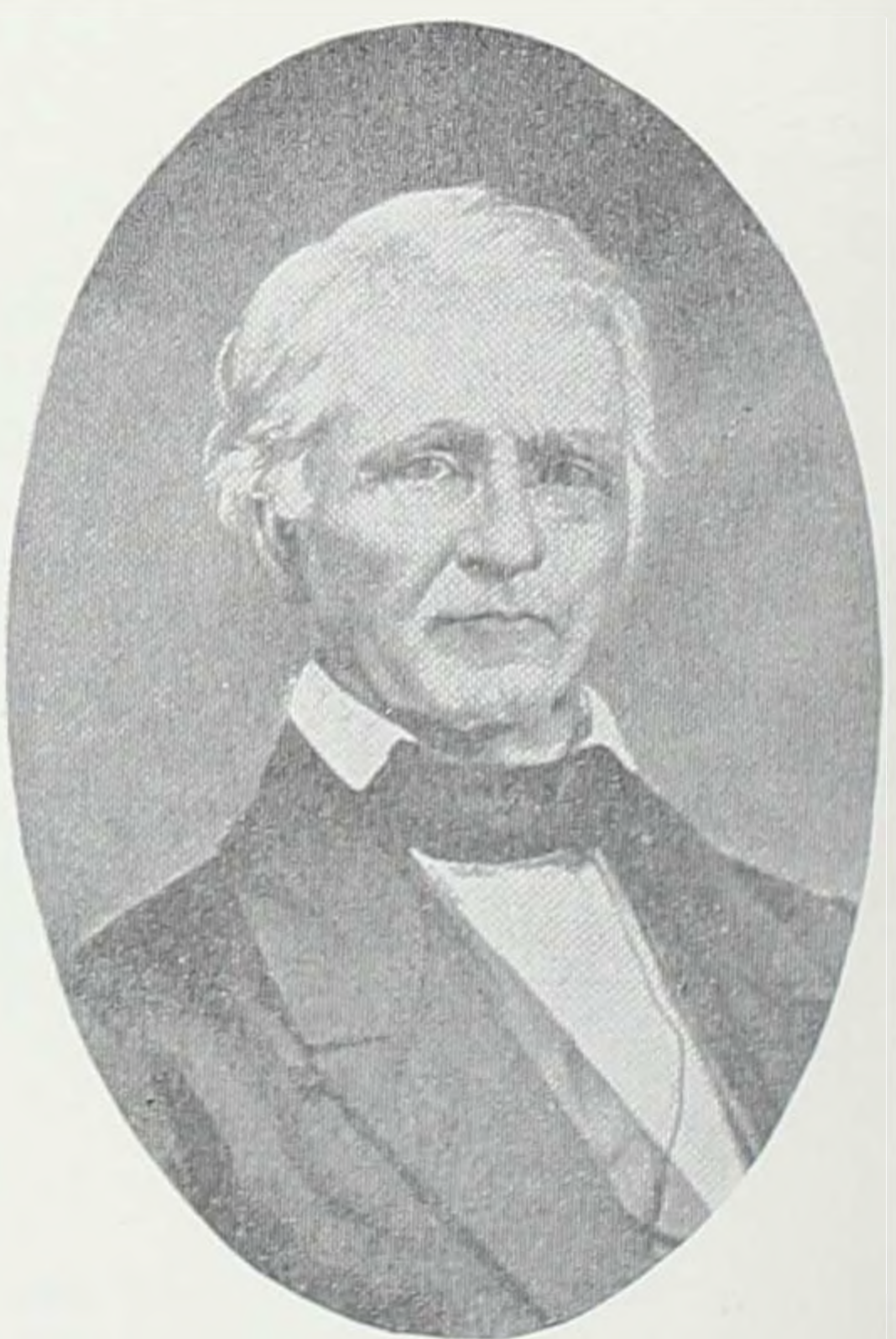
JOHN DIXON

The kind, gentle, honest, and courageous owner of Dixon's Ferry.



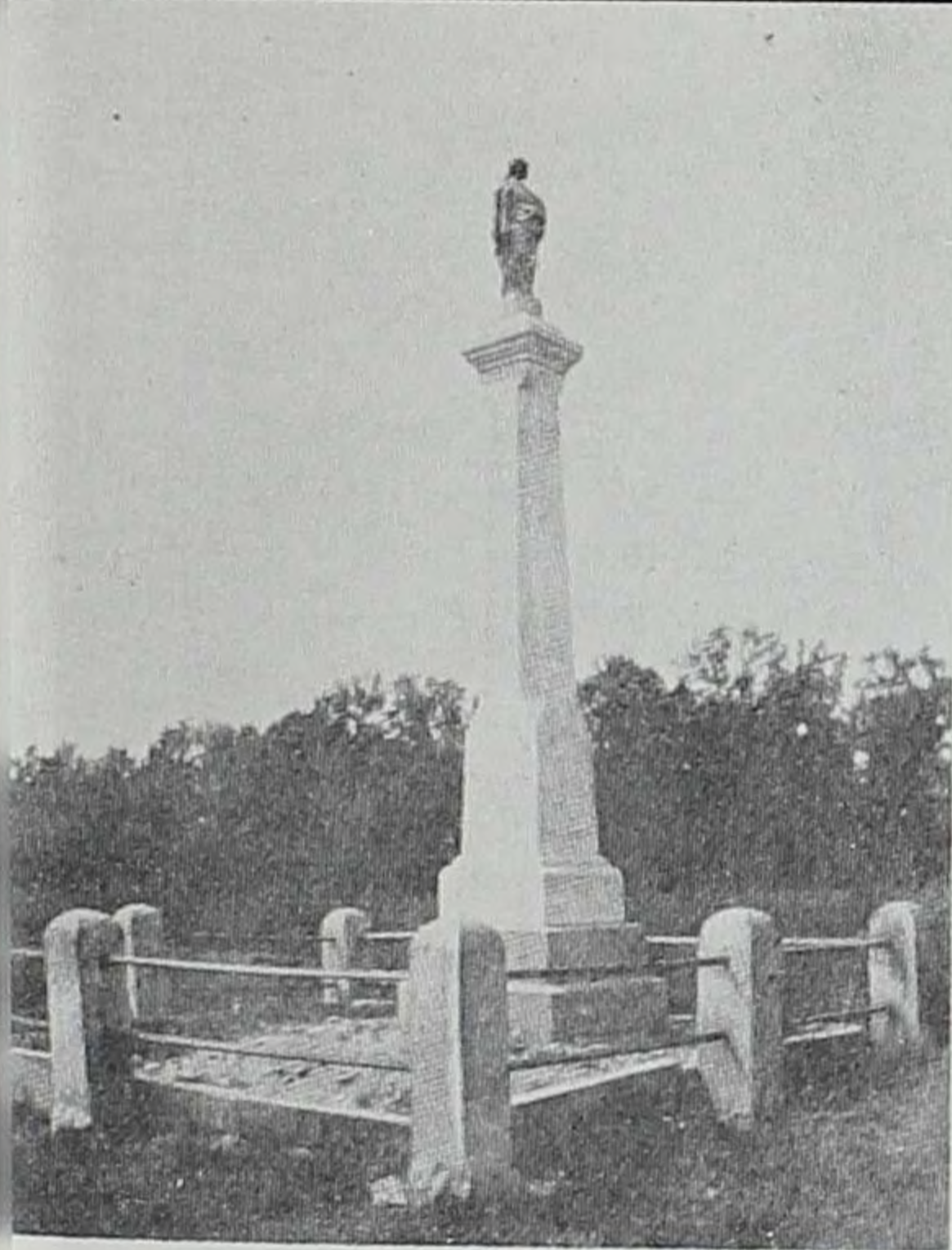
STEVENS T. MASON

Governor of Michigan Territory during the Black Hawk War.



HENRY DODGE

Brilliant Indian fighter and first Governor of Wisconsin Territory.



Top:

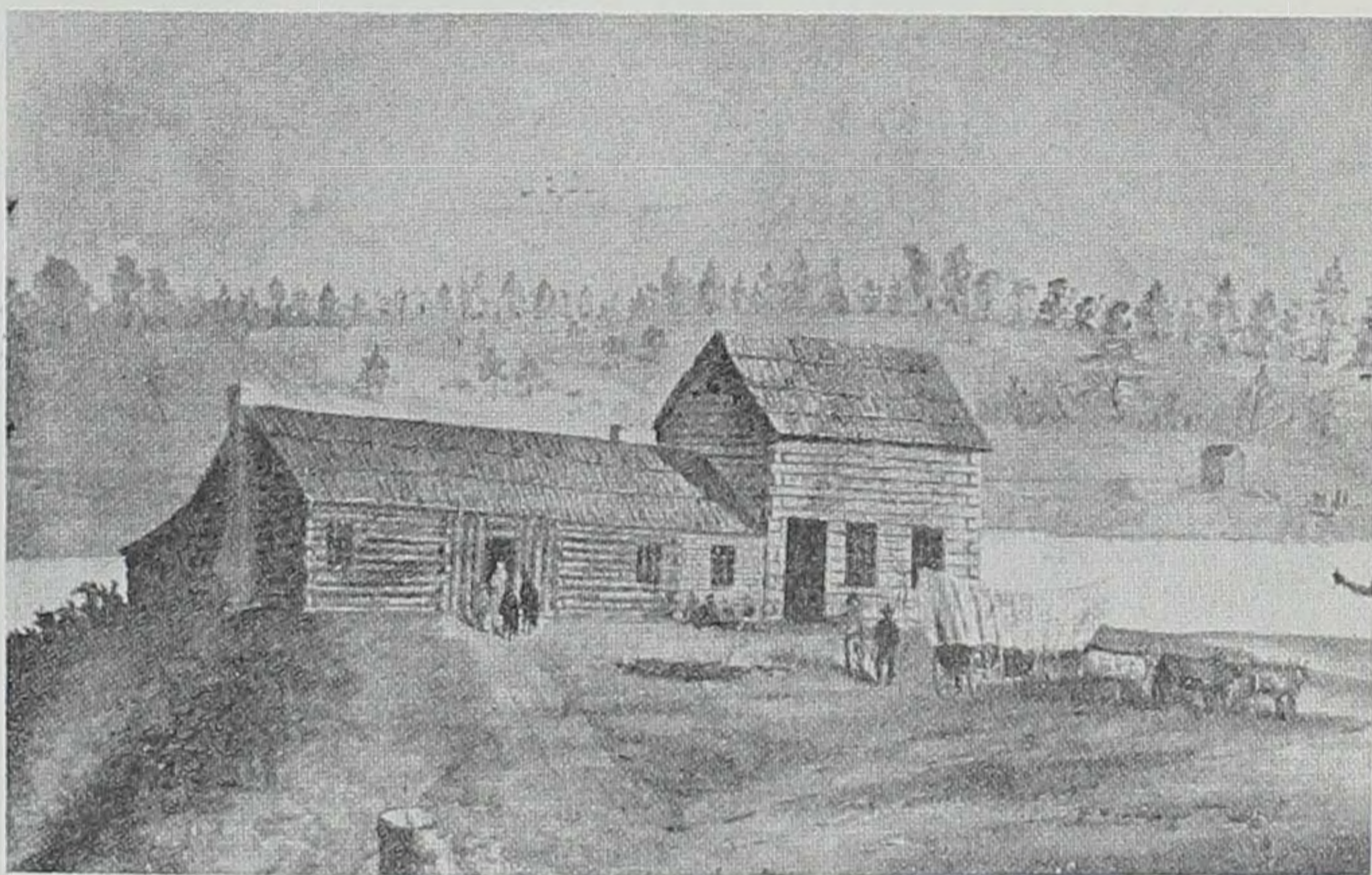
INDIAN CREEK MONUMENT

Fifteen settlers massacred and Rachel and Sylvia Hall abducted by the Sauk and Potawatomi Indians and later released unharmed.

Middle:

DIXON'S FERRY

Simple flat-bottomed ferry and 90-foot log cabin owned by John Dixon and located at what is now Dixon, Illinois. Black Hawk ate here one evening and troops rendezvoused here.



Bottom:

ABDUCTION OF HALL GIRLS

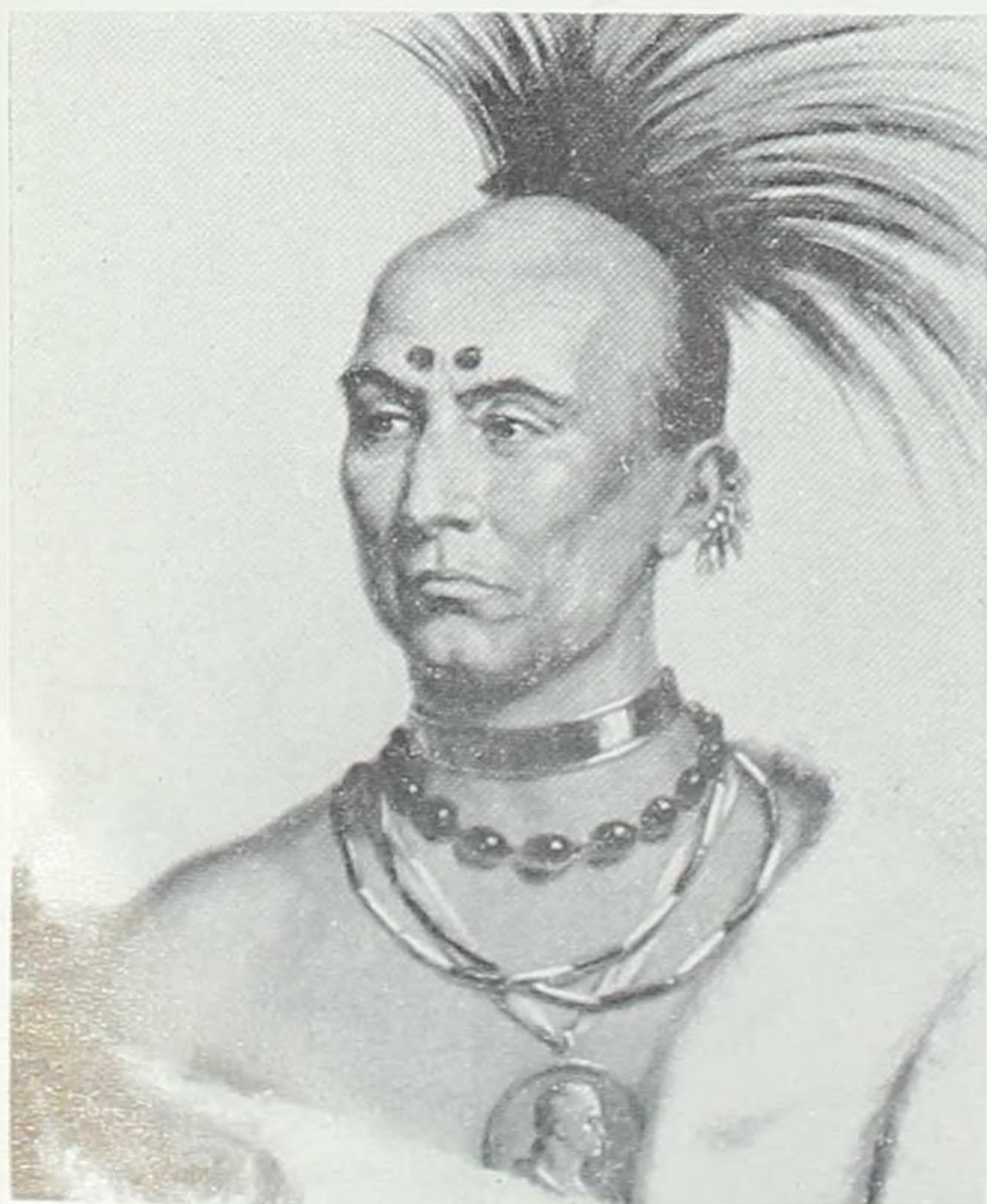
*Harper's Weekly
May 1, 1858*



PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS
AND
LITHOGRAPHS
OF
CHIEF BLACK HAWK

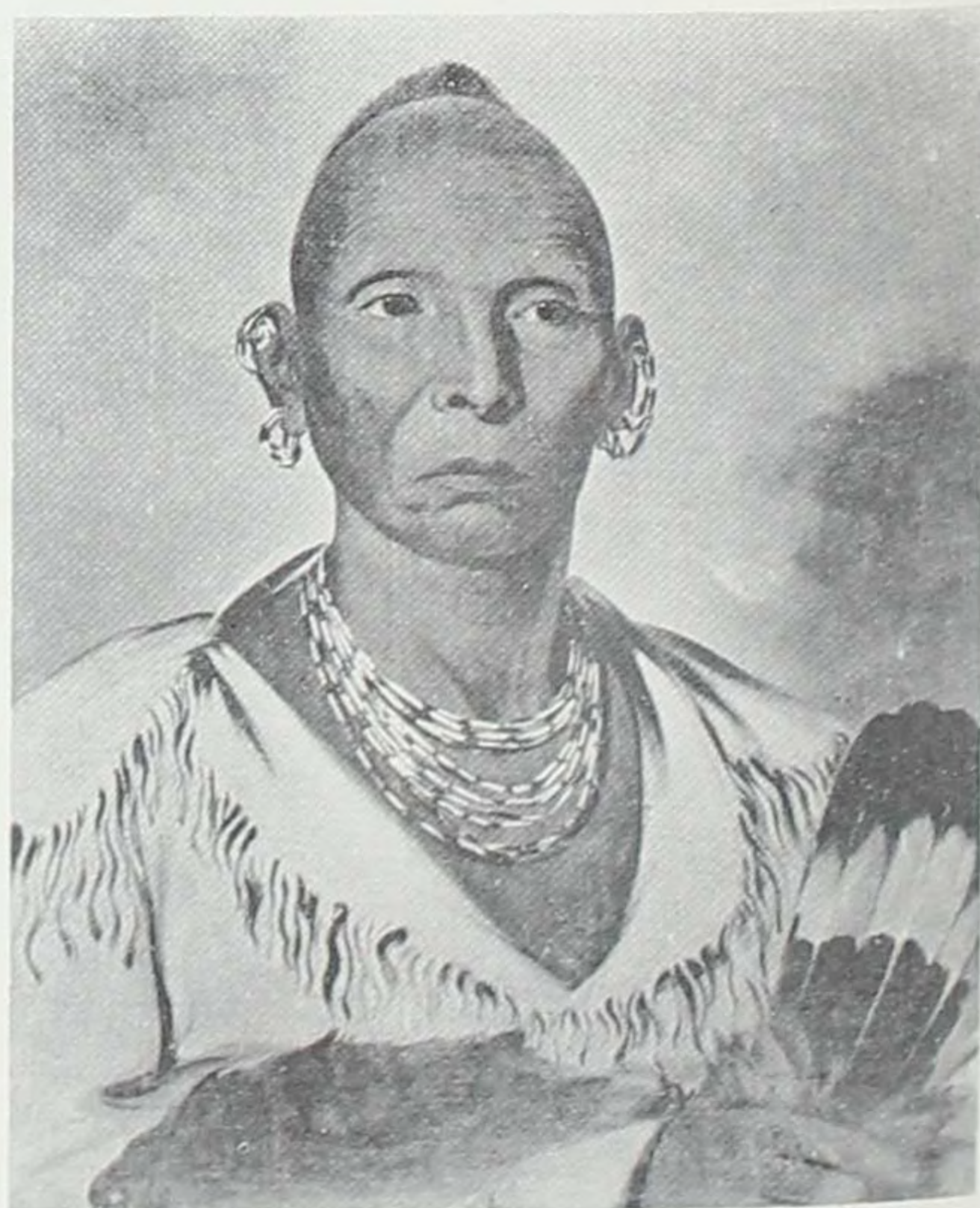


From Drake's "The Life and Adventures of Black Hawk"
BLACK HAWK



Painting by C. B. King

BLACK HAWK
During imprisonment at Fortress Monroe, Vir-
ginia, in 1833.



Courtesy Smithsonian Institute

BLACK HAWK
Painting by famous American Indian artist . . .
George Catlin.



Goodrich, A Pictorial History of the United States (1866)

BLACK HAWK



Family Magazine (1834)

BLACK HAWK: By officer at Jefferson Barracks



E. H. Smith, Black Hawk, and Scenes in the West (1849)

BLACK HAWK

THE
CELEBRATED
INDIAN CHIEF

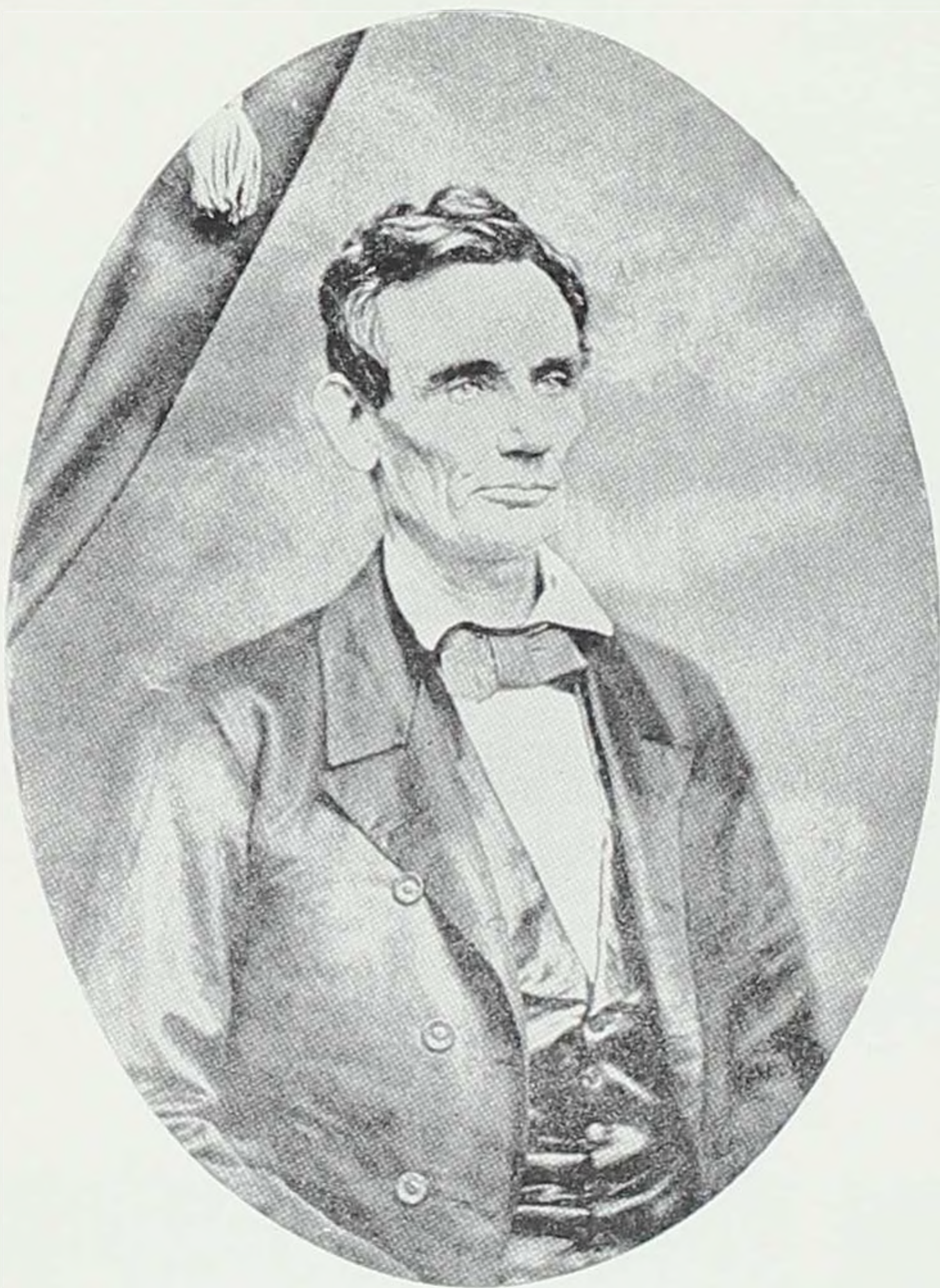


BLACK HAWK.

IN HIS WAR DRESS.

From an Account of the Indian, Black Hawk (Phila. 1834)

BLACK HAWK



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Saw only brief service and fought no hostile Indians. He was truly pleased when his fellow volunteers elected him captain of his company.

Below: Reproduction of top of page 100 of Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War, 1831-32, and in the Mexican War, 1846-8.

CAPT. ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S COMPANY

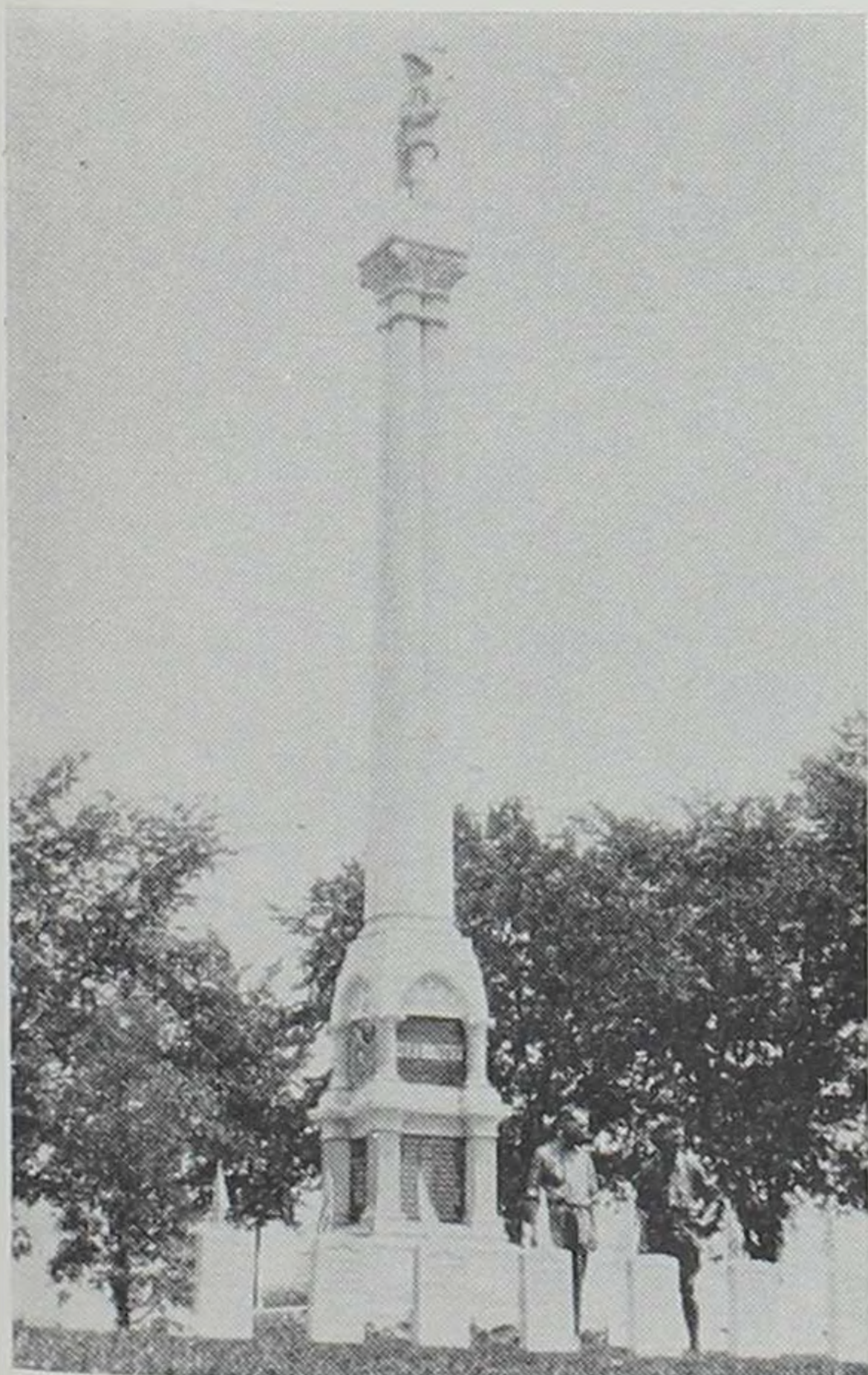
Of 4th Regiment of Mounted Volunteers, commanded by Brig.-Gen. Samuel Whitesides. Mustered out of the service of the United States at the mouth of Fox river, May 27, 1832.

Name and Rank.	Residence.	Enrolled	Remarks.
<i>Captain.</i> Abraham Lincoln...	Sangamon Co	1832 April 21
<i>First Lieutenants.</i> Samuel M. Thomps'n	"	"	Resigned April 30, '32; Col. 4th Regt. Ill. Vol...
<i>Second Lieutenant.</i> John Brannan	"	"
<i>Sergeants.</i> John Armstrong..... Tavner B. Anderson. George W. Foster... Obediah Morgan.....	" " " "	" " " " Transferred to a foot company April 29, 1832...
<i>Corporals.</i> Thomas Comb. John Plasters..... William F. Berry.... Alexander Trent.....	" " " "	" " " " Resigned May 20, and served as private since
<i>Privates.</i> Alexander, Urbin.... Armstrong, Pleasant Anderson, Isaac..... Armstrong, Hugh..... Barnette, Clardey... Crete, Valentine.... Cox, Henry..... Cox, Wm.....	Absent on extra duty..... Promoted to 1st Lieut. April 30

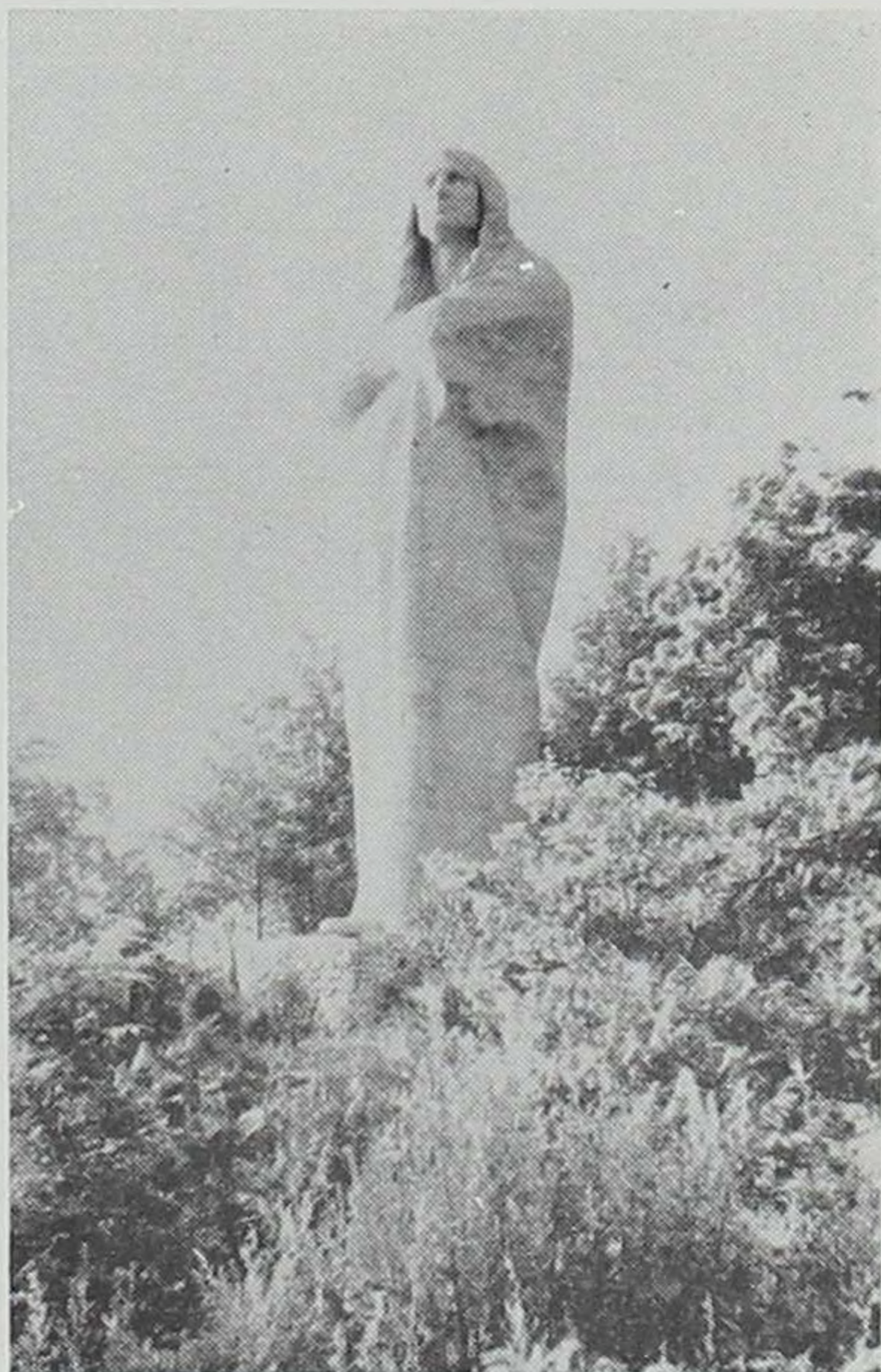


SHABONA

Potawatomi chief who restrained his tribe from joining Black Hawk and warned the whites of impending danger.



Black Hawk Monument at Stillman's Valley



Lorado Taft Monument of Black Hawk at Oregon, Illinois

Courtesy Illinois Historical Society



PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON

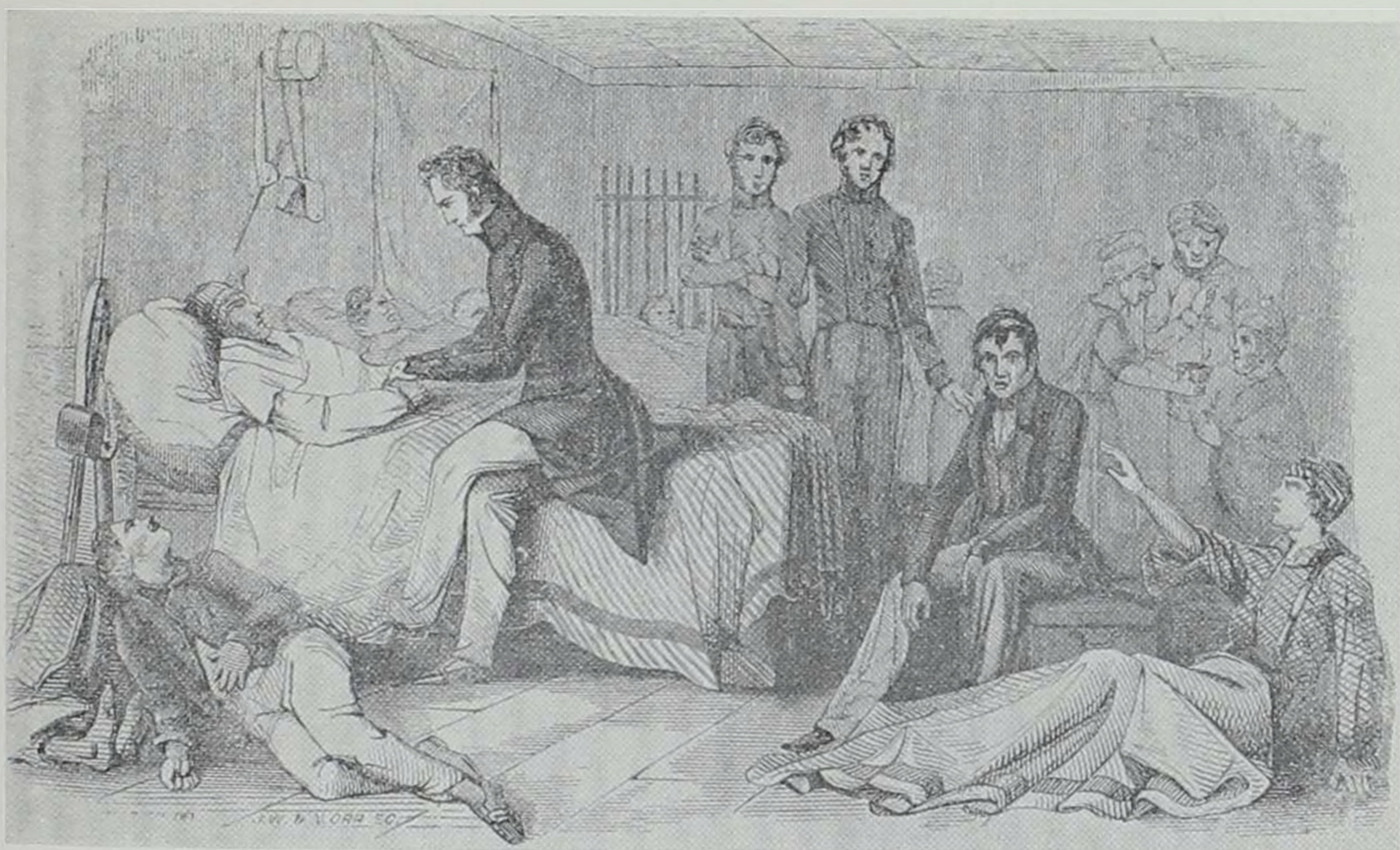


Drawing from Caxton Clubs edition of Wakefield.

BRIG. GEN. HENRY ATKINSON
Indians called him "White Beaver."



From Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott (1864)
WINFIELD SCOTT



General Scott ministering to soldiers ill from cholera while crossing the Great Lakes on their way to the Black Hawk War . . . "night and day he visited and comforted them, himself always, when near it, laboring under some of the symptoms of the disease."



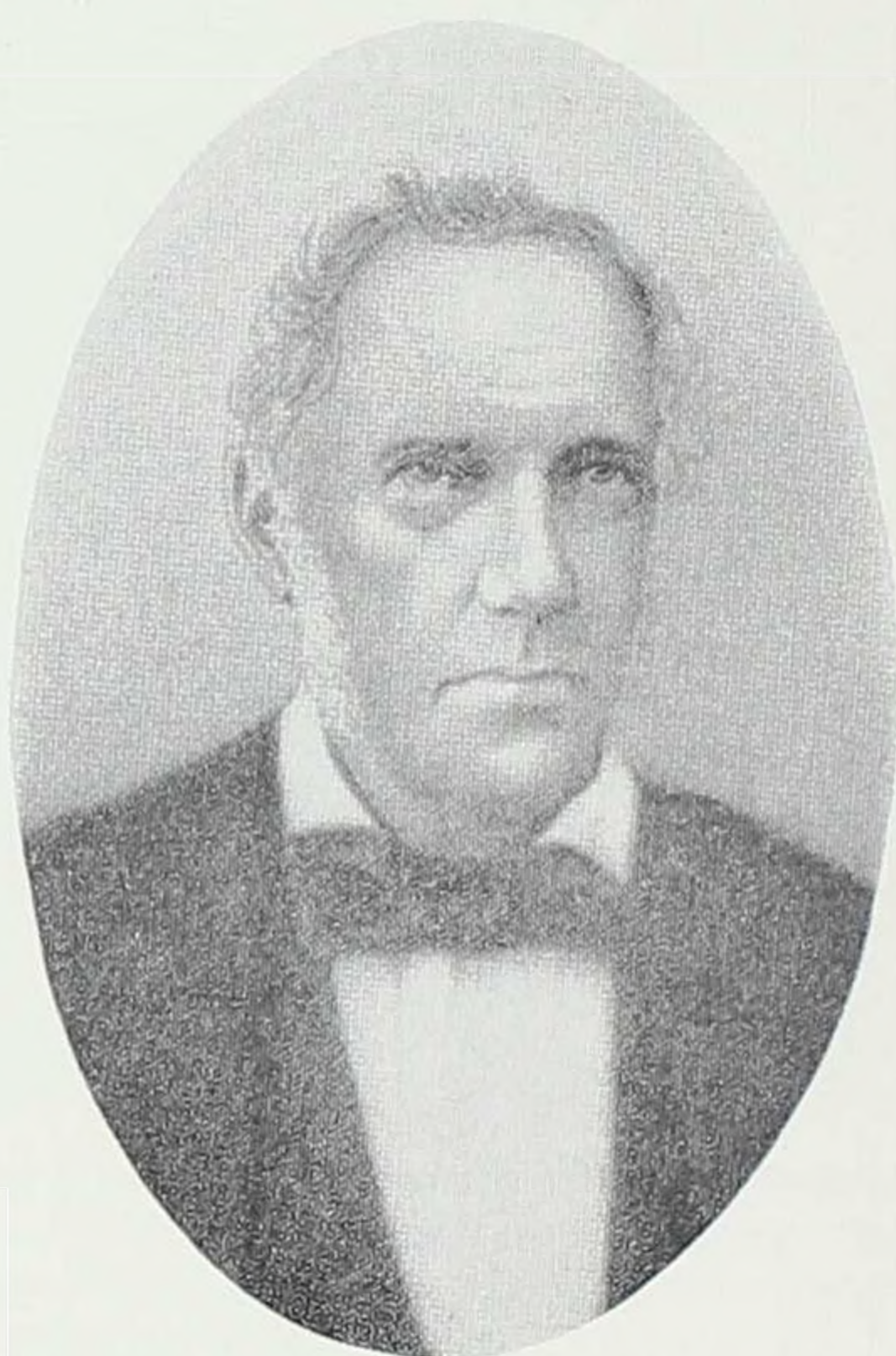
From E. D. Mansfield, Life and Services of General Winfield Scott

Scott describes the Indian conduct at treaty closing the Black Hawk War. "When a council was to meet, they came at a furious charge; suddenly dismounted, arranged themselves in order, and then, between lines of soldiers, entered the pavilion with the firmness of victors, but with all the deep solemnity of a funeral."



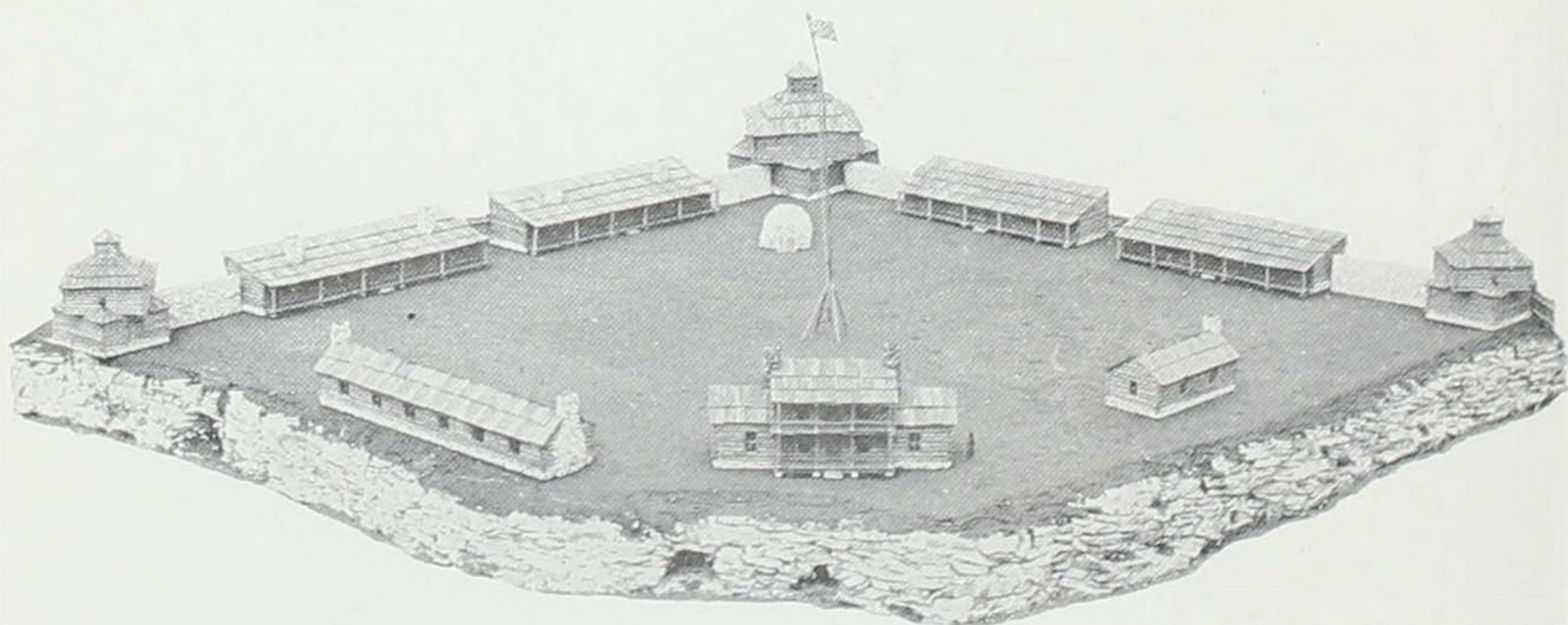
GEORGE DAVENPORT

Treaty negotiated on site of city named for him.



JOHN REYNOLDS

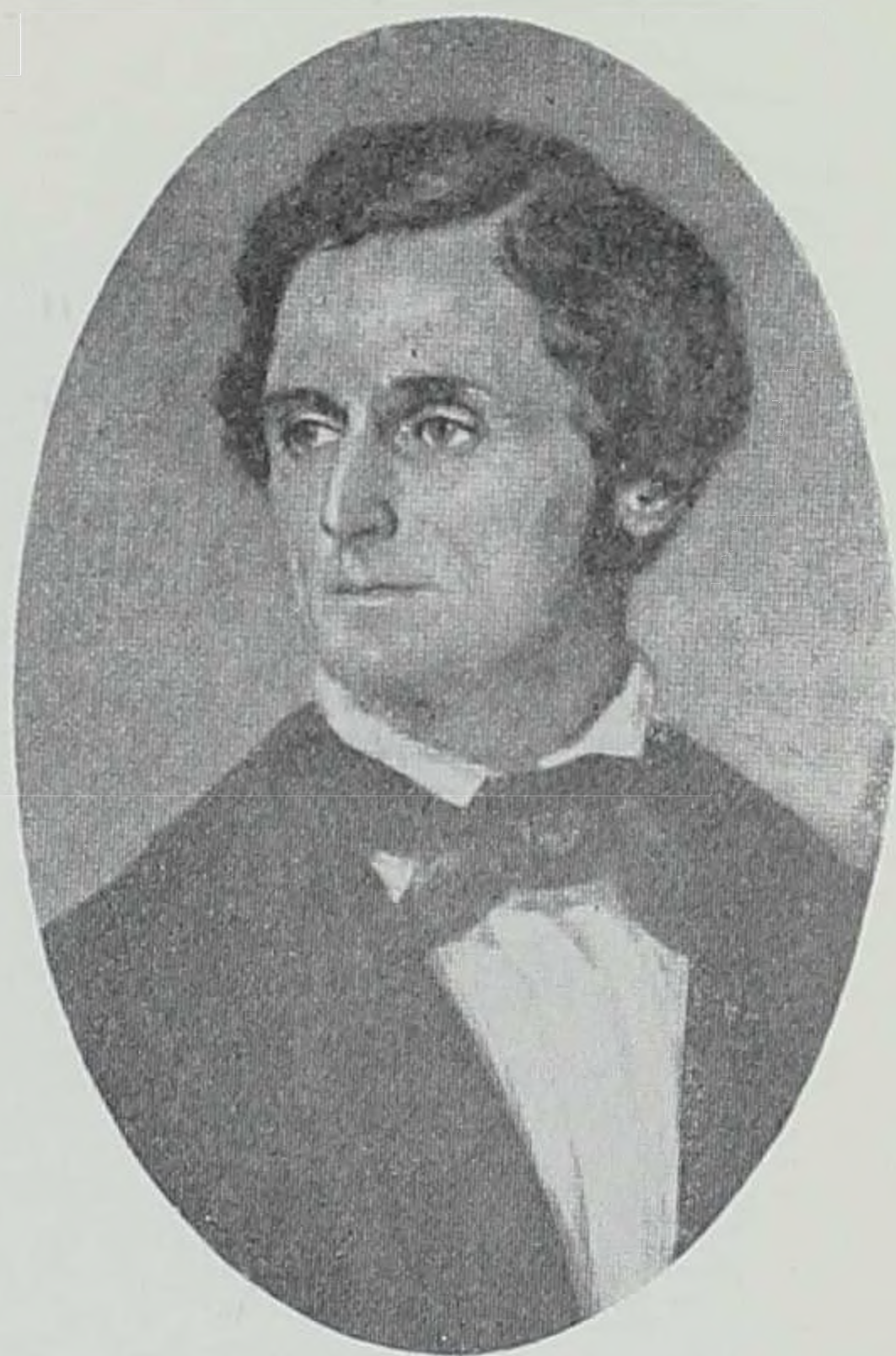
Governor of Illinois helped Scott in Treaty negotiations of 1832.



SCALE MODEL OF FORT ARMSTRONG IN 1819.

Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal

The treaty closing the Black Hawk War was signed at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island on September 21, 1832.



Jefferson Davis had charge of Sauk prisoners after Black Hawk War.

Catlin Painting Courtesy Huntington Library
Sauk Indians in Chains at Jefferson Barracks



From Catlin's North American Indians
Sauk Indians performing the Discovery Dance.



From Catlin's North American Indians

KEOKUK — CHIEF OF THE SAUK

Of him Black Hawk bitterly declared: "Keokuk has been the cause of my present situation."

Other witnesses disputed his figure. An Indian woman who escaped down the river reported that sixty-eight of her kinsmen were killed. In a report written the day after the battle, Henry Dodge estimated that "we must have killed about 40 of them . . ."

Despite the obvious fact that the Indians were now trying desperately to get out of Wisconsin and back where they belonged, the United States army and the Volunteers still pursued them; for the official position was now one of retribution. The Indians must be punished. "Be assured," said Dodge in a report to his superiors, "every possible exertion will be made to destroy the Enemy crippled as they must be with their wounded and families as well as their want of provisions." President Andrew Jackson had earlier stated that he wished Black Hawk taken prisoner, and the office of the Secretary of War had declared that "Black Hawk & his party must be chastized and a speedy & honorable termination put to this war, which will hereafter deter others from the like unprovoked hostilities by Indians on our frontier."

Some members of Black Hawk's band deserted the main party and, while descending the Wisconsin River, were intercepted by a party of regulars which had been sent out from Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien. "Some were killed," Black Hawk said, "other drowned, several taken

prisoners, and the balance escaped to the woods and perished with hunger. Among this party were a great many women and children."

The main body of Indians, having no means of traveling by water, continued overland toward the Mississippi. When they reached the river, they encountered what Black Hawk thought was a singular piece of good luck. A steamboat, the *Warrior*, was in sight — and Black Hawk knew the captain. Here was a chance to try the white flag again. Joseph Throckmorton, captain of the vessel, had been operating on the upper Mississippi for four years, but the *Warrior* was new — having been launched a few weeks earlier at Pittsburgh.

The story in Black Hawk's words: "... I took a small piece of white cotton, and put it on a pole, and called to the captain of the boat, and told him to send a canoe ashore, and let me come aboard. The people on the boat asked whether we were Sacs or Winnebagoes. I told a Winnebago to tell them we were Sacs, and wanted to give ourselves up! A Winnebago on the boat called to us, '*to run and hide, that the whites were going to shoot!*' About this time one of my braves had jumped into the river, bearing a white flag to the boat — when another sprang in after him, and brought him to shore. The firing then commenced from the boat, which was returned by my braves, and continued for some time. Very few of my

people were hurt after the first fire, having succeeded in getting behind old logs and trees, which shielded them from the enemy's fire."

Throckmorton was hardly the proper man to receive a flag of truce. He and the military party aboard his vessel had been upriver to a Sioux village, to see if they could persuade the Sioux to guard the shores and prevent the fleeing Sauks and Foxes from getting across. The boat was armed with a six-pounder. Throckmorton later claimed to have killed twenty-three Indians in the battle, after opening fire in the belief that the flag of truce was a hoax. He returned the next day to continue the fighting.

The official report of the Commanding General of the U.S. Army told it this way: "The Indians at first attempted to deceive our party by declaring themselves to be Winnebagoes, and displaying white flags, at the same time inviting them to land. But the officer in command being aware of their intentions fired upon them, and killed twenty-five of their number."

Now decimated by gunfire and weakened by hunger, the Indians were in a hopeless situation. Approaching them from the rear was the whole of the American force, regulars and volunteers, bent on "teaching them a lesson." At this point Black Hawk, the Prophet, and some of the other Indian leaders left the band and went up into west-central Wisconsin. "After the boat left us,"

he said "I told my people to cross, if they could, and wished: that I intended going into the Chippewa country." He went on to explain, in his autobiography, that when he later heard how close the American forces were he decided to return and "die with my people." But he did not return until brought in by Winnebagoes a few days later when the war was ended; whether he was captured or gave himself up is not clear. In testimony given later, one of the Indians who remained behind with the band declared: "None of us liked the Prophet and Black Hawk leaving us as they did. We said 'now they have brought us ruin and lost us our women and children, then have run to save their own lives.'"

The ordeal of those who were still trying to cross the Mississippi on August 2, the day after the steamboat attack, is now known as the Battle of the Bad Axe, having occurred at the mouth of the Bad Axe River north of Victory, Wisconsin. "The Inds. were pushed literally into the Mississippi," reported Indian agent Joseph M. Street, "the current of which was at one time perceptibly tinged with the blood of the Indians who were shot on its margin & in the stream . . ." One soldier eye-witness said that the women and children remained hidden, out of fear, and thus were killed by accidental gunfire. Had they shown themselves, he said, they would have been spared, since "we all knew the squaws and children could

do us no harm, and could not help what the old Black Hawk and other chiefs did." They had been concealed in the reeds and tall grass.

Eight American soldiers were killed during the battle; the Indians lost 150 or more, and forty women and children were captured. Those who were successful in crossing the river had still one more trial to face, for a party of about 100 Sioux warriors attacked the survivors, inflicted heavy losses upon them, and later received the thanks of a United States government official for their help in punishing the Sauks and Foxes.

The Battle of the Bad Axe brought an immediate end to the war. During the series of raids and engagements which had occurred since May 15, from 500 to 600 Indians had been killed or had starved to death. White persons, civilian and military, who were killed during that period totaled about seventy-two.

There was still a treaty to be negotiated, and more days of humiliation were to follow for Black Hawk and his chastened band. By the time the deposed leader had been put in chains, and sent down the river to temporary imprisonment, it could be seen that the war had been a significant turning-point. It marked the beginning of settlement in the area that would later become Iowa. For, with Indian control of the region now broken, white settlers would push rapidly across the Mississippi to take over the farmlands and the mines.

Six years later, on July 4, 1838, settlement had progressed so far that the Territory of Iowa was organized. That same year Black Hawk died.

The closing lines of his autobiography may be a gratuitous addition by Black Hawk's publisher, for literary effect, or they may express the earnest hope of the old man himself. Perhaps by now he saw, like Keokuk, that there was no other way.

The tomahawk is buried forever! — We will forget what has past — and may the watchword between the Americans and Sacs and Foxes, ever be — "Friendship." I am now done. A few more moons, and I must follow my fathers to the shades! May the Great Spirit keep our people and the whites always at peace — is the sincere wish of Black Hawk.

DONALD JACKSON

The Terms of Peace

A paroxysm of fear gripped the Upper Mississippi Valley. Rumors of a general Indian uprising spread like wild fire. Stillman's ignominious defeat, the constantly recurring stories of Indian atrocities, together with the brilliant strategy exhibited by Black Hawk in his retreat up the Rock River, left the entire frontier in a turmoil. News despatches contained accounts of further reverses which served only to heighten the general alarm.

Impatient at the failure of Brigadier General Henry Atkinson to crush Black Hawk, President Andrew Jackson ordered Major General Winfield Scott to "proceed to the seat of war and put an end to it." While crossing the Great Lakes from Buffalo to Chicago, cholera broke out among Scott's troops. The only surgeon aboard the commander's steamboat became panic-stricken and, according to Scott, "gulped down half a bottle of wine; went to bed, sick, and ought to have died." Undaunted by the horrors of death, Scott ministered to the suffering soldiers whose "brows he smoothed as they died in agony, trying with a last gasp to bless him" for his tender care. "Sentinels were of no use in warning of the ene-

my's approach," Scott related afterwards. "He could not storm his works, fortify against him, nor cut his way out, nor make terms of capitulation. There was no respect for a flag of truce and his men were falling upon all sides from an enemy in his very midst." His losses from cholera were greater than the casualties suffered by the regulars and militia throughout the Black Hawk War.

General Scott reached Prairie du Chien shortly after the massacre at Bad Axe. Having mustered out the volunteer militia, he proceeded down the Mississippi on the steamboat *Warrior* to Fort Armstrong where the Indians were gathering to make a treaty. Cholera broke out on Rock Island about August 26th, and drastic measures were posted demanding "sobriety, cleanliness of person, cleanliness of camp and quarters, together with care in the preparation of the men's messes." Swift punishment was meted out to the intemperate — "every soldier or Ranger who shall be found drunk or sensibly intoxicated after the publication of this order, [shall] be compelled, as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying place large enough for his own reception, as such grave cannot fail soon to be wanted for the drunken man himself or some drunken companion."

This order was given, the commandant explained, "as well to serve for the punishment of drunkenness as to spare good and temperate men

the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions."

Meanwhile so many Indians became affected with the plague that Scott directed them not to assemble at Rock Island until they received a new summons. With unusual faith in the red men, "not yet taught by his white brethren to lie, to cheat and steal," Scott permitted three Sauk prisoners, guilty of murder, to leave Fort Armstrong on their promise to return when a signal was displayed on a dead tree at an elevated point of the island. "The cholera having passed away," the intrepid commander relates, "the signal was given, when, in a day or two, the three *murderers* presented themselves!" Scott's appeal for their parole was granted and the Indians were set free.

When the cholera had subsided on Rock Island, preparations were made for the holding of the treaty. A motley array of tribesmen soon assembled — Sioux, Menominee, and Winnebago, intermingled with the confederated tribes of Sauk and Fox. Often warring against one another, these savage Indians were for the time being restrained by the "presence of well-disciplined battalions — mingling together in the wild and martial costume of their race." Governor John Reynolds of Illinois was selected by the government to serve with Scott as a commissioner in the negotiations. Captain Richard Bache acted as secretary.

After some preliminary conferences with the Sioux and Menominee, the commissioners turned their attention to the Winnebago. Since the "wearer of the sword" was the "effective orator" before the Indians, General Scott conducted the discussions. The Winnebago were informed that for their "secret encouragement and preparations to join in highly criminal hostilities" they must forfeit all land they claimed "lying to the south and east of the Wisconsin river, and the Fox river of Green Bay," which included southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. In return they were to be granted a new home in the Neutral Ground in Iowa, ten thousand dollars in specie and sundry annuities for a period of twenty-seven years, and a school and blacksmith shop. Such a treaty was signed at Fort Armstrong on September 15, 1832.

On the following day, General Scott hastily forwarded the Winnebago treaty on a steamboat which had unexpectedly arrived, bound for St. Louis. "We trust it will be satisfactory to the government," he concluded. "The cholera having entirely disappeared from this Island and the immediate vicinity," he expected to enter upon "important conferences and negotiations with the Sacs and Foxes to-morrow."

A delicate situation existed which required the highest degree of diplomacy and statesmanship. "We await with anxiety," declared the *Galenian*

of September 19, 1832, "the result of the Treaty with the Sacs and Foxes. We have the utmost confidence in our commissioners — but the very critical situation in which they are placed (requiring the *majority* to cede a part of their territory for the acts of the *minority*) may prevent their obtaining all that we could desire. We are satisfied however, that equal justice will be meted out to both parties."

The entire confederation of Sauks and Foxes — braves, squaws, and papooses — had gathered on the west bank of the Mississippi. Since the consent of the entire nation was necessary in any cession of land, a large open tent or "marquee" was erected on the present site of Davenport in which to hold the preliminary negotiations.

Resplendant in his heavily brocaded uniform and plumed hat, Major General Scott stood tall and erect before the Indians while Governor John Reynolds sat close beside him. The uniformed ranks of the regulars standing in martial array with light trousers, blue coats, and jaunty feathered cockades, were in sharp contrast to the dusky Indians squatting in every conceivable posture in their bright blankets and feathered headdresses. Richard Bache, acting as Secretary to the Commissioners, was busily engaged in taking notes of the speeches of the Commissioners while Antoine Le Claire translated the speeches of the Indians. It was a shifting scene of color and confusion in

which the attire and demeanor of natives and soldiers represented the nature of the conflict between the two races — the one free, unordered, primitive; the other restrained, disciplined, civilized.

Although governed by a spirit of forbearance and liberality, Scott opened each council with "stern reproach — reminding the confederate tribes that, by their failure to restrain one of their chiefs, Black Hawk, from making an unjust war upon the unoffending white settlers, near them, the whole confederacy had forfeited as much of their territory as the conquerors might choose to claim as an indemnity." These denunciations having been made clear by Antoine Le Claire, the interpreter, and their justice shown to be indisputable, Scott proceeded: "Such is justice, between nation and nation, against which none can rightfully complain; but as God in his dealings with human creatures tempers justice with mercy — or else the whole race of man would soon have perished — so shall we, commissioners, in humble imitation of divine example, now treat you, my red brethren! who have offended both against God and your great human father, at Washington." He concluded by demanding from the Sauk and Fox Indians a strip of land west of the Mississippi.

Grateful replies were returned in each council, that of Keokuk being full of "sound sentiment,

power, and pathos." Keokuk appeared to be in the "prime of life, tall, robust, manly." The eloquent orator so impressed General Scott that he "solemnly invested [him] with the rank and broad silver medal of a chief, with the consent of the tribe, and on an equal footing with the proudest who had inherited the title through long generations." Not until his death did Keokuk relinquish this chieftaincy of which he was justly proud.

When the Sauk and Fox chiefs and warriors approached headquarters for formal conferences, it was "always with the loud tramp and shout, which seemed to be rather the clangor of war than the forms of ceremony. When a council was to meet, they came at a furious charge; suddenly dismounted, arranged themselves in order, and then, between lines of soldiers, entered the pavilion with the firmness of victors, but with all the deep solemnity of a funeral. Arrayed in scarlet hues, their national color, sometimes on foot and sometimes mounted, nothing could be more striking than the fine figures, arms, and costumes" of these brilliant warriors.

Favorite Indian songs and dances were interspersed between the long and often exceedingly dull speeches. The war dance, the buffalo dance, and the corn dance frequently enlivened the afternoon activities before headquarters as the young men exhibited the "achievements, events, and history of the individual or the tribe" in descriptive

pantomime. Sometimes these dances were followed by cotillions, reels, and quadrilles in which the young army officers danced with the braves who, according to Scott, proved themselves exceedingly "quick in step and imitation, as well as in loud laughter, at every turn. A band furnished the music and heightened the joy of all."

When the entire confederation of Sauks and Foxes had given their assent to the provisions of the treaty as explained by Antoine Le Claire, the chiefs, headmen, and warriors crossed the Mississippi with Keokuk and signed their marks to the articles of the treaty of peace, friendship and cession, which was "concluded at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois," between the United States of America and the confederated tribes of Sauks and Foxes. It consisted of a preamble and twelve articles and was dated September 21, 1832.

The treaty opened with a stern rebuke: "Whereas, under certain lawless and desperate leaders, a formidable band, constituting a large portion of the Sac and Fox nation, left their country in April last, and, in violation of treaties, commenced an unprovoked war upon unsuspecting and defenceless citizens of the United States, sparing neither age nor sex; and whereas, the United States, at a great expense of treasure, have subdued the said hostile band, killing or capturing all its principal Chiefs and Warriors — the said States, partly as indemnity for the expense

incurred, and partly to secure the future safety and tranquility of the invaded frontier, demand of the said tribes" the cession of a tract of land west of the Mississippi.

The first article bounded the cession. Beginning on the Mississippi at the southern boundary of the Neutral Ground, the line ran fifty miles up that boundary to a point near the present site of Westgate in Fayette County; thence, in a straight line running south east to the "nearest point on the Red Cedar of the Ioway, forty miles from the Mississippi" (near Cedar Bluff in Cedar County); thence, in a straight line to a point on the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, fifty miles from the Mississippi River measured on said boundary (a point between the North and South Wyaconda rivers and directly south of Pulaski in Davis County); thence, along that boundary line to the Mississippi River (just below Fort Madison); and thence by the western shore of the Mississippi to the place of beginning. The Indians agreed to remove from this land by June 1, 1833, and never occupy any portion of it again.

Included in this large tract is all of the present-day counties of Dubuque, Delaware, Jackson, Jones, Clinton, Scott, Muscatine, Louisa, Des Moines, Henry, and Lee; most of Clayton, Cedar, and Van Buren; and a portion of the counties of Allamakee, Fayette, Buchanan, Linn, Johnson, Washington, Jefferson, and Davis.

Out of the Black Hawk cession the United States agreed to reserve four hundred square miles along the "Ioway" River in such a manner that "nearly an equal portion of the reservation may be on both sides of said river, and extending downward, so as to include Ke-o-kuck's principal village on its right bank, which village is about twelve miles from the Mississippi." This tract is generally known as the Keokuk Reserve and included portions of Johnson, Muscatine, Louisa, Washington, and Des Moines counties. Granted to Keokuk as a reward for his loyalty, this reservation was ceded to the United States four years later.

The third article provided for an annual annuity of \$20,000 in specie for thirty years. The government agreed in article four to establish and maintain "one additional black and gun smith shop, with necessary tools, iron and steel" for three decades. A yearly allowance for the same period of time of "forty kegs of tobacco, and forty barrels of salt, to be delivered at the mouth of the Ioway river" was also granted.

At the earnest request of both tribes the United States next agreed to pay \$40,000 without interest to Russell Farnham and George Davenport in full satisfaction of the claims "acknowledged to be justly due, for articles of necessity" provided the Indians during the preceding seven years. Then followed a special request whereby the govern-

ment was to grant Antoine Le Claire, Indian interpreter, one section of land on the present site of Davenport and another at the head of the rapids where Le Claire is now located.

Black Hawk and his band were the concern of the next two articles. Having already delivered most of the Indian prisoners of war to Keokuk, the United States promised to use its influence to secure the delivery of those who were still prisoners of the Sioux. But Black Hawk himself and his two sons, together with the Prophet, Neapope, and six others were to be held as hostages for the future good conduct of the late hostile tribes. As a further guarantee of peace, it was next stipulated that there should "never be allowed in the confederated Sac and Fox nation, any separate band, or village, under any chief or warrior of the late hostile bands" but that these should be divided among the neutral bands according to blood relationship.

Article nine contained a declaration of perpetual peace and friendship between the contracting parties. As a token of good faith and a "striking evidence of their mercy and liberality," the United States caused to be issued immediately to the "confederated tribes, principally for the use of the Sac and Fox women and children, whose husbands, fathers and brothers, have been killed in the late war, and generally for the use of the whole confederated tribes, articles of subsistence

as follows: — thirty-five beef cattle; twelve bushels of salt; thirty barrels of pork; and fifty barrels of flour, and cause to be delivered for the same purposes, in the month of April next, at the mouth of the lower Ioway, six thousand bushels of maize or Indian corn."

The last two articles were brief. Eleven provided that a "suitable present" should be made to the confederated tribes if they would point out to a United States agent one or more mines of metal more valuable than lead or iron. The concluding article provided that the treaty should be binding when ratified by the President of the United States.

Originally called the Scott Purchase but more generally known as the Black Hawk Purchase, the treaty was signed on September 21, 1832, by Winfield Scott and John Reynolds for the United States. Nine Sauks, including Keokuk and Pash-paho, and twenty-four Foxes of whom Wapello and Poweshiek were most prominent, signed the treaty for the Indians. Among the forty-four witnesses to sign the treaty were Major Henry Dodge, later Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin; George Davenport, influential trader at Rock Island; Addison Philleo, editor of the *Galenian*; and Antoine Le Claire.

A "contented and cheerful" note marked the closing scene of the Black Hawk War which for six months had held the country in suspense.

Major General Scott gave a "grand dinner" for the principal chiefs on the evening following the signing of the treaty. Refreshments were "handed round nearly in the manner of our cities" while a band blared martial music. To cap it all a "brilliant display of pyrotechnics" sent up a red light which "gleamed against the evening sky, shells and rockets burst in the air" as the soldiers discharged "fire balls from mortars" and fired batteries of rockets. Amid the echo of bursting fireworks reverberating among the distant bluffs, General Scott heard "much shouting of delight from the Indians encamped on the mainland — Rock Island being in the centre of an amphitheatre of high hills."

The colorful Keokuk contributed no small part to the entertainment by a pantomime of one of his successful expeditions against a hostile party. In General Scott's opinion it required no interpretation to note first "the tedious march; streams to swim; next the rapid run, and now the stealthy step — beckoning to his followers the discovery of the unsuspecting enemy at camp fires with rifles laid aside, waiting a moment longer for the cooked venison they were destined never to eat; — then the rush upon the unarmed, and the slaying. In a moment all was over, but the shouting." So successfully was this executed and so warmly was it applauded that this "accomplished hero in peace as in war" responded graciously with a war dance.

General Scott returned to his post in the East with the good wishes of all ringing in his ears. In congratulating the Commissioners for their prompt method of treating with the Indians, the *Galenian* for October 10, 1832, observed that General Scott had talked to the Indians in such a way as to make a "deep impression on their minds. The Sacs and Foxes were glad to treat with us; and perfectly willing to sell their country." A week later, on October 17, 1832, the *Washington Globe* declared: "The Commissioners, who have concluded these arrangements, by which a valuable country is obtained, the peace and security of the frontiers secured, and a new field of enterprise opened to emigrants, are entitled to public approbation, not only for these results, but for having maintained the national character, and carried into effect the intentions of the President, in granting liberal terms to the Indians, and in having inspired them with confidence and good will, by treating them individually with great kindness."

The Indians, too, were impressed with the character and ability of General Scott, declaring him to be the "greatest brave" they had ever seen. "Our braves speak more highly of him than of any chief who has been among us," declared Black Hawk. "Whatever he says may be depended upon. If he had been our great father, we never would have been compelled to join the British in

the late war with America. And I have thought as our great father is changed every few years, his children would do well to put this great war-chief in his place, as they cannot find a better chief for a great father anywhere." Twenty years later the Whigs nominated Winfield Scott for the Presidency, but the Americans failed to heed Black Hawk's advice to elect him their "great father."

Nor was it merely the press and the Indians who offered such unstinted praise. The government at Washington was equally pleased. "Allow me to congratulate you, sir," wrote the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, "upon this fortunate consummation of your arduous duties, and to express my entire approbation of the whole course of your proceedings, during a series of difficulties requiring higher moral courage than the operations of an active campaign, under ordinary circumstances."

The Black Hawk Purchase was but the first of a series of treaties that followed in quick succession whereby the red man lost Iowa. Instead of being able to return to his village of Saukenuk the recalcitrant Black Hawk was responsible for losing the eastern one-third of Iowa before his death in 1838. The ultimate loss was inevitable, of course, but it was probably hurried along by at least a decade.

Thus, a treaty signed on the right bank of the Mississippi opposite Rock Island on September 28, 1836, provided for the cession to the United States of the four hundred sections of land which had been set aside as a reward to Chief Keokuk and his tribe for refusing to join Black Hawk in his war against the whites. This was known as the Keokuk Reserve. It extended along both banks of the Iowa River to within a few miles of the Mississippi. Settlers were pushing westward so rapidly, however, that the acquisition of the Keokuk Reserve seems hardly to have been noticed.

Realizing that a larger tract of land would have to be acquired to absorb the heavy tide of immigration which was moving impatiently onward, the government called to Washington the principal chiefs and warriors of the Sauk and Fox. A treaty was finally entered into on October 21, 1837, which is generally known as the Second Black Hawk Purchase. In return for certain grants of land, annuities, and other favors, the Sauk and Fox agreed to cede 1,250,000 acres of land lying west of and adjoining the original Black Hawk Purchase of 1832.

Four years after Black Hawk's death, on October 11, 1842, the Sauk and Fox signed a treaty whereby they gave up any claims they held to all of central Iowa and agreed to move west of the Missouri River by 1845.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

TREATY WITH THE SAUK AND FOXES, 1832.

ARTICLE XII. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

Done at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, this twenty-first day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and of the independence of the United States the fifty-seventh.

Winfield Scott,
John Reynolds.
Sacs.

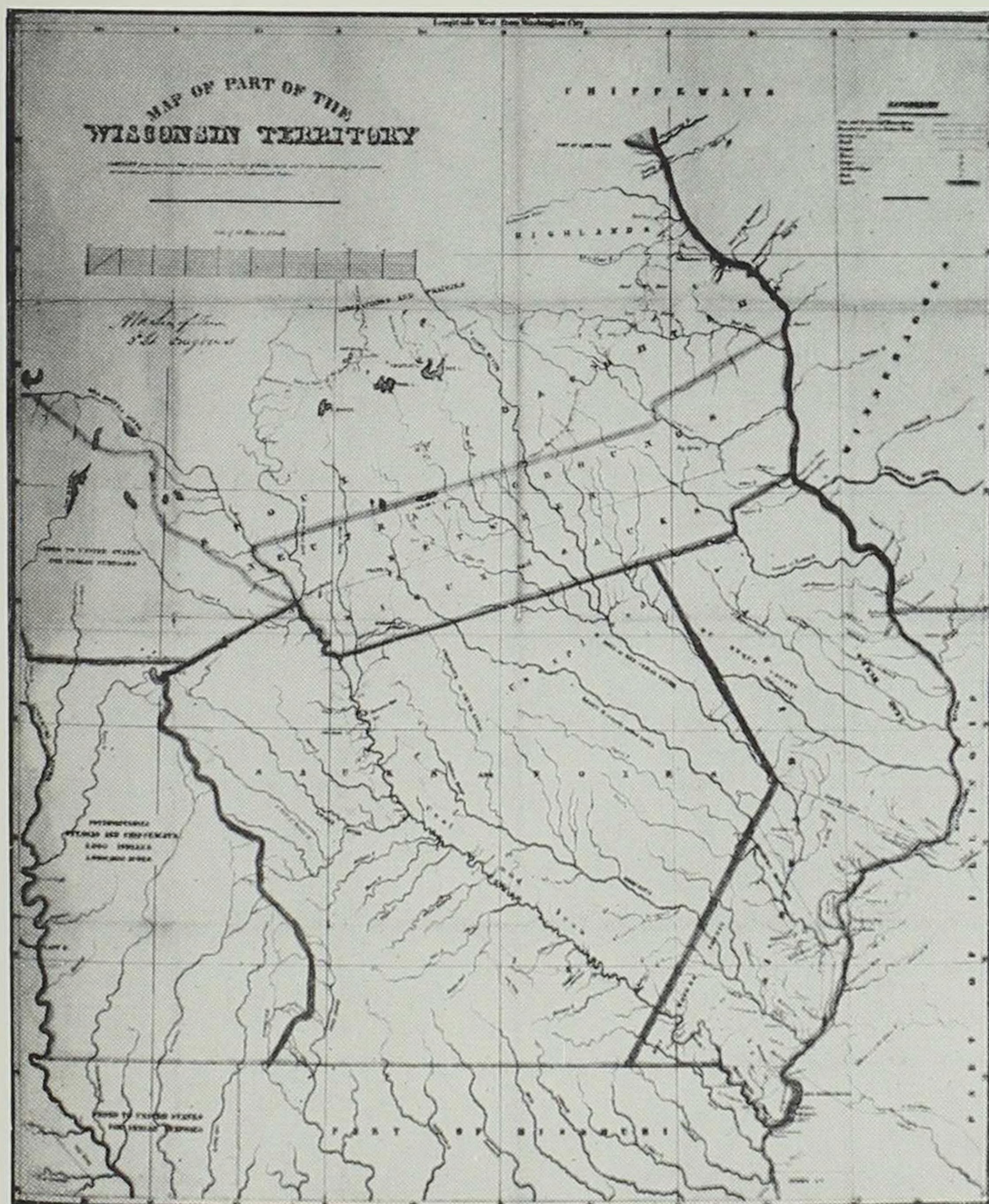
- ✓ Kee-o-kuck, or he who has been every where, his x mark,
- ✓ Pa-she-pa-ho, or the stabber, his x mark,
- Pia-tshe-noay, or the noise maker, his x mark,
- Wawk-kum-mee, or clear water, his x mark,
- O-sow-wish-kan-no, or yellow bird, his x mark,
- Pa-ca-tokee, or wounded lip, his x mark,
- Winne-wun-quai-saat, or the terror of man, his x mark,
- Mau-noa-tuck, or he who controls many, his x mark,
- Wau-we-au-tun, or the curling wave, his x mark,
- Foxes.
- ✓ Wau-pel-la, or he who is painted white, his x mark,
- Tay-wee-mau, or medicine man, (strawberry,) his x mark,
- ✓ Pow-sheek, or the roused bear, his x mark,
- An-nau-mee, or the running fox, his x mark,
- Ma-tow-e-quaa, or the jealous woman, his x mark,
- Me-shee-wau-quaw, or the dried tree, his x mark,

In presence of—

- ✓ R. Bache, captain ordnance, secretary to the commission,
- Abrm. Eustis,
- Alex. Cummings, lieutenant-colonel Second Infantry,
- Alex. R. Thompson, major U. S. Army,
- Sexton G. Frazer,
- P. H. Galt, Assistant Adjutant-General,
- Benj. F. Pike,
- Wm. Henry,
- James Craig,
- John Aukney,
- J. B. F. Russell,
- Isaac Chambers,
- John Clitz, adjutant infantry,
- John Pickell, lieutenant Fourth Artillery,
- A. G. Miller, lieutenant First Infantry,
- ✓ Geo. Davenport, assistant quartermaster-general Illinois Militia,
- A. Drane,
- Æneas Mackay, captain U. S. Army,
- J. R. Smith, first lieutenant Second Infantry,
- Wm. Maynadier, lieutenant and aid-de-camp,
- J. S. Gallagher, first lieutenant, acting commissary subsistence,
- N. B. Bennett, lieutenant Third Artillery,

- May-kee-sa-mau-ker, or the wampum fish, his x mark,
- Chaw-co-saut, or the prowler, his x mark,
- Kaw-kaw-kee, or the crow, his x mark,
- Mau-que-tee, or the bald eagle, his x mark,
- Ma-she-na, or cross man, his x mark,
- Kaw-kaw-ke-monte, or the pouch, (running bear,) his x mark,
- Wee-she-kaw-k-a-skuck, or he who steps firmly, his x mark,
- Wee-ca-ma, or good fish, his x mark,
- Paw-qua-nuey, or the runner, his x mark,
- Ma-hua-wai-be, or the wolf skin, his x mark,
- Mis-see-quaw-kaw, or hairy neck, his x mark,
- Waw-pee-shaw-kaw, or white skin, his x mark,
- Mash-shen-waw-pee-tch, or broken tooth, his x mark,
- Nau-nah-que-kee-shee-ko, or between two days, his x mark,
- Paw-puck-ka-kaw, or stealing fox, his x mark,
- Tay-e-sheek, or the falling bear, his x mark,
- Wau-pee-maw-ker, or the white loon, his x mark,
- Wau-co-see-nee-me, or fox man, his x mark.

- B. Riley, major U. S. Army,
- ✓ H. Dodge, major,
- W. Campbell,
- Hy. Wilson, major Fourth U. S. Infantry,
- Donald Ward,
- Thos. Black Wolf,
- Horatio A. Wilson, lieutenant Fourth Artillery,
- H. Day, lieutenant Second Infantry,
- Jas. W. Penrose, lieutenant Second Infantry,
- J. E. Johnston, lieutenant Fourth Artillery,
- S. Burbank, lieutenant First Infantry,
- J. H. Prentiss, lieutenant First Artillery,
- L. J. Beall, lieutenant First Infantry,
- ✓ Addison Philleo,
- Thomas L. Alexander, lieutenant Sixth Infantry,
- Horace Beale, acting surgeon U. S. Army,
- Oliver W. Kellogg,
- Jona Leighton, acting surgeon U. S. Army,
- Robt. C. Buchanan, lieutenant Fourth Infantry,
- Jas. S. Williams, lieutenant Sixth Infantry,
- John W. Spencer,
- ✓ Antoine Le Claire, interpreter.

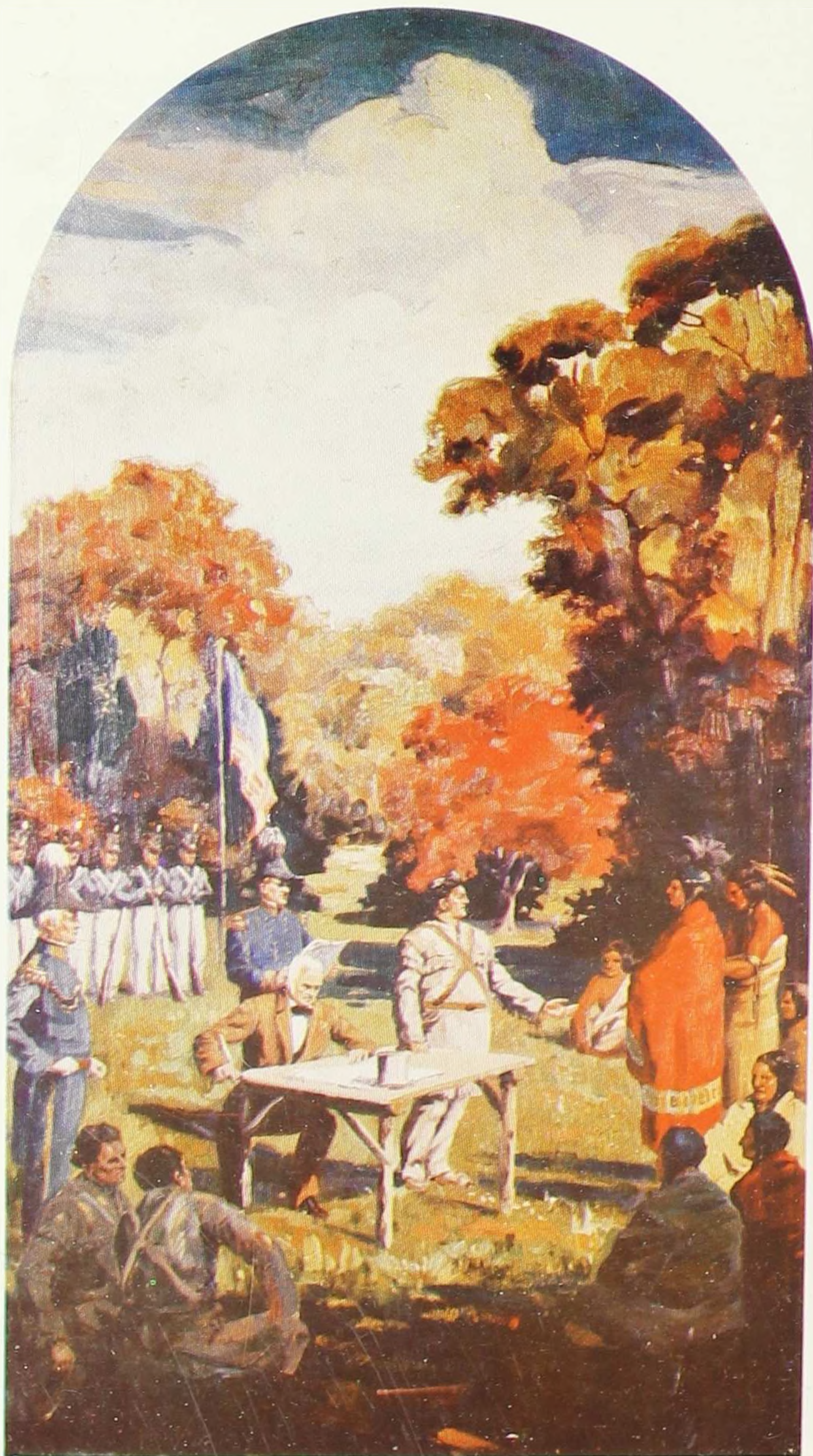


MAP OF "SCOTT PURCHASE" OR "BLACK HAWK PURCHASE"

The first book about Iowa was Lieut. Albert M. Lea's *Notes on The Wisconsin Territory; particularly with reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase*.

It was printed at Philadelphia by H. S. Tanner in 1836 and only a handful of the original edition of 1000 exist. The State Historical Society of Iowa reprinted this volume with its map in 1935 on the occasion of the centennial of the famous United States Dragoons expedition through Iowa in 1835.

Lieut. Lee accompanied Kearny on this expedition and his map shows the Black Hawk Purchase, Neutral Line (1825) and Neutral Ground (1830), Keokuk Reserve (1832), and Half-breed Tract (1824).



General Winfield Scott Negotiating the Black Hawk Purchase
on Present Site of Davenport